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Biblical researches in Palestine, and in the adjacent regions

**Edward Robinson,
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AND IN THE ADJACENT REGIONS.

A

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1838.

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BY

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CONTENTS.

SECTION XI.

FROM JERUSALEM TO GAZA AND HEBRON.

Pages 1-94.

Shutting up of Jerusalem, 1. We stop but a single day, 1, 2. Preparations, guide, etc. 2.—*May 17th.* Departure; go round by Beit Jāla, 2. Statistics of the village, 2-4. Way to the village el-Khūdr, 4. View from high point beyond Wady Bittir, and notices of the country, 4-6.

Küstül, probably Lat. 'Castellum,' 6. Sôba, its situation, 6. Not Modin, 6, 7. Possibly for *Zuph*, *Zophim*, the ancient Ramathaim-Zophim of Samuel, 7, 8. Objection from the position, 8, 9. Objection as being on Mount Ephraim, 9, 10.—Boundary between Benjamin and Judah, 10. It passes *Kirjath Jearim*, probably the present Kur-yet el-'Enab, 10-12. Its further course, 12.

Way to Beit 'Atāb, 13. Beit 'Atāb and wide view, 13, 14. Way to Beit Nettif: ancient road, 14, 15. Beit Nettif and country around, 15. Climate, 15. Wide view of many ancient places, 16, 17. Inhabitants; the parties Keis and Yemen, 17, 18. Hospitality of the people, 18, 19. General hospitality, the Medāfeh or Menzil, 19.—*May 18th.* Fog in the valleys, 19. Proposed search after the site of Eleutheropolis; reported ruins at Beit Jibrin, etc. 19. Wady es-Sūmt, 20. Socoh, 21. Place of David's combat with Goliath, 21. Well with flocks; drawing water "with the foot," 22. Remarkable excavations near Deir Dubbān, 22-24. Way to Beit Jibrin, 24.

Beit Jibrin, ruins of a strong Roman fortress, 25, 26. Ruined church, Santa Hanneh, 26. People wish the Franks to come, 26. Former Sheikhs of the district, 27. Beit Jibrin, if not Eleutheropolis, is certainly the ancient *Betogabra*, 27, 28. Hist. notices, 28, 29. Way to Tell es-Sāfieh, 29. Dhikrin, 29. Tell es-Sāfieh, 29, 30. The *Blanchegarde* of the crusaders, 31, 32.—*May 19th.* Leave for Gaza; fertile country, 32, 33. Sümmeil, deep well; error of Breydenbach, 33. General wish for the Franks, 34. Bureir, 35. Threshing and winnowing, 35. Lively harvest-scenes, 35. Immense olive grove near Gaza, 35, 36. Quarantine guard, 36.

May 21st. GAZA; letter of introduction, 36. Visit to the mosk, an ancient church 36. Governor's secretary, Tezkirah, 37. Remains of antiquity, places of former gates 37, 38. Geogr position, 38. Dārôn, 38. Sandy tract along the sea, 38. Fertility 39. Population, 39. Trade, 39. Hist. Notices, 40-43. Gaza probably not "desert," when the book of Acts was written, 41.

Region S. E. of Gaza, Gerar, 43, 44. Leave Gaza for Beit Jibrin by a more southern route, 44. Hūj, recently built up, 44, 45. Return to Bureir, 45. Agriculture; all the rich plains held by the government, 45, 46.—*May 22d.* Um Lākia, not *Lachish*, 46, 47. Turn off to Tell el-Hasy; harvest-scenes, 47. Wady el-Hasy, 47.

48. The Tell and region, 48. 'Ajlān, *Eglon*, 49. Es-Sukkariyeh, probably an ancient site, 49. Difficulty for a guide, laziness, 50. Reapers and gleaners, "parched corn," 50. El-Kubeibeh, 51. Beit Jibrin, 51. Men of Beit Jāla, 51. The Sheikh takes us to three clusters of very remarkable excavations, 51-53. Cufic inscriptions, 52. Sepulchres, 52. The Tell, 52. Singular excavated labyrinth, 53.

Not yet satisfied as to Eleutheropolis, 53. Roads to Hebron furnish a certain test, 54. Go to Dawāimeh for the night by mistake, 54, 55. Conclude to visit el-Burj and hire a guide, 55, 56.—*May 23d*. The Sheikh attempts imposition; we return towards Beit Jibrin, 56. Take the road for Hebron by Idhna, *Jedna*, 56. Incident, darning of the peasants, 57. Reach Idhna in two hours from Beit Jibrin, which identifies the latter with Eleutheropolis, 57.

ELEUTHEROPOLIS, 57. Identical with Betogabra and Beit Jibrin; evidence from the specifications of Eusebius and Jerome, 57-59. Hist. Notices, serving to sustain their testimony, 59-63. Writers who mention Betogabra make no allusion to Eleutheropolis, and *vice versa*, 63. The expression "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis" probably a gloss, 63. Tradition of Samson's fountain in the vicinity, 64, 65. Hist. Notice identifying Eleutheropolis and Betogabra, 65, 66.—*Gath*, 66, 67. *Maresha*, *Maresa*, 67. *Moreseth*, 68. Invasion of the Edomites; the south of Palestine called Idumea, 68. Possible origin of the excavations we visited, 69.

Village of Idhna, *Jedna*, 69-71. Hospitality of the Sheikh, 70. Ascent of the mountain, 71. Teffūh, *Beth-Tappuah*, 71. Violent Sirocco; drops of rain with dust, 72. Large oak, 72. Reach Hebron and encamp on the grassy western slope, 72. Pressing invitation from Elias, 73. Delay at Hebron, 73.

HEBRON. *May 24th*. General character and situation, 73, 74. Ancient pools, 74. The Haram, description, 75, 76. A mere wall around an interior court, 76, 77. Probably a Jewish structure surrounding the sepulchre of the patriarchs, 77. Hist. Notices, 77-79. Jews' window, 79.—Citadel in ruins, 79. Manufactory of water-skins, 79. Bazars, 79. Manufactures of glass, 80. Go out to breakfast with Elias under the great oak, 80-82. Camel loads of arms from Dūra, 80. Vineyards, how trained, 81. Wine and Dibs, 81. The oak, 81. Elias and his family, breakfast, 82. Threshing-floors; scenes of the book of Ruth, 83.—*May 25th*. Visit to the Rabbi of the Jews, 83. Synagogue and manuscripts, 84. Ascend the western hill; extensive view, 85. Visit to the three governors of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Hebron, 85-88. Official dinner, Sheikh Sa'id of Gaza, his character and fall, 86-88.—Population and trade of Hebron, 88. Historical Notices, 88-94. Question as to the identity of the ancient and modern site, 91, 92. Hospital and former distribution of bread, etc. 92. Rebellion in 1834; the town sacked by the Egyptians, 93, 94.

SECTION XII.

FROM HEBRON TO WADY MUSA AND BACK.

Pages 95-212.

Delays at Hebron, 95. Visit from the Sheikh of the Jehāln, and bargain for camels and guides, 95, 96. Further delay; shuffling conduct of Elias, 96.—*May 26th*. Camels arrive; departure, 96. Way to Carmel, 97. Ascend the ridge beyond, pro-

pect towards the south, 97. Country of the Jehâlin, 98. Encamp over Sunday, 98. Notices of the Jehâlin, 98, 99.—*May 27th.* Visitors in our tent, 99, 100. Engage five Haweitât, 100.

May 28th. New guides and camels, Arab dilatoriness, 100. Difficulty about a head-guide, 100, 101. We at length set off, 101. Tell 'Arâd, ancient *Arad*, 101. Rujeim Selâmeh and view, 102. Upper ez-Zuweirah, 103. Wide prospect over the Dead sea and southern Ghôr, 103. First descent, lower tract of chalky hills, 104. Second descent; ez-Zuweirah, fort and reservoirs, 104. Wady ez-Zuweirah; encamp in a side valley, 104, 105. Our guides less intelligent than those from the Tawarah, 105, 106.

May 29th. Follow down Wady ez-Zuweirah to the shore, 106. Sunrise upon the Dead sea, 106. Zuweirah has no relation to *Zoar*, which lay on the east of the sea, 106, 107. Hajr or Khashm Usdum (Sodom), a mountain of fossil salt, 107–110. Bathe in the sea, 110. Deep cavern in the mountain, 110. Alarm at an approaching party, 110. We prove the strongest, and our Haweitât begin to plunder; remonstrances, 111. S. W. corner of the sea, 111. This end of the sea very shallow, and a flat extends far to the south, 112. Eastern part of the Ghôr (Sûfieh) fertile and well-watered, 112, 113. Range of cliffs crossing the Ghôr further south, an offset or step to the 'Arabah beyond, 113. Already known that the waters of the 'Arabah flow northwards, 113, 114.—We keep along the western side of the Ghôr; character, salt rills, 114, 115. 'Ain el-Beida, 115. S. W. corner of the Ghôr, Wady el-Fikreh, 116. Keep along the base of the transverse line of cliffs, 116. 'Ain el-'Arûs, 117. Wady Ghûrûndel and ruins, *Arindela*, 117. Haweitât breakfast, 117, 118. Mouth of Wady el-Jeib, the drain of the 'Arabah, 118. Proceed up this deep broad chasm, 118, 119. Evening halt, romantic desert scene, 119, 120. Results of the day, 120. "Ascent of Akrabbin," 120.

May 30th. Night-travel, 121. Leave Wady el-Jeib, desert of the 'Arabah, 121. Rocks Hûmra Fedân, and Wady Ghuweir, 121. Halt at 'Ain el-Buweirideh, 122. Violent Sirocco, 122. Routes up to Wady Mûsa, 122, 123. Base of the mountains, porphyry cliffs, 123. Romantic pass of Nemela, 123, 124. Juniper trees, 124. Encamp at the top of the pass, 124.—*May 31st.* View from the brow of the mountain; the 'Arabah, the western desert, Wady el-Jerâfeh, Mount Hor, etc. 124, 125. Region of Nemela, 125, 126. Sandstone formation, 126. Oleanders, 126. Sik or chasm, with a sculptured tablet, 126. Plain Sutûh Beida, village Dibdiba, 127. Poverty of inhabitants, 127. Way to Eljy, 127, 128. Saracenic fortress, 128. Eljy, 128. 'Ain Mûsa and brook, 129.

Arrival at the valley; tomb on the right, 129. Enter the valley; commencement of the street of tombs, 129. Monolithic tombs, like those in the valley of Jehoshaphat, 129, 130. Tomb with pyramids, 130. Entrance of the Sik, 130. Arch across the chasm, 130. Width of the chasm and height of the sides, 130, 131. Oleanders, channels, pavement, 131. Magnificence of impression, 131, 132. The Khûzneh, character and imposing effect, 132, 133. Interior, 133. Tombs beyond the Khûzneh, 133. Singular ornament, 133. Amphitheatre, 134. View from it, 134. Encamp; the object of our visit, 134, 135.—Area of the ancient city on both sides of the brook, 135. Remains of a temple and bridges, 135. Triumphal arch, 135. Kûsar Far'ôn, a late structure, 135. Zub Far'ôn, column of a temple, 136. The whole area once occupied by a city of houses built of stone, 136.—Western wall of cliffs with tombs, 136. Springs flowing off into a western chasm; its character, 137.

Laborde's delineations correct, but convey no good general idea of the whole, 138. The ancient city not enclosed by perpendicular rocks on *all* sides, 138. Perpendicular

cliffs only on E. and W. 138. Nature of the ground N. and S. of the brook, 138, 139. Excavations and architecture; their multitude, 139. Most conspicuous tombs on the east, 140. Character of the rocks, reddish sandstone, 140, 141. Varying tints, like watered silk, 140. Two styles of architecture mingled, Egyptian and Roman-Greek, 141. The excavations not originally made for dwellings, 141, 142. Some of them temples, 142.—Silence and solitude of this city of the dead, 142, 143. Feast and mirth of our Arabs, 143.

June 1st. Foreign Arabs, the Ma'âz, now in these mountains, 143. Sheikh of Wady Mûsa arrives, 143. Visit to the Deir, 143–145. Probably a temple, 145.—Sheikh of Wady Mûsa demands a present, etc. 145. I go again to the Khûzneb, 145. Noise of guns; Arab quarrel; Arabs sent to bring us back, 145, 146. Sheikh turns out to be the noted Abu Zeitûn, 146. Discussions and disputes, 147–149. We determine to return the way we came, giving up Mount Hor, 149. Attempt to go towards Mount Hor; defiance, 149. Our departure unexpected to the Sheikh, 150. He sends after us to return, 150. Comes after us himself, 150. We proceed on our way, 151. His demand a new thing, 151. His fear of Muhammed 'Aly was our protection, 151. Regret at not visiting Mount Hor, 152. Descent to el-'Arabah, 152. Night-travel; danger of being overtaken and plundered, 153. Midnight halt and rest in the middle of the 'Arabah, 153.

MOUNTAINS OF EDMOM, 154. Formation, height, character, 154. Divisions; Mountains of Moab, Jebal esh-Sherah, 154. El-Hismeh, 155. Tribes of Bedawin, 155. The Haweitât, 155, 156. Fellâhîn of the mountains, 156. Historical Notices of this region, the ancient Edom and Arabia Petræa, 156–163. Often visited by the crusaders, 163–165. Since then forgotten, 165.—Ancient towns: *Macherus*, 166. Rabba, *Rabbath Moab*, 166. Kerak, *Charac Moab*, 166. Tûfileh, *Tophe'*, 167. el-Busaireh, *Bozrah*, 167. Ghûrûndel, *Arindela*; Dhâua, *Thana*, 168. Ma'an; Üsdakah, *Zo locatha*, 168. El-Humeiyimeh, 168.

PETRA, Heb. *Sela*, the capital of Arabia Petræa, 168. Historical notices, 169, 170. Suddenly vanishes before the Muhammedan conquest, 170. Identity of Petra with Wady Mûsa, proofs, 171–173. Oblivion, 173.

June 2d. Proceed across the 'Arabah to 'Ain el-Weibeh, 173, 174. Character and position, 174, 175. Probable site of *Kadesh*, 175, 176. Marauding expedition recently encamped here, 176. Roads from el-Weibeh, 176. Our Arabs take a wrong one, 176, 177. Their ignorance, 177. Return to their usual road, 177. Ascend to the first step or offset of the mountains, drained by Wady el-Fikreh, 177, 178. A more formidable ascent before us, 178. Three passes up the same, 178. The hill Madûrah; legend of the Arabs, visited by Seetzen, 179, 180. Pass es-Sûfâh, difficult; ancient road, *Zephath*? 180, 181. Evening; we continue to ascend gradually through a very br.ken region, 181, 182. Encamp, excessively fatigued, 182. Other passes, es-Sufey and el-Yemen, 182.

WADY EL-'ARABAH. Extent, names, character, 183. Depression of the middle and northern par., the Dead Sea and Lake of Tiberias, 183. Water-shed, 184. For the most part a desert, 184. Fountains in it, 184, 185. Roads, 185. Unknown to occidental geographers, 185. Mentioned in Arabian writers, 186. Is the *Arabah* (plain) of the Hebrew Scriptures, 186. Its existence unsuspected in modern times until the present century, 187.

THE DEAD SEA AND CATASTROPHE OF THE PLAIN, 187. A lake existed here before the destruction of Sodom, 188. Probably less extensive than the present Dead sea, 188. The cities and fertile plain were on the south, 188. Slime-pits or sources of bitumen, 188. Present character of the southern part of the sea, 189. This may

have been formed by some convulsion of nature destroying the fertile plain, 189. Perhaps by earthquakes or volcanic action, 190, 191. The bitumen may have accumulated into an extensive stratum, like the Pitch lake of Trinidad, and thus have been inflamed, 190. Barrenness would be caused by the masses of fossil salt, 190. Letter of Leopold von Buch, 191, 192.

APPROACH OF THE ISRAELITES TO PALESTINE, 192. Route to 'Ain el-Hüdhera, 192. Did not pass on the west of Jebel 'Arâif, 193. Impassable mountainous tract on the western border of the 'Arabah, 193. They must have reached Kadesh through the 'Arabah, 193. Position of Kadesh, 193-195. Not at el-'Ain in the western desert, 194. n. Twice visited by the Israelites, 194, 195. Their wanderings, 195. Their supply of food and water a constant miracle, 195.

June 3d. Alarm of a marauding party behind us, 196. We proceed across the tract et-Türâibeh, 196. Pass of el-Muzeikah, third ascent towards Palestine, 197. Ruins of Kurnub, probably *Thamara*, 197. Kubbet el-Baul; stray camel, 198. Wady 'Ar'arah and prospect towards Tell 'Arâd, 198, 199. Pits of water; site of 'Ar'arah, *Arzer*, 199. Leave Gaza road and cross towards el-Milh; encamp, 199.—*June 4th.* Lose a camel, 199. Wells at el-Milh, 200. Wady passes to Wady es-Seba' and Beersheba, 200. The bird Kûtî in great numbers, not the quail, 200. Site at el-Milh; probably ancient *Moladah*, *Makaha*, 200, 201. *Thamara* was a day's journey further south, probably at Kurnub, 202.—Our guides wish to go to their camp, and prevaricate; we proceed towards Semû'a and Hebron, 202, 203. Go up another ridge or step of the ascent, 203. Start a jackal, 203. This ridge probably the dividing line between the "mountains" and the "south" of Judah, 203. el-Ghuwein, probably *Anin*, 204. Young locusts, 204. Rûfût, 204. Semû'a, ancient *Eshtemoa*, 204, 205. Yûtta, ancient *Juttah*, 206. Um el-'Amud, ruins of a church, 206. Wady el-Khûlîl, 206. Way hence to Hebron, fields and cultivation, 206, 207.

June 5th. Despatch our servant to Jerusalem for horses, 207. Visit from the Sheikhs of the Jehûlin, 207, 208. Arrangement for paying over the price of the camels; trial of skill between the Sheikh and Elias, 208. Owner of camels, 208. Nature and habits of the camel; not unlike the sheep, 208-210. Dine with Elias, 210, 211. Threshing-floors near our tent, 211.—*June 6th.* Return of servant with horses, etc. 211. Money paid over through Elias; his commission, 211, 212. His later fortunes, 212. Two English travellers, 212.

SECTION XIII.

FROM HEBRON TO RAMLEH AND JERUSALEM.

Pages 213-257.

June 6th. Difficulty of obtaining a guide at Hebron, 213. Way to Dûra, 213, 214. Dûra, Nubian slave, village quarrel, 214. Subsequent rebellion, 215. Ancient *Adoraim*, *Adora*, *Dora*, 215. Proceed towards el-Burj; Wady el-Keis, 215, 216. Easy descent of the mountains, 216. Harvest scene, ruins, 216. El-Burj, 216.—*June 7th.* Disappointment in el-Burj, 217. El-Khuweilifeh, a watering-place, 217. Caves, people from Dûra, 218. Pistol lost, clamour, 218. Um esh-Shûkaf, harvest scenes, 218, 219. Indefinite replies: 'Straight ahead,' etc. 219. Way to Idhna, ruins, 219. The

Sheikh "saddles his ass" and accompanies us as a guide, 219. *Terkûmieh*, *Tricomias* 220. Heat of day, 220. Beit Nûsib, *Nezið*, 220, 221. Rich and fertile region, many sites of ruins, 221. Wady es-Sûr and wells, not Beth-zur, 221, 222. Immense Butu tree, *Pistacia Terebinthus*, 222. To Beit Nettif, 223.

June 8th. Warm morning, 223. Way to 'Ain Shema, 223, 224. 'Ain Shema, *Beth-shemesh*, also *Ir-shemesh*, 224, 225. Wady Sûrâr, Rûfât, 226. Great plain, Khulda, drawing water "with the foot," 226. To 'Akir, 226. 'Akir, *Ekron*, 227-229. Yebna, *Jabneh*, Wely and Wady Rûbbin, 227, 228. Ramleh; lodge with 'Abûd Murkus, 229. Hospitality, upper room, washing the feet, 229, 230. Tower of Ramleh, beautiful prospect, 230-232. Ancient places visible, 232. Yâfa, population, etc. 233. Household of our host, females not visible, 233. Evening upon the flat roof, 233. Restless night, 234.—Historical Notices of Ramleh; not an ancient town, 234-236. The tower once a minaret, 236-239. Ramleh not *Ramah*; yet a Ramatha somewhere in this region, perhaps Arimathea, 239-241. Other towns in the plain, Sariphæa, Jehud, 241, 242. Antipatriâ, now Kefr Sâba, 242, 243. Gulgula, 243. Itineraries, 243.

June 9th. Early departure; attentiveness of our host, 243. Ludd, *Lydda*, *Diospolis*, 244, 245. Ruined church of St. George, 245-247. Historical Notices, 247, 248. Dâniyâl, 248. Jimzu, *Gimzo*, 249. Two roads up the mountain; we cross the fields from one to the other; el-Burj, 249. Kharûb tree, *Ceratonia*, its pods, 250. Females; mother of a conscript, 250. Beit 'Ur et-Tahta, *Nether Beth-horon*, 250. Ascent or l'ass, 250, 251. Beit 'Ur el-Fuka, *Upper Beth-horon*, 251. Notices, 251-253. Yâlo, Valley of *Aijalon*, 253. Beit Nûbah of the crusaders, 254. El-Kubeibeh, not *Emmaus*, 254, 255. Further ascent, el-Jîb, 256. Beit Hanîna and Wady, 256, 257. Our tent before the Damascus gate, 257.

SECTION XIV.

FROM JERUSALEM TO NAZARETH AND MOUNT TABOR.

Pages 258-367.

Jerusalem shut up, 258. Distress, 258, 259. Market at the gate, 259. Scarcity of coin, 259, 260. Intercourse with our friends, 260. Preparations for our departure, 260.—*June 13th.* Take leave of the Holy City, reflections, 260, 261. To el-Bireh, 261, 262. Baking bread, 262. Roads to Nâbulus, 262. We go to Jufna, Roman road, 262, 263. Ruins of ancient church, 263. Jufna, *Gophna*, 264. 'Ain Sûnia; 'Atâra, *Ataroth*, 264, 265. Lose the way and ascend to Jiljilia, 265. Sinjil, commotion, 266, 267.—*June 14th.* Reports of Seilûn; we turn off to visit it, 267, 268. Turmus 'Âya, 268. Seilûn, *Shiloh*, 268-271. Khân, plain, and village el-Lubban, *Lebonah*, 271, 272. Khân es-Sâwieh, 272. View towards Nâbulus, the Mukhna, 272-274. Reserve of the peasants, 274. Approach to Nabulus, 274, 275. Luxuriant verdure west of the town; encamp, 275.

Nabulus, and its environs, 275. Mounts Gerizim and Ebal alike sterile, 276. Visit to the Samaritans, 276. Ascent of Gerizim, 277. Samaritan guide followed by his mother, 277. Summit, ruins of a fortress, 277, 278. Sacred place of the Samaritans. 278. Traces of a town, 279. Wide prospect, 279. Small plain opposite; Sâlim. *Shalem*, 279. Other ancient towns, 280. Return to the Samaritans, 280. Their

dress and language, the priest and synagogue, 281. Professed ancient manuscript, 281. Their number and observances, 282. Jacob's well, 283, 284. Historical Notices of this well, 284, 285. Difficulties, 285, 286. Population of Nābulus, 286.—Historical Notices, 287, 288. Origin of the Samaritans, 289. Temple on Gerizim, 289, 290. Called *Neapolis*, 291. Also *Sychar*, 291. Chief seat of the Samaritans, 292. Their insurrections, 292–295. The middle ages, 295, 296. Modern notices of the Samaritans, 296, 297. Their Pentateuch, 297, 298. Correspondence with them by Scaliger, 298. By Huntington, 299. By Ludolf, 299. By Grégoire and De Sacy, 299, 300. Their literature, 300. Professed book of Joshua, 300. No other communities, 300, 301.—Recent notices of Nābulus; war of 1834, etc. 301, 302.

June 15th. Valley west of Nābulus, skirted with villages, 302, 303. Arab mill and aqueduct, 303. Sebāstieh on a fine hill, 304. The village and people, 304. Church of St. John, 304–306. Reputed sepulchre of John Baptist, legends, 305, 306. Threshing-floors; threshing with the sledge, 306, 307. Hill tilled to the top; area of columns, 307. View, 307. Ancient colonnade of great length, 308. *Sebaste, Samaria*, historical notices, 308–311.

Roads to Jenin; we go by Burka, 311. View from the high ridge, 311. Fende-kūmieh, 312. Jebn', *Geba*, 312. Sānūr, fortress in ruins, 312, 313. Plain covered with water in winter, 313. View towards the plain of Esdraelon, 314. Kūbītiyeh, 314. Jenin, fine fountain, 315. Anc. *Gināa*, also *En-Gannim*, 315. Hills skirting the great plain, 315, 316. Ta'annuk, *Taanach*; Lejjūn, *Legio*, 316. Arm of plain and villages, 316. Mountains of Gilboa, 316, 317. Tūbās, *Thebez*; Kefr Kūd, *Caparcotia*, 317.

June 16th. New guide, 318. Pass along the eastern part of the great plain to Zer'in, 318, 319. It stands on the brow of a deep broad valley running east to the Jordan, a second arm of the great plain, 319, 320. Mountain of Dūhy, or little Hermon, 320. Fountains in the valley, 320. City, valley, and fountain of *Jezreel*, 320, 321. Identity of the name, 321. Historical Notices, 322, 323. Dead Fountain, 323. 'Ain Jalūd, 323, 324. Sōlam, *Shunem*, 324, 325.—Notices of places: Gilboa, 325. Little Hermon, 326. Valley of Jezreel, 327. Beisān, *Beth-shean*, 328. Fūleh, and the battle of Mount Tabor, 328. Lejjūn, *Legio, Megiddo*, 328–330.

First view of Mount Tabor, 330. Third branch of the great plain, 330, 331. Fūleh and 'Afūleh, water-shed, 331. Caravan road from Egypt to Damascus, 331. View; Iksāl, *Chesulloth*, 331, 332. Ascent of the hills of Nazareth, and view of the plain, 332. Nazareth, its position, 333. Call on Abu Nāsir, a merchant, 333. Population, 333. Latin convent, 334. Maronite church, 335. Precipice; brow of the hill, 335. Legend of the mount of Precipitation, 335.—*June 17th.* Fountain of the Virgin and Greek church, 336. Hill and Wely west of Nazareth; splendid prospect of the sea and land, 336, 337. Reflections, 337, 338. Visit at Abu Nāsir's house, 338. Schools founded by him, 338. Female pupils, 339. Dine with him, 339.—*June 18th.* Ascend western hill; view and bearings, 339, 340. Locusts and the bird which follows them, 340.—Historical Notices of Nazareth, 341–343. Other ancient places near: Yāfa, *Japhia*, 343. Semūnieh, *Simonias*, 344. Jebāta, *Gabatha*, 344. Seffūrieh, *Sepphoris, D'ocæsarea*, 344–346. Kāna el-Jelil, *Cana of Galilee*, not at Kefr Kenna, 346–349.

Roads to Tiberias, 349. We go to Mount Tabor, 350. Debūnieh, *Deberath*, 350, 351. Ascent, 351. Form and summit of Tabor, 351, 352. Height, 352. Ruins of different ages, 352, 353. Churches and altars, 353. View extensive and beautiful, 354, 355. Water-shed between the Jordan and western sea; little stream running to the former, 355, 356. Form of little Hermon; villages, 356. Tabor of the Scriptures and Josephus (Itabyrion) a fortified city, 356–358. Hence not the mount of

Transfiguration, 358, 359. Age of the crusades, churches and convents, 359, 360. Destroyed by Bibars, 360. Other places visible: Eddûr, *Endor*, 360. Nein, *Nain*, 361. Kaukab el-Hawa or Belvoir, 361.

PLAIN OF ESDRAELON, form and extent, 362, 363. River Kishon, now el-Mukûtta', 363. A temporary stream upon the plain, now dry but often full, 363, 364. Waters from Tabor flow to it, 364. Former error, which makes part of the Kishon run to the Jordan, 364. The Mukûtta' permanent; its sources, 365.—Battles in and near the plain, 366, 367.

SECTION XV

FROM MOUNT TABOR BY THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS TO SAFED.

Pages 368–442.

June 19th. Sunrise and dew on Mount Tabor, 368. Morning mist, 368. Descent to Khân et-Tujjâr, 368, 369. Damascus road, Ard el-Hamma, Kefr Sabt, 369. Plain of Tur'an and Kefr Kenna, 369. Lûbîeh, 370. Tell Hattin and Wely of Jethro; singular form, 370. Prospect overrated by Dr Clarke, 371. Legend as to the Sermon on the Mount, 371.—Great battle of Hattin took place on and around this Tell; described, 372–377. Death of Raynald by the hand of Saladin, 376, 377.—Village of Hattin, 378. Deep Wady el-Hamâm with Kûl'at Ibn Ma'an, 378. Ruins of Irbid, *Arbela*, not Bethsaida, 379, 380. Locust-bird, 379.

First view of the Lake of Tiberias; scenery naked and comparatively tame, sail-boat, 380. Tiberias in ruins, 380. Position the walls prostrated by the recent earthquake, 380, 381. The Jews the chief sufferers, 381. Earthquake of 1759 equally destructive, 382. Church of St. Peter, 382. Site and remains of the ancient city, 383. Hot baths further south; new building, 383. General character, 384. Historical Notices of the baths, 385. Waters of the lake, 385. Full of fine fish, 386. The boat, 386. View from Tiberias, 386. Southern end of the lake, *Tarichaea*, 387. Semakh and other villages, 387. Climate and productions, 388. Limestone with basalt, 388. Founding of Tiberias; Historical Notices, 389, 390. Inhabited later only by Jews; their celebrated school; the Mishnah and Talmuds, 390–392. Church built under Constantine, 391. Middle ages, 392, 393. Later notices; Sheikh Dhûher, 393, 394.

June 20th Message from Abu Nâsir; insurrection of the Druzes towards Damascus; our change of plan, 394, 395. Land of rumours, 395. Set off for N. end of the lake, 395. 'Ain el-Bârideh, 396. El-Mejdel, *Magdala*, 396, 397. Wady el-Hamâm and Kûl'at Ibn Ma'an described; the ancient caverns of *Arbela*, now Irbid, 398, 399. Fine plain beyond Mejdel, the *Gennesareth* of Josephus, 400. Search for Capernaum, 401. 'Ain el-Mudauwarah or Round Fountain, 400, 401. No trace of Capernaum near by, 401. Wady er-Rûbûdiyyeh and Abu Shûsheh, fine stream, 401. View of the plain, 402. Ghawârîneh, 402. Khân Minyeh and 'Ain et-Tîn, 402, 403. Here probably the site of *Capernaum*, 403–405. Of Bethsaida and Chorazin there remains no definite trace, 404, 405. Nor of the name Capernaum, etc. 405.

Proceed along the shore; 'Ain et-Tûbighah, 405, 406. Volcanic stones, 406. Tell Hûm, extensive and singular remains, 406–408. Not Capernaum, 408. Entrance of the Jordan, 409. Unusual appearance, 409. Encamp, 409. Fine plain beyond the river, the Batihah, 409, 410. Feverish illness, want of shade, 410. Excursion or

that plain, ruins, Dūkah, 410, 411. Character of the Batīhah; Ghawārineh, 411. Buffaloes; probably the Reem (unicorn) of the Hebrew, 411, 412. Perennial streams, 412. Tents and reed huts of the Ghawārineh, 412. Et-Tell, the site of *Bethsaida* of Golanitis or *Julias*, 413, 414.—Character of the upper Jordan, 414. Its valley between the lakes of Tiberias and the Hūleh; distance, 414, 415. Shores of the lake of Tiberias, 415, 416. Storms, 416. Volcanic appearances, 416. Extent of the lake, 417.

June 21st. Way to Safed, 417, 418. Damascus road by the bridge, 418. Khān Jubb Yūsuf, and legend of Joseph's pit, 418, 419. Ascent, view of Safed, harvesters, 419. High position of Safed with its castle, 420. Character of the place and people, 420, 421. Jewish quarter, 421. The castle, 422. Earthquake of Jan. 1, 1837, causes its almost total destruction, 422, 423. Contributions and mission from Beirūt, 423. Now partially rebuilt, 423. Destroyed in like manner in 1759 by an earthquake, 424. Apparently the central point of that of 1837; phenomena, 424.—Historical Notices: Safed probably not an ancient place; not Bethulia, 424, 425. No definite notice of it before the crusades, 425. Its castle then first built, 426. Rebuilt by the Templars, 427, 428. Later state, 428. Seat of the Jews and a celebrated school; its Rabbis, 428–430. Meirōn, Jewish cemetery, etc. 430, 431. Situation and climate of Safed, 431. Wide and splendid view, 432.—Further information as to the Druzes; disappointment and change of plan, 432–434.

REGION OF THE HULEH. Excursion to Benit, 434. View of the lake, its character and extent, 434, 435. Arable tract along the shore, 'Ain el-Mellāhah, 'Ain Belit, 435. Canal and plain north of the lake, 436. Name el-Hūleh, 436. Castle of Bāniās, 437. Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, 437. Jebel esh-Sheikh and Jebel Heish, 437. Gorge of the Litāny, and Lebanon further south, Jebel Safed, 438. Wady et-Teim, 438. Merj 'Ayūn, 438.—View from Benit, 439. Historical Notices: el-Hūleh, *Meirōm*, *Samochoinitis*, 440. Jebel esh-Sheikh, *Hermon*, 440. Jisr Benāt Ya'kōb, 441, 442.

SECTION XVI.

FROM SAFED BY TYRE AND SIDON TO BEIRUT.

Pages 443–500.

June 22d. Way from Safed to Sidon almost unknown, 443, 444. Village 'Ain ez-Zeitūn, 444. Volcanic stones and extinct crater, 444, 445. El-Jish, *Giscala*, destroyed by the earthquake, 445, 446. Cultivated region, Yārōn and Mārōn, 447. Sarcophagus as a tomb, 447. Stop at Bint Jebil; exposed to a night attack, 448, 449. Metāwileh, 448. We lodge in the house of one of the inhabitants; the house described, 448, 449. Belid Beshārah; butter for oil, 449. Districts el-Jebel and esh-Shāghūr, 449:

June 23d. Sick muleteer left behind, 449, 450. Wooded region, 450. Village Haddāta, castles of Tibnīn (Toron) and esh-Shūkif (Belfort), 450. Hist. Notices of Tibnīn, 451–453. Hist. Notices of esh-Shūkif, 453, 454. Brow of long descent, 454. Magnificent view of Tyre and its plain, 455. Secluded Wady 'Ashur, 455. Villages; Kāna, *Kamah*, 455, 456. Cultivation of tobacco for exportation, 456. Tomb of Hiram, a remarkable monument, 456. Rās el-'Ain, immense fountains, with reservoirs and aqueducts for the supply of ancient Tyre, 457, 458. Not brought from Lebanon, 458. Historical Notices, 459. We follow the ancient aqueduct running towards Ma'shūk, 459, 460. Reach Tyre across the isthmus, 461. Quarantine-guard, 461. Seek a place

for our tent, 461. American consular agents in Syria, 461. Go to the house of the agent in Tyre, 461. Burdensome hospitality, 462. Imitation of Frank customs, 462.

June 24th. Christian sabbath, 462, 463. Bathe in the sea, 463. Reflections on ancient Tyre, 463. Present town, 463-467. Peninsula and isthmus, 463, 464. Port, now fast filling up, 464. Rocky western shore, 464. Strewed with columns in the water, 464, 465. Wall of the port rests on columns, 465. Ruins of the ancient cathedral, 465. Frederic Barbarossa, 466. Aspect of the city, population, earthquake, 466. Supply of water, 467. Historical Notices, 467, 468. Middle ages, 468-470. Ruins and revival, 470. Site of Palætyrus, 471.

June 25th. Depart for Sidon, 471. Fountain, 472. Khân el-Kâsimîyeh, 472. River el-Kâsimîyeh, *Leontes*, 472, 473. Great Phenician plain, 473. 'Adlân, an ancient site, *Ornithopolis*? 474. Sepulchres, ancient *Mearah*? 474. El-Khûdr, Sûra-fend, *Sarepta*, 474-476. 'Ain el-Burâk and plantations, 476. Roman milestone, plain of Saïda, 476. Quarantine outpost, delay, 476. Second Roman milestone, 476. Approach to Saïda, gardens and country-seats, 477. Stopped at the gate; encamp outside, 477. Native friend, 477. Visit to the American consular agent; hospitality, sick child, 477, 478. The present city, its position, aspect, buildings, 478-480. Population, commerce, 479. Fruits and gardens, 479, 480. Lady Hester Stanhope, 480. Historical Notices of Sidon, 480, 481. Middle ages, 481-483. Fakhr ed-Din, 483. French factory and commerce, 483-485. Broken up by Jezzar, 485.

June 26th. Way to Beirût, 485. Lazaretto and plague, 485. Nahr el-Auwaly, ancient *Bostrenus*, 485, 486. Mulberry orchards, southern heights of Lebanon, 486. Roman road, 487. Sandy cove and Khân Neby Yûnas, Jiyeh, mulberry groves, 487. Character of this and other Khâns, 487. Site of *Porphyreon*, 487. Roman milestone, promontory, 488. Nahr ed-Dâmûr, a wild stream, ancient *Tamyras*, 488, 489. Battle of Antiochus and site of *Platanum*, 488. Khâns el-Musry, el-Ghûfr, el-Khulda, 489. Numerous sarcophagi, 489. Promontory of Beirût, sand-hills, 489, 490. Plain and immense olive grove, 490. Silk, and mulberry trees, 490. Grove of pines, sanitary cordon, 490. We encamp for the night, 491.

Enter Beirût June 27th; family of Messrs Thomson and Hebard, 491. Situation and aspect of the town, 491, 492. Gardens and verdure around; houses of the Franks, 492. Prospect from our windows, 492. Nahr Beirût, ancient *Magoras*, 492. Lebanon and its heights; white appearance, whence the name, 493. Teems with cultivation and villages, 493. The grove of cedars, 493. Temples on Lebanon, 493. *Berytus*, not Berothah, 494, 495. Historical Notices, 494. Celebrated school of law, 494, 495. Middle ages, 495, 496. Later history, 496, 497. Flourishing state, 496. Population, 497. Missionary station, 497. Recent bombardment, 497.

CONCLUSION. Plans, 497-498. Illness, 498. Voyage to Smyrna by way of Alexandria, 498, 499. Constantinople, 499. The Danube, 499, 500. Dangerous illness at Vienna, 500.

SECTION XVII.

RELIGIOUS SECTS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Pages 501-512.

CHRISTIANS.—Sources of information, 501. Numbers and sects, 501. *Greeks*, 502. Are Arabs by birth and language, 502. The high clergy foreigners, 502. Clergy not

instructed, 503. Organization, 503. *Greek Catholics*, 504. Clergy are natives, 505. College, 505. Printing-press of long standing, 505. *Maronites*, 505. Devoted to the pope, 506. Their districts and power, 506. College at 'Ain Warkah, 507. *Syrians* or *Jacobites*, 507. *Syrian Catholics*, 508. *Armenians*, 508. *Armenian Catholics*, 508. *Latins*, 509. *Convents* on Lebanon, 509. *Protestants*, not then tolerated as such, 509, 510. Interest of England in affording protection to Protestants, 510, 511. This easily accomplished, 511.

MUHAMMEDANS AND OTHER SECTS.—*Muhammedans*, 511. *Meiswileh*, 511. *Druses*, 511. *Nusairiye*, 512. *Ismâ'îliye*, 512.

NOTES.

- NOTE XXXI. SUMMEIL, ST. SAMUEL. Correction of an error as to a castle of St. Samuel and Abraham, . . . 533, 534
- XXXII. THE "DESERT" NEAR GAZA. The "desert" in Acts viii. 26, refers probably to the road, as passing through an uninhabited region, and not to the city of Gaza, 514, 515
- XXXIII. CUFIO INSCRIPTIONS, at Beit Jibrîn, . . . 515, 516
- XXXIV. VICUS BETAGABÆORUM; more probably *Tagabæorum*, the present Tübaka, 516, 517
- XXXV. ZOAR. Proofs that it was situated on the east of the Dead sea, 517-519
- XXXVI. TOMB OF AARON. Irby and Mangles' description of their ascent of Mount Hor, 519-521
- XXXVII. PETRA. Ancient names; not er-Rakm, nor el-Hijr. Only one city Petra; sources of confusion, . . . 521-524
- XXXVIII. CATASTROPHE OF SODOM. Letter in French from L. von Buch, on the geology of the region, . . . 524-526
- XXXIX. STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES. Synoptical view, . . . 526-528
- XL. ITINERARIES. From 'Akka to Yâfa; and between Yâfa and Jerusalem, 528
- XLI. EARTHQUAKE AT SAFED. Rev. Mr Thomson's Report, 529-531
- VOL. II. B

APPENDIX I.	CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WORKS ON PALESTINE, etc.	533-555
" II.	LA CITEZ DE JHERUSALEM, etc	556-562
	.	563-576
I.	ARABIC NAMES AND WORDS, .	577-591
II.	ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, ANTIQUITIES, etc. .	592-598
III.	PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED, .	599, 600

SECTION XI.

FROM JERUSALEM TO GAZA AND HEBRON.

ON returning from our eight days' excursion to the Dead Sea and Jordan, we found the plague slowly increasing in Jerusalem, and the alarm becoming more deep and general. The superior health-officer of the coast, from Beirût, had arrived ; and there was reason to suppose that the city would soon be shut up, either by drawing a cordon of troops around it, or by closing the gates. The object of such a measure, in the true style of oriental despotism, is to hinder the spread of the plague among the villages, by cutting off all communication, and preventing the egress of persons from the city ; the inhabitants of the latter being in this manner left, not only to suffer the actual horrors of the plague, but to see them aggravated among a population thus pent up in misery and filth, without fresh air, and without the ordinary supplies of fresh provisions from the country. Some of the other evils attendant on such a state of things, have already been alluded to.¹

It had been our intention to remain some days in Jerusalem ; and we had planned a short excursion to Bethany and St. Saba ; and thence by way of the Frank mountain and Bethlehem to St. John's in the desert and Sôba. But the circumstances above detailed induced us to change our plan, and depart as soon as possible on a longer journey, before the rumour of the closing of the city should bespread abroad, and prevent perhaps our entrance into the larger towns. We therefore now stopped at Jerusalem but a single day, and took our departure for Gaza and Hebron ; intending to make an excursion from the latter place to Wady Mûsa. We chose the direct route to Gaza through the mountains, instead of the usual one by Ramleh, as being less travelled and less known ; and one of our main objects in doing so, was to search for the site of the long lost Eleutheropolis. Our departure

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 249.

was well timed ; for the gates were closed the very next day, and the city remained shut up until July.

This journey was undertaken by Mr Smith and myself alone ; our companion preferring to remain in the city, and take his risk of a quarantine ; which might be necessary in order to join us afterwards on our journey northwards. We left our trunks and extra baggage also in Jerusalem, although we knew there might be difficulty in obtaining them again ; but we regarded them as safer in the hands of our friends than elsewhere ; and the worst that could happen would be a quarantine in charge of our fellow traveller. The part of the country to which we were going, was known to be comparatively safe ; though stories of robbery were not wanting. We engaged only a single guide, a Christian from Beit Jâla, who had often travelled the route, and proved to be well acquainted with the country. Instead of the insolent Mukâriyeh of Jerusalem, we now hired muleteers from Lifta, a village in the great Wady Beit Hanina ; where every peasant keeps his mule and usually accompanies it. They brought us four mules and one horse, with a man for each ; we paying 15½ or 16 piastres a day for each animal, according to good behaviour ; and half price for the days we should lie by ; the men receiving nothing extra, and furnishing themselves. Thus with our two servants and guide, we mustered in all ten men, and felt ourselves secure against all ordinary thieves or plunderers.

Thursday, May 17th. We bade adieu to our friends, and left the Yâfa gate at five minutes before 8 o'clock ; taking the Bethlehem road which we had before travelled. The single horse in our party was by a sort of tacit consent allotted to me ; but its gait was so hard, and the animal required withal so much urging, that I was glad the next day to exchange it for one of the mules, and was decidedly a gainer.

The proper Gaza road passes down along or near Wady el-Werd ; but we made a circuit by the village of Beit Jâla in order to accommodate our guide. We reached Mâr Elyâs in an hour ; and leaving the tomb of Rachel at 9½ o'clock, and crossing Wady Ahmed through the olive groves, we ascended along the southern side of Beit Jâla, and stopped near its upper part at 10 o'clock. We did not enter the village, but waited among the olive trees, until our guide had taken leave of his family and again joined us ; bringing with him a half starved donkey, not much larger than a rat.

Beit Jâla is closely built on the eastern declivity of a high hill, and is inhabited solely by Christians. The tradition formerly was current, that no Muhammedan could live in it more than two years.¹ Our guide, in the course of our journey, gave

¹ This tradition is mentioned in A. D. 1496 in the *Journey of Alexander*, Palaeologus, ii. 321, 322

us much information respecting this his native village ; the sum of which here follows. Beit Jâla belongs to the Tekiyeh,¹ a charitable establishment in Jerusalem, near the Haram. Its taxable males, above fifteen years of age, are reckoned at five hundred ; indicating a population of about two thousand souls. Of the men, sixty can read, not including the younger boys.

Under the former government, the inhabitants paid the Kharaj to the Greek convents, averaging from twelve to fifteen *Zûlût* (of 30 paras) for each person. From the convents of Mâr Elyâs, el-Musûllabeh (the Cross), and el-Khûdr (St. George), three men received from 300 to 500 *Zûlût* for ploughing ; the convents owning the land and furnishing the cattle. Further, the five Sheikhs of the village received each from the convents from 100 to 150 *Zûlût* per annum towards their support, and also their expenses whenever they went to Jerusalem. To the government the village paid fourteen purses tribute ('Abûdiyah) ; and to the Tekiyeh in Jerusalem each man paid fifteen *Zûlût*.—Subsequently, the village relinquished to the convents the sums received for ploughing ; and the convents relinquished the collection of the Kharaj, continuing to pay it for the village out of their own treasury.

Under the present Egyptian government, only the payment to the Tekiyeh remains as it was. The convents have no claims upon the village, nor the village upon the convents ; except that the latter collect voluntary contributions. The demands of the government are as follows : Kharaj, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty-three piastres ; Firdah, twenty piastres ; A'aneh (aid) thirty-six piastres, which is increased to forty-five by the five Sheikhs for their support. These are exacted from each man. The village also has to furnish daily twenty men for the public works, who are paid one and a quarter piastres a day by the government, and thirteen piastres weekly by the village. For each ewe and she goat is paid one piastre ; for each donkey, ten ; for each mule, twenty ; for each camel, thirty ; and for every yoke of oxen, one hundred and fifty piastres. This last is considered as a tax upon the grain raised ; but the owner of the oxen is responsible for it. Each olive tree pays one piastre ; and for every five trees, an oke² of oil is paid in addition. Each Fed-dân (yoke) of figs and grapes pays thirty piastres. Besides all this, the village has to pay fifteen purses on wine and 'Arak for home consumption, whether they make any or not ; and without even the right of selling or giving away.—Our guide, who was

tine of the Rhine; Reissb. des h. Landes p. 75. So too Doubdan p. 170. Maundrell Apr. 2. Pococke Descr. of the East, II. i p. 46.

¹ This is the hospital of Helena, so called by the Franks.

² About 2½ lbs. English; Lane's Mod. Egyptians II. p. 372.

only a common man, paid more than three hundred piastres, or fifteen Spanish dollars annually.

We set off again from Beit Jâla at 10½ o'clock, winding around the hill above the village towards the northwest among vineyards and gardens of olive and fig trees. The hill is everywhere terraced and cultivated, as in ancient times; indicating more industry and thrift than is usual in the villages. At half past ten, we came out upon the height of land, whence we could see Jerusalem, and had also a view before us of the little village of St. George, and of Beit 'Atâb in the distance on a high hill.¹

Before us was now a level rocky tract of no great breadth, and then a long descent into the short but very deep Wady Bittir, running northwest into the Werd. After a delay of ten minutes we set forward, and came in fifteen minutes to a small fountain about half way down the descent, called Haud Kibriyân, "Cyprian's Trough," by which are the remains of a wall of very large stones. Instead of descending any further into the deep valley, we now made a circuit to the left around its head, and at 11½ o'clock were near the little village St. George (Arabic el-Khûdr) on the rocky land west of the head of Wady Bittir. We had formerly seen this place as we approached Solomon's pools from the south.² There is here a small Greek church connected with a convent; the latter being a branch of the large Greek convent in Jerusalem. The earlier travellers were accustomed to visit it as one of the holy places around Bethlehem; and were shown in the church the long chain and iron collar, with which St. George had been bound.³ The land around belongs to the convent.⁴

The village lay somewhat to the left as we passed along northwest to gain the ridge west of Wady Bittir, which we then continued to ascend, till at 11¾ o'clock we reached its highest point; having lost not less than twenty or thirty minutes by our circuit. From this slightly spot, over Wady Bittir, we had a commanding view of the country before us; and halted for a time in order to make ourselves acquainted with its leading features.

The view towards the right embraced the whole tract north and west of Jerusalem, drained by the great Wady Beit Hanina. The Holy City itself was not visible, being situated behind the high ground which lies between Wady Bittir and Wady el-Werd. But from er-Râm and Neby Samwil the whole course of the great Wady could be traced as it passes down southwest by

¹ The bearings were as follows: Jerusalem N. E. Mar Elyâs N. 65° E. St. George S. 60° W. Beit 'Atâb N. 72° W.

² See Vol. I. p. 217.

³ Felix Fabri in Reissb. p. 283. Coto-ii. 324, 325

vic. p. 240. Quaresmius II. p. 11. Doubdan p. 171. Pococke II. i. p. 44.

⁴ We visited this place in 1852; see Vol. III. Sec. VI, penult.

Kûlônîeh and east of Kûstûl and Sôba. Near at hand Wady el-Werd was seen, here also a deep rugged valley, running nearly west, on the south of the village el-Welejeh (the St. Philip's of the Latins) ; and uniting with the former valley not far beyond the village el-Kabu, among steep rocky mountains. Below this junction, the great valley takes the name of Wady Isma'in (Isma'il) ; bends W. S. W. through a ridge of higher land ; and, issuing upon the western plain under the name of Wady es-Sûrâr, turns northwest and runs through the plain to the sea near Yebna ; where at last it is called Wady Rûbin. Up this valley there was said to be a very rocky and difficult road. The ridge just mentioned forms the western brow of the high mountainous tract, on which Jerusalem is situated, just where this latter sinks down precipitously to the lower hills, which lie between it and the western plain. The ridge in question forms a continuation of the high ground around and west of Neby Samwil, running off towards the south ; and is skirted on the east by the valley in which Kuryet el-'Enab is situated, running in the same direction to join the great valley. Although Wady Isma'in breaks through this ridge, yet a spur or promontory from it runs out towards the west, along the north side of that valley, quite to the plain, interrupting for a time the tract of lower hills, and forming a bastion around which Wady es-Sûrâr bends northwest.

South of Wady Isma'in the land is still at first high, and on the brink of the descent to the valley stands the lofty village Deir el-Hawa. But the surface soon descends gradually towards the south ; and here somewhat lower and nearer to where we stood, though still quite elevated, is the village Beit 'Atâb.

Towards the southwest our view rested upon a lower region of country, seen down another deep broad valley called Wady el-Musûrr, here running W. S. W. and uniting further down with several others to form Wady es-Sûmt. This latter valley runs for a time nearly west, and then bends northwest and joining Wady es-Sûrâr upon the plain, goes to the sea near Yebna. Between the Sûrâr and the Musûrr and Sûmt, the elevated land around Deir el-Hawa and Beit 'Atâb declines gradually towards the southwest, forming a high tract of broken table land, which sinks down suddenly to lower hills just west of the village of Beit Nettif.

South of Wady el-Musûrr, the precipitous western wall of the higher mountainous tract towards Hebron lies further back, nearly in a line with the spot on which we stood ; while a broad region of lower hills and open valleys is spread out between it and the western plain. The higher tract of mountains, as we have seen, rises to the height of nearly 2800 feet ; the region of

hills reaches apparently about one third of the same elevation above the sea and plain.—Upon an isolated hill in the midst of Wady el-Mustür, on the south side of its bed and near the mountains, lies the village of Jeb'ah. This is doubtless the Gibeah of the mountains of Judah ; and probably the Gabatha of Eusebius and Jerome, twelve Roman miles from Eleutheropoli.¹

As we now saw the somewhat remarkable points Sôba and el-Küstül for the last time, I prefer to bring together here all that I have yet to say respecting them.

The latter name, el-Küstül, is obviously an Arabic corruption of the Latin word *Castellum* ; but I am unable to say what castle is meant, or whether there was an earlier Arabic name. Küstül lies on a conical hill about an hour from Kuryet el-'Enab towards Jerusalem, south of the road ; and also near the way from Sôba to Külônîeh and Jerusalem, about equidistant between the two former places.²

Sôba is also situated on a conical hill upon the lofty ridge overlooking the great Wady Isma'in on the west, nearly opposite to the convent of St. John. From Kuryet el-'Enab, looking down the valley, it is seen at some distance in the south. It is one hour distant from Külônîeh, and two hours and a half from Jerusalem.³ Sôba belongs to the family of Abu Ghaush, whose seat is at Kuryet el-'Enab ; and the chief of that name whom we saw, related to us, that when governor of Jerusalem, he had been compelled to lay the place in ruins on account of the rebellion of the inhabitants, and had not visited it since.⁴

By a singular perversion, of which I am not able to trace the origin, Sôba has now for centuries been regarded in monastic tradition as the site of the ancient Modin, the city of the Maccabees, where they lived and were buried, and where Simon erected a lofty monument with seven pyramids to their memory.⁵ But this monument, according to the nearly cotemporary writer of the first book of Maccabees, was visible to all who sailed along the sea ; and Modin lay adjacent to the plain.⁶

¹ Josh. 15, 57. Onomast. art. *Gabaatha*.—From this point (west of Wady Bittir) the bearings of the various places were as follows : er-Rim N. 38° E. Neby Samwil N. 18° E. el-Küstül N. 5° E. Sôba N. el-Welajeh N. 2° W. Kuryet es-Sa'ideh N. 13° W. el-Kabu N. 38° W. Kefr Sôm N. 54° W. el-Hûsin N. 55° W. Deir el-Hawa N. 57° W. Beit 'Atab N. 63° W. Sûnâsin W. Jeb'ah S. 74° W.

² We passed near Küstül in 1852 ; see ii. 327-329

Vol. III. Sec. III, under Apr. 27th, penult.

³ For the specifications in this and the preceding paragraph, I am indebted to the notes of Mr Smith on a former visit to these places.

⁴ See above, Vol. I. p. 247.

⁵ 1 Macc. 2, 1. 15. 13, 25-30. Joseph. Ant. 13. 6. 5.

⁶ 1 Macc. 13, 29. 16, 4. 5.

Eusebius and Jerome likewise testify expressly, that Modin was near to Diospolis (Lydda), where the sepulchres yet remained in their day.¹ On what pretext, therefore, the name can have been transferred to Sôba, a spot several hours distant from the plain upon the mountains, and wholly shut out from any view of the sea, I am unable to divine.² The crusaders found Modin still in the plain, where they speak of it along with Nicopolis and Beit Nûba; and as late as the close of the fifteenth century, it was yet pointed out from the road between Lydda and Ramleh.³ Yet Brocardus, two centuries earlier, had already placed it six leagues eastward from Beth-shemesh; by which position he probably meant Sôba.⁴ So too apparently Breydenbach; and from the sixteenth century onward to the present day, the correctness of this position seems rarely to have been drawn in question by travellers.⁵

The legend has also found entrance among the common people, and the inhabitants of Sôba relate, that the tombs of the Maccabees still remain there, though buried deep under ground. This account my companion once heard on the spot; and it was repeated to us by Abu Ghaush in Jerusalem. In a similar way, Arab guides, accustomed to intercourse with Franks, may have spoken of the place to travellers as Modin; but the ordinary native population certainly know nothing of any such name.⁶

I have already dwelt upon the reasons which render it impossible, that the Ramah of Samuel should have been situated at Neby Samwil, where modern tradition now shows the prophet's tomb.⁷ A few words respecting its probable actual position, may here not be out of place. Samuel was descended from an ancestor named Zuph, an Ephrathite of Bethlehem; his city was called in full, Ramathaim-Zophim, and lay apparently in a tract spoken of as the land of Zuph.⁸ Under these circumstances, the name Ramathaim-Zophim probably signifies nothing

¹ Onomast. art. *Modim*.

² Mariti indeed pretends that Sôba is visible from the sea, and that he saw it from the road of Yûfa. But from the spot where we stood, we could look over Sôba to the much higher ridge beyond it on the west; and could distinguish no trace of the sea. What he perceived from Yûfa was perhaps Neby Samwil; which we also saw from the tower of Ramleh.

³ Will. Tyr. 8. l. F. Fabri in Reissb. p. 240.

⁴ Brocardus c. 10. p. 186.

⁵ Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 105. Cotovic. p. 146. Maundrell Apr. 2 Mariti, Germ. p. 563. Richardson II. pp. 226,

383. Cotovicus in an excursion to Emmaus (el-Kubeibeh), seems to find Modin near Neby Samwil, p. 317; but his account of this excursion is so confused, that I can make nothing of it.—Pococke questions the identity of Sôba and Modin; II. i. p. 46. So too Büsching, Th. XI. p. 442. Raumer Paläst. p. 194. edit. 3. Quaresmius makes no allusion to the place.

⁶ Van Egmond u. Heyman Reizen I. p. 317. Richardson II. p. 226.

⁷ See above, Vol. I. pp. 458, 459.

⁸ 1 Sam. 1, 1. Comp. Ruth 1, 2, where Elimelech and his sons are called Ephrathites of Bethlehem-Judah.

⁹ 1 Sam. 1, 1. 9, 5 sq.

more than "Ramah of the Zophites," or descendants of Zuph.¹ But where are we to look for this land and city of the Zophites? Saul, departing from Gibeah of Benjamin in search of his father's asses, went first through Mount Ephraim on the north and through other places, and then "passed through the land of the Benjamites, (of course from north to south,) and came to the land of Zuph" and the city of Samuel.² As he returned from this city to Gibeah, apparently after travelling some distance, he was to pass "near Rachel's sepulchre, in the (southern) border of Benjamin, at Zelzah."³ These circumstances show conclusively, that the land of Zuph and the city of Samuel were situated on the south of the territory of Benjamin, in such a position, that a person proceeding thence to Gibeah would not unnaturally pass in the vicinity of Rachel's tomb. This is a known point; and I have already spoken of the reasons which forbid any attempt to disturb its general position.⁴

The name Ramah signifies 'a height;' and we made it a particular point of inquiry to ascertain, whether on the high ground around the tomb of Rachel, and especially towards the west, there are any traces either of a name or site, which might be regarded as the remains of the city of Samuel. We inquired of many persons, who were born and had spent their lives in the immediate vicinity; but no one knew aught of any such name or site.⁵ It is only since my return to Europe, that the thought has occurred to my mind, whether a reminiscence of Ramathaim-Zophim and of the land of Zuph, may not be contained in the name Sôba. The letters of this name correspond to those of the Hebrew Zuph and Zophim; (*ph* or *p* being not unfrequently changed into *b* in Arabic;) and its position on a lofty hill south of the land of Benjamin, accords in the main with the view above given.⁶

At first sight, two difficulties seem to militate against this hypothesis. The one arises out of the position of Sôba; since it might be made a question, whether a person returning from

¹ The trilateral roots צִיפ and צִיפָה, from which the names צִיפ (Zuph) and צִיפָה (Zophim) are derived, are of course related, being only different phases of the biliteral צִיפ. The name צִיפ (Zuph) takes also the form צִיפָה (Zophai) in 1 Chron. 6, 11. [26.]

² 1 Sam. 9, 4-6.

³ 1 Sam. 10, 2.

⁴ See Vol. I. pp. 218, 254.

⁵ The monks of the present day do indeed point out the site of Ramah a few rods east of the tomb of Rachel; Prokesch p. 110. Salzbacher II. p. 164. But neither ii. 330, 331

our Arabs of the Ta'âmirah, nor our Christian guide of Beit Jâla knew anything of it; nor did Quaresmius and the older travellers. Yet Eusebius and Jerome also assume a Ramah near Bethlehem, unnecessarily indeed, in order to afford an explanation of Matt. 2, 18. Jer. 31, 11. See Onomast. art. *Ramala*. Reland Pal. p. 964.—See more in Vol. III. Sec. VI, under May 7th, 1852.

⁶ Cotovicus identifies Sôba with Ramathaim-Zophim, by transferring the name of Sôba to Neby Samwil. But his account is so confused as to be inexplicable. Itin. p. 316.

Sôba to Gibeah, would naturally pass in the vicinity of Rachel's tomb. If he took the present direct road from Sôba to Jerusalem or its vicinity, passing near el-Küstûl, he certainly would not approach the sepulchre of Rachel; but if, crossing the great Wady Isma'in, he followed up Wady el-Werd, he would by this detour come near enough to the sepulchre to satisfy all the conditions of the case. It is sufficient, if we suppose that the Zelzah mentioned lay on the high ground north of Rachel's tomb, not far from the convent of Mâr Elyâs, or more probably still further towards the northwest. The distance from Sôba to the vicinity of Jerusalem, on the direct course, as we have seen, is two and a half hours; on the route along Wady el-Werd and the valley of Rephaim it would probably be three hours or more. So that, other circumstances being equal, the identity of the name might perhaps be held to counterbalance the apparent circuitousness of the route.¹

The other difficulty refers not to Sôba alone, but to every position of Ramah which places it on the south of Benjamin. Elkanah, the father of Samuel, is said to have been a "man of Ramathaim-Zophim, of Mount Ephraim;"² which certainly implies that the city itself was situated on Mount Ephraim. Here then apparently is a circumstance directly at variance with our preceding conclusion; since the mountains south of Benjamin belong not to Ephraim, but to Judah. But as the circumstances above adduced seem conclusively to fix the position of this Ramah on the south of Benjamin, may we not suppose that the mountains of Ephraim continued to bear that name quite through the land of Benjamin; much as the Swiss mountains may be said to extend into Italy, or the Welsh mountains into England? This indeed has been assumed by Bachiene, on the ground that in the first division of the land by Joshua at Gilgal, the territory of Benjamin was actually given to Ephraim; not having been assigned to Benjamin until the later division at Shiloh.³ All this may be true in part; but still, the heights round about the sepulchre of Rachel, could not well have been any other than the mountains of Judah.

There is however another consideration, which seems to relieve the position of Sôba from the difficulty in question, and thus adds something to the probability of its identity with Ramah. I have already remarked, that the mountain ridge west

¹ On comparing upon the map the positions of Sôba, Rachel's tomb, and Jerusalem or Gibeah, I am free to confess, that the circuitous route required by the above view, is too great to admit of very much reliance being placed upon the reasoning in the text. Still, the apparent identity

of the name, and the further corroborating circumstances presented in the text, restrain me from at once rejecting the hypothesis.

² 1 Sam. 1. 1.

³ Josh. c. 16. c. 18, 1 sq. See Bachiene Th. I. Bd. I. p. 220 sq. Bd. II. p. 326 sq.

of Wady Beit Hanina, of which the hill of Sôba forms a part, is a continuation of the ridge of Neby Samwil and the high grounds around, extending in the southwest quite out to the plain at the mouth of Wady Sûrâr.¹ Now all this mountainous tract stands in immediate connection with the proper mountains of Ephraim around el-Bîreh and further north; it is separated entirely by the great Wady Beit Hanina from the proper mountains of Judah towards the south; and further, as we shall see, the greater part of it did not even fall within the later limits of the tribe of Judah. Under these circumstances, it seems not too much to assume, that this tract west of the great Wady, a regular continuation of Mount Ephraim, including Neby Samwil, might have continued to bear the name of Ephraim; while the Wady would naturally form the dividing line between this range and the proper mountains of Judah. That the name Mount Ephraim did actually thus extend through Benjamin, is rendered probable by the fact, that we nowhere hear of any mountains of Benjamin; and further, the rebel Sheba, a Benjamite, is also said to have been "a man of Mount Ephraim."²

In view of all these suggestions, it seems to me, that the hypothesis which would identify Sôba with the Ramah of Samuel is not without some slight grounds of support; and, in the total absence of anything more definite, is not perhaps to be wholly rejected without consideration.³—Yet after all, there is perhaps a question lying back of this whole discussion, viz. Whether the city where Saul and the servant came to Samuel was his own city Ramah?⁴ The name of the city is nowhere given; and the answer of the maidens⁵ would perhaps rather imply that Samuel had just arrived, possibly on one of his yearly circuits, in which he judged Israel in various cities.⁶

Another topic which immediately connects itself with the preceding, is the common border between Judah and Benjamin; of which two accounts in an inverse order are given in the book of Joshua.⁷ We have already traced it, as it went up from the well of Nehemiah through the valley of Hinnom to the northern end of the valley of Rephaim.⁸ From that point it was drawn to the water of Nephtoah; and as it passed also by Zelzah not far from Rachel's sepulchre,⁹ it would seem to have followed the plain of Rephaim and so along the Wady el-Werd to 'Ain Yâlo.

¹ See the account of this region, p. 5, above.

² 2 Sam. 20, 1. 21.

³ All direct tradition respecting the Ramah of Samuel seems to have been very early lost; see above, Vol. I. p. 459.

⁴ 1 Sam. 9, 6 sq.

⁵ Ibid. v. 11. 12.

ii. 333 334

⁶ 1 Sam. 7, 15–17, "and Samuel... went from year to year in circuit to Bethel and Gilgal and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places; and his return was to Ramah; for there was his house."

⁷ Josh. 15, 5–10. 18, 14–19.

⁸ See under En-Rogel, Vol. I. p. 388.

⁹ 1 Sam. 10, 2.

This fountain would then answer to Nephtoah; unless we choose to refer the latter with less probability to 'Ain Kârim, the fountain near the convent of St. John in the Desert. In either case, the next point in the border is the long lost city Kirjath-Jearim.

The probable position of this ancient city engaged much of our attention, all the time we were in Jerusalem and the vicinity; without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. At first, as we know, Kirjath-Jearim, like Beeroth (el-Bireh), belonged to the territory of Gibeon, and could not therefore well have been very far distant from that city.¹ At a later period, the ark was brought thither from Beth-shemesh; the place was rebuilt and inhabited after the exile;² and Eusebius and Jerome speak of it in their day, as a village nine or ten miles from Jerusalem on the way to Diospolis (Lydda).³ These circumstances, taken together, have quite recently suggested to my mind, whether, after all, the ancient Kirjath-Jearim is not to be recognised in the present Kuryet el-'Enab? The first part of the name (Kirjath, Kuryet, signifying *city*) is the same in both, and is most probably ancient; being found in Arabic proper names only in Palestine and Syria, and not very frequently even there. The only change then has been, that the ancient 'City of Forests' has in modern times become the 'City of Grapes.'⁴ The modern place too is situated on the direct way from Jerusalem to Ramleh and Lydda, just three hours or nine Roman miles from the former city, lying west of Neby Samwil, and therefore not far remote from el-Jib or Gibeon.

Thus then we have a place corresponding both in name and position to the ancient Kirjath-Jearim. I am aware of no objection to this hypothesis; except perhaps the assertion of Josephus, that Kirjath-Jearim was near to Beth-shemesh.⁵ But the expression 'neighbour city,' is too indefinite to weigh against the preceding considerations; especially as the actual distance does not exceed three or four hours.⁶ It might also be asked, Why then, supposing Sôba to have been the Ramah of Samuel, the men of Beth-shemesh should not rather have caused the ark to be transferred to that place, as being nearer than Kir-

¹ Josh. 9, 17. Ezra 2, 25.

² 1 Sam. 7, 1. 2. Ezra 2, 25. Nehem. 7, 29.

³ Onomast. arts. *Baal* and *Cariathiarim*. There is no later notice of the place as still extant; unless it be that of Brocardus, who fixes it $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues west of Jerusalem, probably copying only from Jerome; c. 9. p. 184.

⁴ No ancient name corresponding to 'Enab seems to have existed in this quarter. The

name 'Anâb is still found beyond Hebron; see above, Vol. I. p. 494. A Betoannaba is spoken of a few miles from Lydda, probably Beit Nûba; Reland Pal. p. 661.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. 6. l. 4, γείτονα πόλιν τοῖς Βηθσαιμῖταις.

⁶ The same writer says too that Hebron was "not far from Jerusalem," οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων, B. J. 4. 9. 9. Compare also Acts 9, 38.

jath-Jearim? But at that time Samuel was still a child, and his native place was probably a small village, having neither the size nor the renown to which it afterwards attained, when it became one of the seats where Samuel judged Israel.¹

The monks have found the Anathoth of Jeremiah at Kur-yet el-'Enab. There was formerly here a convent of the Minorites with a Latin church. The latter remains entirely deserted, but not in ruins; and is one of the largest and most solidly constructed churches in Palestine.²

Assuming therefore the site of Kirjath-Jearim at the modern Kuryet el-'Enab, the border between Judah and Benjamin probably passed from Nephtoah down the Wady el-Werd, perhaps to its junction with the great Wady; and then across the intervening ridge (on which Sôba is situated) to the valley of Kuryet el-'Enab. This would give a distinct line of valleys separating the two tribes, from the valley of Hinnom for most of the way around to Kirjath-Jearim. From this place, the west border of Benjamin seems to have been drawn obliquely down the mountain to the nether Beth-horon;³ while the border of Judah turned westward, perhaps along the ridge between the two branches of Wady Ghürüb to Kesla, whence it descended to Beth-shemesh in the mouth of Wady es-Sūrār.⁴ Thus originally a corner of Judah ran up for some distance on the west side of Benjamin; including apparently at first the whole breadth of the mountainous tract west of Kirjath-Jearim; for Zorah (Sūr'ah), which lay upon the high ground north of Beth-shemesh, belonged at first to the tribe of Judah; though subsequently this, and probably the adjacent mountain tract, was assigned to the tribe of Dan.⁵—From Beth-shemesh the border of Judah passed near Timnath and Ekron to Jabneel, apparently the same with Jabneh (Yebna); thus following still the general course of the great valley to the sea.⁶

¹ 1 Sam. 7, 16, 17.—There can be no question, but that the ark was brought to Kirjath-Jearim itself; 1 Sam. 7, 2. 1 Chron. 13, 5, 6. But in 2 Sam. 6, 3, 4, both the English version and Luther place the house of Abinadab in Gibeah; and it might therefore seem as if the Gibeah (now Jeb'ah) of Judah was meant, and that Kirjath-Jearim lay near it, not far from Wady el-Musurr; see above p. 5. But not to dwell upon the fact, that this would bring Kirjath-Jearim quite away from Gibeon (el-Jib), and far from any road leading from Jerusalem to Nicopolis, I would remark, that the Hebrew גִּבְעָה may in this passage properly be rendered 'a hill;' and

is actually so rendered by the Sept. (ὁ βού-
ρος) both here and in 1 Sam. 7, 1. In this last passage also the English version gives it by "hill;" while Luther maintains his consistency at least, and writes Gibeah. The rendering "hill" is indeed necessary, in order to preserve the consistency of the narrative; which represents the ark as carried, not to Gibeah, but to Kirjath-Jearim.

² See Bonifacius, quoted by Quaresmius Tom. II. p. 14 sq.

³ Josh. 18, 14.

⁴ Josh. 15, 10.

⁵ Josh. 15, 83. 19, 41.

⁶ Josh. 15, 11.

Leaving the high ground west of Wady Bittir at 12.20, we began to descend very gradually towards the village el-Húsân over a rocky tract. After fifteen minutes we were opposite the head of Wady el-Musûrr, deep below us on the left; in which appeared a small village called Nühhalin bearing S. 5° W. From it the Wady ran W. S. W. The village Húsân was close on our right at 12.40. Proceeding along the high water-shed between the Wadys Musûrr and el-Werd, we had not far distant on the left, a village called Fûkin, which at 1.10 bore S. S. W. It was somewhere about this time, that we came in sight of a place with ruins on the brow of the high mountain ridge towards the south, called Jedûr; which is doubtless the same as the Gedor of the mountains of Judah.¹ This remained in sight for the whole day. Jeb'ah likewise on its conical hill in Wady Musûrr, was continually before our eyes. At 1.40 we came upon the ancient highway from Jerusalem to Askelon and Gaza, which comes down along or across Wady el-Werd from the plain of Rephaim or the tract further west. This road we should have taken from Jerusalem, had we not gone round by Beit Jâla. At the same point was a small ruin on the left called 'Adas.

Wishing to visit Beit 'Atâb, in the hope of being able to see much of the country from that lofty spot, we left the ancient road again after five minutes, and turning more to the right proceeded in that direction. As we advanced the hills became more covered and green with shrubs and bushes, chiefly the prickly oak mingled with arbutus. The country however was little cultivated, and most of the villages were deserted or in ruins. At five minutes past two, a small ruin, Hûbin, was below us in a valley running to the left, bearing S. S. W. At the same time Beit 'Atâb bore N. 75° W. A ruined Khân was also visible at some distance upon the ancient road, bearing S. 65° W.

We reached Beit 'Atâb at ten minutes before 3 o'clock. It is situated on a high hill, and is seen from all parts of the country around; but although it overlooks a great extent of the lower region towards the south and west, yet it does not afford so extensive a view of places, as we had hoped to find. The country is full of sites of ruins and villages, some inhabited and some deserted, at least for portions of the year. Beit 'Atâb has several high, square, tower-like houses of two stories; the rest are small and low; but all are of stone, solidly built. In the centre is a ruined tower or castle; but so dilapidated as to be nearly lost among the houses. The place contains perhaps one hundred and fifty men, or a population of six or seven hundred souls. It is the chief town of the district 'Arkûb, belonging to the pro-

¹ Josh. 15, 58. 1 Chron. 12, 7. It is doubtful whether the narrative in 1 Chron 4, 39, refers to the same place.

vince of Jerusalem ; and is the residence of the Názir (warden) of the district, who was now one of the former Sheikhs of the house called el-Lühham. We found several of the chief men sitting on carpets under a fig tree in the middle of the village, smoking and holding converse with each other. The Sheikh himself soon came, a good looking man ; coffee was served for us ; and he tried to persuade us to remain all night, saying the people of the village where we expected to lodge were not to be trusted ; his hospitality thus leading him even to defame his neighbours. But our time was too precious to stop thus early.

The prospect from Beit 'Atáb towards the southeast and south presented nothing new ; towards the southwest, along the ridge between the Wadys Sūmt and Sūrār, the place of Beit Nettif was pointed out, where we were to stop for the night ; and in the northwest we could see the mouth of Wady es-Sūrār as it issued from the mountains and turned across the plain beyond. It was here a fine deep valley, with a ruin in it called 'Ain Shems, which we afterwards visited and identified with Beth-shemesh ; while on the high northern hill was seen the site of Sūr'ah, in which we could not but recognise the ancient Zorah, the birthplace of Samson.¹

We left Beit 'Atáb at 3½ o'clock, notwithstanding the somewhat importunate invitations of the Sheikh ; who even took hold of us in order to detain us. Descending in the direction of the Khān, we crossed two small Wadys running towards the Sūrār. In the first, lower down on the right, the guide spoke of a very large cavern with a fountain in it, capable of containing hundreds of people ; it is called et-Tuweimeh. The second Wady is called er-Rūmāny ; in it at 4 o'clock, we came to a village called 'Allār es-Sifā (the lower), to distinguish it from another, 'Allār el-Fōka (the upper), on higher ground a little further to the left. Here was a ruined church, large and solidly built, and apparently very ancient. A few rods on the left, higher up the valley, is a fine fountain, which waters a tract of gardens and fruit trees along the bottom. Here were also many olive trees ; which indeed are very abundant throughout all this region.

Ascending the hill we came out again upon the ancient road at 4½ o'clock, at the Khān already mentioned. It is a ruin ; and around it are the ruins of a small village.² We stopped

¹ Judg. 13, 2. First given to Judah, but afterwards assigned to Dan, Josh. 15, 33, 19, 41. See above, p. 12. Eusebius and Jerome place it at ten miles from Eleutheropolis towards Nicopolis ; Onom. art. *Saara*. We visited Sūr'ah in 1852 ; see Vol. III, under April 27th.—The bearings of various places from Beit 'Atáb

ii. 339, 340

were : Ruined Khān S. 17° W. Beit Nettif S. 60° W. 'Ain Shems N. 65° W. Sūr'ah N. 56° W. Deir el-Hawa N. 30° W. Sūnāsīn S. 13° E. Jedūr S. 11° E. ² From the Khān, Beit 'Atāb bore N 17° E. 'Allār es-Sifā N. 30° E. 'Allār el-Fōka N. 50° E. Beit Nettif S. 85° W.

here five minutes, and then descended for a time along a Wady, called Wady el-Khân, which runs into the Musûrr. The ancient road, still called the Sultâna or royal road, apparently follows down this Wady to the Musûrr, and there divides; one branch passing on direct towards Gaza, and another keeping along the Musûrr and Sûmt in the direction of Askelon. This latter we afterwards followed for a time; and found wells upon it at intervals. We now turned more to the right, keeping upon the ridge between the Sûmt and Sûrâr; and at 5 o'clock had an extensive view of both these valleys, spreading out into fine fertile plains full of fields of grain. The ridge now became higher towards the west; and we continued to ascend gradually, until at 5.50 we reached the village of Beit Nettif, situated upon its highest part.

Beit Nettif, lying thus upon the high ridge between the two great Wadys, enjoys a wide view over the broad western plain and the Mediterranean beyond. A tract of lower hills, an hour or more in breadth, lies between it and the plain. On the north, the Sûrâr was visible; on the south, the Sûmt was full of fields of grain now ripening for the harvest; and beyond it and more towards the left extended for a great distance the lower region, which we had first seen from above the head of Wady Musûrr. This may be called the hill country, in distinction from the higher mountains on the east. It is the middle region between the mountains and the plain, stretching as we have seen far to the north and south, except where interrupted north of the mouth of Wady es-Sûrâr. This region is for the most part a beautiful open country, consisting of low hills usually rocky, separated by broad arable valleys mostly sown with grain, as are also many of the swelling hills. The whole tract is full of villages and deserted sites and ruins; and many olive groves appear around the former. To this hill country belong also, strictly, both the ridge on which Beit Nettif stands, and that adjacent to Wady es-Sûrâr on the north; although, as being higher and directly connected with the mountains further back, they appear like promontories, jutting out through the range of hills nearly or quite to the plain.

Indeed, in the tract through which we had descended to-day, between the two great Wadys, the usual steep descent of the mountain towards the west is interrupted; and we now found ourselves in the midst of the lower hill country, without having made any long or steep descent, such as occurred to us in other parts of the mountains, both towards the north and south.

The climate in this region was more advanced than at Jerusalem; though less so than in the western plain. The grass was chiefly dried up; and the peasants were in the midst of their

barley harvest. The wheat was still partially green, and would not be ripe for harvest until about two weeks later. We encamped on a level plat on the east of the village, near by the threshing floors of barley.

The inhabitants of Beit Nettif received us with kindness; several of the chief men came around us, and answered our inquiries with readiness and intelligence. We found the view from this high spot to embrace a larger number of villages and sites, than almost any other we visited. We took here quite a number of bearings, given in the note; the places being all pointed out and named by one of the chief men.¹

In respect to several of the places thus pointed out, it is to be remarked that Jennâbeh and Shuweikeh lie upon the hills on the south side of Wady es-Sümt; the latter about one hour distant from Beit Nettif. Not far from Beit-Üla near the foot of the mountains, we were told also of a place called Nûsib, not here visible. Zânû'a lies on the low slope of a hill not far east of 'Ain Shems. The Wely Neby Bûlus (Paulus) is on a lower hill near the plain, half an hour distant; and Yarmûk among the hills further south at about the same distance. Near Neby Bûlus was said to be a village called Arba'in. Still beyond, nearer the plain, and near where Wady es-Sûrâr issues upon it, a deserted site called Tibneh was spoken of, not visible from Beit Nettif. Near Tell Zakariya is also a village Zakariya, in which is a Mukâm (station, tomb), dedicated to Zechariah.

Among the places here visible, not less than ten appear to bear names which have come down from antiquity; and these are probably to be regarded as still marking the same ancient sites. Shuweikeh we have formerly found to correspond to the Hebrew Socoh; and it here, as we shall see later, answers to the Socoh of the plain of Judah.²—Jeb'ah and Jedûr, and also Sûr'ah and 'Ain Shems, we have already noted as the Gibeah of Judah, Gedor, Zorah, and Bethshemesh, of Scripture.³ Not far from Zorah lay also Zanoah, which was re-inhabited after the exile; and to this the name and site of Zânû'a still correspond.⁴—In

¹ Bearings from Beit Nettif, beginning in the west and proceeding towards the left: Jennâbeh S. 70° W. Derûsieh S. 62° W. Shuweikeh S. 48° W. Beit Fûsil S. 15° W. Jurfa S. 5° E. Beit-Üla S. 10° E. Khâris S. 14° E. Jimrin S. 19° E. Ghûrâbeh S. 31° E. Um er-Rûs S. 53° E. Jedûr S. 50° E. Jeb'ah S. 65° F. Burj Keis E. Ahbek N. 70° E. Beit 'Atûb N. 60° E. Jerûsh N. 44° E. Deir el-Hawa N. 37° E. Um Eshteyeh N. 35° E. Zânû'a N. 12° E. Sûr'ah N. 4° W. 'Ain Shems N. 12° W. Neby Bûlus N. 34° W. el-Kheishûm N. 44° W. Yarmûk

N. 54° W. Tell Zakariya about N. 78° W.

² Josh. 15, 35. See Vol. I. p. 494 sq.

³ See above, pp. 6, 13, 14. The proofs in respect to Beth-shemesh will be given in connection with our subsequent visit to that spot, June 8th.

⁴ Josh. 15, 34. Neh. 11, 30. The name *Zanua* existed in Jerome's day, in the region of Eleutheropolis on the way to Jerusalem; Onomast. art. *Zanohua*.—Another Zanoah lay upon the mountains of Judah, Josh. 15, 56.

Tibneh we may recognise the Timnah or Timnath of Dan, the city of Samson's wife to which he "went down" from Zorah; it lies south of west from Zorah, and not more than an hour distant from it.¹ We were therefore now amid the scenes of Samson's history and exploits.—Yarmūk seems to represent the Jarmuth of Scripture, a city in the plain of Judah not far from Socoh, which so early as the days of Eusebius and Jerome was already called Jermucha, and lay ten miles from Eleutheropolis towards Jerusalem.²—Nūsib answers to the Nezib of the low country of Judah, and to the Nasib of Eusebius and Jerome, lying seven miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron.³—The name Zakariyeh, as applied to a village, does not indeed belong to Scripture; yet it here probably marks the site of the Caphar Zachariæ mentioned by Sozomen in the region of Eleutheropolis.⁴

The name of Beit Nettif itself has probably come down from the Hebrew; but I have been able to find no ancient place corresponding to it. A village Netopha is indeed mentioned in Scripture; it lay, however, somewhere between Bethlehem and Anathoth.⁵ The Rabbins speak also of a valley called Beth Netopha; but the present place is on a high hill.⁶

Beit Nettif is a small village near the western extremity of the district 'Arkub, which constitutes the southwest part of the province of Jerusalem. Its inhabitants are of the Keis party. Throughout the provinces of Jerusalem and Hebron, the inhabitants of the different villages are broken up into two great parties; one called Keis (Keisiyeh), and the other Yemen (Yemeniyeh); the inhabitants of the former province being mostly Yemeniyeh, and those of the latter Keisiyeh. No person of whom we inquired, could tell the origin or the nature of this distinction; except that it goes back beyond the memory of man, and does not now pertain in any degree to religious worship or doctrine. It seems indeed to consist in little more than the fact, that one is the enemy of the other. In former times blood was often shed in their quarrels; but now all are quiet. Yet this inbred enmity shows itself in mutual distrust and calumny; and it was proba-

¹ Josh. 15, 10. 19, 43. Judg. 14, 1. 5. 2 Chr. 28, 18.—Another Timnah lay in the mountains of Judah, Josh. 15, 57. Gen. 38, 12-14. Still a third Timnah or Thamna lay northeast of Lydda, and gave name to the "Toparchia Thamnitica" in that quarter; Joseph. B. J. 3. 3. 5. Onomast. art. *Thamna*. This was probably the Timnah fortified by Bacchides; 1 Macc. 9, 50. Joseph. Ant. 13. 1. 3.

² Josh. 15, 35. Neh. 11, 29. Onomast. art. *Jermua*.—The 'Jarimuth' of Jerome, which he says lay four miles from Eleutheropolis, is not improbably the same

place; since it is also said to have been adjacent to Eshtaul, which must certainly have been much nearer to Zorah, and is placed by the same writers at ten miles from Eleutheropolis; Josh. 15, 33. 19, 41. Onomast. art. *Eshtaul*.

³ Josh. 15, 43. Onomast. art. *Neesib*.

⁴ Sozom. Hist. Ecc. 9. 17. It seems also to have been visited by St. Willibald on his way from Gaza to Hebron; Hodepor. 20. p. 377.

⁵ Ezra 2, 22. Neh. 7, 26. Reland Palest. p. 909.

⁶ Reland Palest. p. 650.

bly on this ground, that the Sheikh of Beit 'Atâb, where the people are of the Yemen party, spoke evil of his neighbours the Keisiyeh of Beit Nettif.

We did not hear of the prevalence of these parties in any other region at the present day ; but it is singular, that the same names of hostile parties existed in Syria in the very first century of Muhammedanism. It would be interesting to inquire, whether there is perhaps any connection between parties thus bearing the same names in the seventh and in the nineteenth centuries.¹

We found the inhabitants of Beit Nettif very civil and hospitable ; the bad reports about them to the contrary notwithstanding. In the evening several of the chief men visited us in our tent, drank coffee, and gave us much information. On going away, one of them, whom we supposed to be a Sheikh, (though he seemed not to be the chief Sheikh,) inquired if we would have a couple of men from the village to watch during the night. This we declined, as unnecessary. We heard however the voices of men all night around our tent, whom we took to be persons watching the threshing-floors of barley, and enjoying the comfort of our fire ; indeed they disturbed our sleep by their talking, and especially by their loud manner of story-telling. In the morning, we learned that the Sheikh himself and two men had kept guard during the night of their own accord, and without expecting any remuneration. We afterwards found the same custom at most of the villages where we encamped. It arises, however, rather out of a regard for their own security, than from any particular respect towards the stranger. Every village is made responsible by the government for all thefts committed within its precincts ; had we at any time lost any thing by theft or robbery, on complaining to the government, the village where the loss occurred would have been compelled to make it good. On this ground, therefore, and for their own sakes, they usually preferred to set a watch around our tent.

Being now off the track of all former travellers, we came in contact here with oriental hospitality in its primitive and genuine form. The villages supplied us with every thing we desired ; regarding it as an honour, and without expecting a recompense. Such is the custom of all these mountains. The Fellâhin never sell food to one another ; but every stranger is the guest of the village. Our five muleteers, honest and faithful peasants from

¹ Abulfeda mentions a great battle between the Yemeniyeh and Keisi'yeh, A. H. 64 (A. D. 684) at Merj Ribat near Damascus ; which is also celebrated by Arabian poets. *Annales ad Ann. 64. Tabula Syriæ* ed. Köhler p. 17. See also Reiske's Note, *ibid.* p. 197.—Edrisi has likewise the name

ii. 315, 346

Keis, as of a tribe in the south of Palestine ; p. 341. ed. Jaubert. The same parties formerly prevailed throughout Mount Lebanon, both among the Druzes and the Christian population ; Niebuhr *Reisebesch.* II p. 447. Burckhardt p. 159.

the village of Lifta near Jerusalem, never thought of paying for their food ; not for the sake of spunging, like our former Muká-riyeh, but because it was furnished to them as a matter of course. In every village there is a public room, or more than one, according to the size and ability of the place, devoted to the entertainment of strangers. Such a room is called a Menzil or Medáfah, a guest-room. The guest lodges in the Menzil, and his food is supplied by the families, to whose circle it belongs. Sometimes they take turns in his entertainment ; at other times it is left to those who offer themselves, or rather who claim the privilege. If the guest be a person of consequence, it is a matter of course that a sheep or goat, a lamb or kid, is killed for him. The Keisiyeh usually kill two ; one for the guest, and another for the people of the place. When the guest is a common man, as a muleteer or the like, he is fed with rice, or whatever may be the ordinary food of the people themselves. The guest gives nothing as a remuneration when he leaves. To offer money would be taken as an insult ; and to receive it would be a great disgrace. Such is universally the manner of entertainment in the villages throughout the provinces of Jerusalem and Hebron, as well as in other parts of Syria.¹

On the more travelled roads, the Franks have broken in upon this custom ; and the people have learned to receive pay from foreigners. We too left our servant behind us in this village, to offer pay for the milk and other articles we had purchased, and in this instance it was received ; though subsequently in several cases it was refused.

Friday, May 18th. We rose early, and found the lower hill country enveloped in a dense fog, over which the tops of the hills were seen like islands. The mist however soon rose from the landscape, and left behind a clear atmosphere and a fine breeze the whole day. The Sheikh who was with us last evening came again early, in order to assist us in making observations ; and as we left, he accompanied us, in token of respect, quite out of the village.

The great object before us to-day, was to search for the long lost site of the ancient Eleutheropolis, an important episcopal city of the fourth and fifth centuries, assumed indeed by Eusebius and Jerome as the central point in southern Palestine, from which to fix the position of many other places. We had been making inquiries ever since we first reached Jerusalem, to ascertain whether any name or any ruins still existed in the same quarter, which might afford a clue for determining this ancient site. But no trace of any such name could be found ; nor could we hear of any such ruins, excepting at a place called Beit Jibrin.

¹ See the references above, Vol. I. p. 445 n. 4.

These the Arabs described in extravagant terms ; and although we placed little reliance upon their accounts, yet we determined to visit the spot ourselves in the course of our journey. On arriving at Beit Nettif, we were surprised and gratified to find ourselves surrounded by several places, whose distances from Eleutheropolis are specified by Eusebius and Jerome. Thus the distance both of Beth-shemesh and Zorah is given at ten Roman miles towards Nicopolis ; that of Jarmuth (Jarmuch) also at ten miles towards Jerusalem, and that of Socoh (Shuweikeh) at nine miles towards the same city, probably on another road.¹ The first three places all lay within a circle of an hour and a half west of north from Beit Nettif ; and these distances, we thought, might perhaps serve us in some measure as a clue, in our search after the site of Eleutheropolis itself.

We left Beit Nettif at 7 o'clock, descending immediately southwesterly into Wady es-Sünt, in order to strike again the Askelon branch of the ancient road, which passes down this valley. The hill side was covered with fine groves of olive trees, some of them planted in rows like a regular orchard ; which is not usually the case. Twenty minutes brought us to the bottom ; and we now followed down Wady es-Sünt on a course west by north. This valley is formed by the junction of three Wadys at a point directly south of Beit Nettif, viz. Wady el-Musürr coming from the E. N. E. ; Wady es-Sür, a large valley from the south ; and a smaller one from the N. N. E. just under Beit Nettif. The bottom is a fine fertile plain with moderate hills on each side. It was now covered with fields of grain, except towards the western part ; where are a good many of the trees here called Sümt, from which the valley takes its name.²

We crossed the water-bed of the valley, now dry, and soon came upon the ancient road, which had followed down Wady el-Musürr. The other or Gaza branch goes off more to the left, and crosses Wady es-Sür near an immense Butm-tree about twenty minutes south of the junction of the valleys. On our left, in a gap of the southern hill, we now had the ruins of Shu-

¹ Onomast. arts. *Bethsamia, Saara, Jernus, Soccho.*

² The form *Sünt*, seems to be merely a corrupt pronunciation of the word *Sünt*, the proper Arabic and Egyptian name for the tree whose fruit is called *Karadh*. This is the *Mimosa Niotica* of Forskal, *Flora Egypt. Arab.* p. LXXVII ; and the *Acacia vera s. Arabica* of later botanists, Sprengel *Hist. Rei Herbar.* I. pp. 269, 270. The Arabic name *Sünt* is variously written by the Arabs themselves. It is a

thorny tree resembling the Tülh or Seyül, with which it has sometimes been confounded.—This Arabic name affords an apt etymology for the Heb. שִׁטָּה i. q. שִׁטָּה, the *Shittim*-wood of the Bible (Ex. 25, 5 10, 13. etc.) which was probably the same tree ; see Celsius Hierobot. I. p. 498 sq. Gesen. Lex. Heb. art. שִׁטָּה. Rosenmüller *Bibl. Alterthumsk.* IV. i. p. 277. These writers however confound the *Acacia vera* (Sünt) with the *Acacia gummiifera* (Tülh).

weikeh, the Socoh of the plain of Judah, which is enumerated with Jarmuth, Adullam, and Azekah, and lay nine Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards Jerusalem.¹ It was therefore not far from Jarmuth; as it now also lies not far distant from Yarmūk, about half an hour.

Another mention of Socoh enables us to determine the ancient name of this fine valley; and fixes it as the scene of a memorable event in Scripture history, the combat of David and Goliath. We are told that the Philistines "were gathered together at Socoh which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Socoh and Azekah. And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together and pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side; and there was a valley between them."² The mention of Azekah shows that the Socoh meant, can only be this place; and the valley between the armies, the valley of Elah, in which the combat took place, could well be no other than the present Wady es-Sūmt. It took its name Elah of old from the Terebinth (Butm), of which the largest specimen we saw in Palestine still stands in the vicinity; just as now it takes its name es-Sūmt (Sünt) from the acacias which are scattered in it.³

We now pursued our way down the valley, rejoicing in having thus been able to discover and visit the spot, where the youthful warrior and poet, in firm reliance on the God of Israel, made his first glorious essay as the champion of his people. At 7.40 we reached a well by the way-side, called Bir Kūlidhia, about twenty-five or thirty feet deep, with several drinking troughs of wood. Fifteen minutes later, the ruins of Jennābeh were upon the hill at our left. At 8 o'clock Wady es-Sūmt turned to the right, nearly north, passing off between Tell Zakariya on the left and the village of the same name on the right, perhaps half an hour distant; and then bending again more to the left, and running to the plain.⁴ A road to Ramleh here left ours, passing down the valley.

We continued on the ancient road in a direct course, and ascended the ridge towards the west, reaching the top at 8½ o'clock. Here a narrower valley lay before us, running off in the direction W. N. W. The numerous olive groves in this valley and upon the hills around, gave the country almost a wooded

¹ Josh. 15, 35. See pp. 17, 20.

² 1 Sam. 17, 1-3.

³ Monastic tradition, as we have seen, assigns the name of Elah, or Terebinth valley, to the great Wady Beit Hanina;

and points out the place of David's combat at a spot north of 'Ain Kārim, not less than five or six hours distant from Socoh. See above, Vol. I. p. 461, n. 2.

⁴ See above, p. 5.

appearance. The great western plain was here visible ; and in it at some distance an isolated oblong hill, or short ridge, called Tell es-Sâfieh, a very conspicuous point, on which our guide said there were ruins.¹

We descended into the narrow valley ; and after fifteen minutes passed 'Ajjûr, a small village on the left. At 8½ o'clock, there was another ancient well in the valley, exhibiting quite a pastoral scene of patriarchal days. Many cattle, flocks of sheep and kids, and also camels, were all waiting round the well ; while men and women were busily employed in drawing water for them. These people at once offered and drew water for us and our thirsty animals, without the expectation of reward. The well was square and narrow ; by measuring the rope we found the depth to be sixty feet. A platform of very large stones was built up around it, and there were many drinking troughs. On the platform was fixed a small reel for the rope, which a man, seated on a level with the axis, wound up, by pulling the upper part of the reel towards him with his hands, while he at the same time pushed the lower part from him with the feet. This may not improbably have been the ancient Egyptian manner of "watering with the foot."²

In coming thus far from Beit Nettif, an hour and three quarters, we had on the whole made no southing whatever, but rather the contrary. Our relative position in respect to Sûrah, 'Ain Shems, and Yarmûk was indeed changed ; these places all now lying east of north ; and being, so far as we could judge, not far from an hour to an hour and a half distant. We knew, too, that we must now be at least approaching the ancient road running north from Eleutheropolis to Nicopolis ; and there was therefore every reason to suppose, that we could not be more than two or at the most two and a half hours distant from the site of the former city.³ But with all our inquiry, we could hear of no ruins of any kind, except the great ones (as they were called) at Beit Jibrin, and the slighter ones at Tell es-Sâfieh. The latter place seemed to be much too far both towards the north and west ; it being apparently about an hour and a half distant from this point. We therefore determined at any rate first to visit the ruins at Beit Jibrin ; and then to take such a course as circumstances might dictate.

After a stop of twenty minutes at the well, we now at 9.05 turned to the left almost at a right angle, and proceeded on a course about S. by W. We had heard all along, and especially

¹ The Tell bore from this spot N. 70° W. and Beit Nettif S. 85° E.

² Deut. 11, 10. See more on this subject in Note II, at the end of Vol. I.

³ The reader will bear in mind, that our ii. 351, 352

usual rate of travel with horses and mules, in a region like this, was very regularly three Roman miles to an hour. See above, Vol. I. p. 462. See also Note VII, end of Vol. I.

from the Sheikh of Beit Nettif, of a great cavern in this quarter, a convent under ground, large enough (it was said) to contain all the Pasha's troops. We had hoped it might turn out to be the cave of Makkedah, which Eusebius and Jerome place eight miles east of Eleutheropolis.¹ According to our reckoning, however, we had already travelled too far for this. At 9.40, a few steps beyond a village named Deir Dubbân, we came to the cavern (so called) of which we were in search, just by our road on the left. Although not Makkedah, yet the place is certainly a great curiosity.

In the soft limestone or chalky rock, which the soil here scarcely covers, are several irregular pits, some nearly square, and all about fifteen or twenty feet deep, with perpendicular sides. Whether these pits are natural or artificial, it might at first be difficult to say. In the sides are irregular doors or low arched passages, much obstructed by rubbish, leading into large excavations in the adjacent rock in the form of tall domes or bell-shaped apartments, varying in height from twenty to thirty feet, and in diameter from ten or twelve to twenty feet or more. The top of the dome usually terminates in a small circular opening at the surface of the ground above, admitting light into the cavern. These apartments are mostly in clusters, three or four together, communicating with each other. Around one pit towards the southwest we found sixteen such apartments thus connected, forming a sort of labyrinth. They are all hewn very regularly; but many are partly broken down; and it is not impossible, that the pits themselves may have been caused by the falling in of similar domes. Some of the apartments are ornamented, either near the bottom or high up, or both, with rows of small holes or niches, like pigeon-holes, extending quite around the wall. In the largest cluster, in the innermost dome, a rough block of the limestone has been left standing on one side, ten or twelve feet high, as if a rude pulpit or a pedestal for a statue. In the same apartment are several crosses cut in the wall; and in another of the same suite, are several very old Cufic inscriptions, one of which is quite long. These we neglected to copy, much to our subsequent regret; although from what we elsewhere saw, they probably would throw no light upon the age and character of these singular excavations.

What then could have been the object of these caverns? Cisterns they were not; and quarries they could hardly have been; as the stone is not hard enough for building, and there is no place in the vicinity erected with such stone. Or, if quarries, why then excavate in this peculiar and difficult form, when all is so near the surface? The form in itself resembles that of

¹ Josh. 10, 10. 16 sq. 15, 41. Onomast. art. *Maceda*.

ii. 352-354

the subterranean magazines around many of the villages at the present day ; and naturally suggests the idea, that these caverns too may have been intended for magazines of grain. But their great number, and especially the fact of their communicating with each other, is inconsistent with such an hypothesis. I am unable to solve the mystery ; and the similar excavations which we afterwards saw on our second visit to Beit Jibrin, serve only to render the whole matter still more inexplicable. We afterwards found reason to suppose, that the ancient Gath-Rimmon was situated here or in the vicinity.¹

We spent nearly an hour in exploring these caverns. Proceeding on our way at 10.35, we came in fifteen minutes to a village on our right called Ra'na, with fields of tobacco and cotton. Our guide, by mistake, now took a road lying to the left of the right one, but parallel to it. This brought us at 11.25 to Kudna, a small village, in which are the remains of a large ancient building. A portion of the western wall is standing, some one hundred and fifty feet in length, built of large stones. It is difficult to say, whether it was once a church, or perhaps a castle ; it seemed older than the age of the crusades.

Our way wound much, leading us through broad arable Wadys among the low bushy hills. We were now verging towards the border of the hilly tract and the great plain on the west, where hill and plain pass over into each other ; and where the frequent and shallow Wadys, running in all directions, render it difficult to mark their general course, or to distinguish any main trunk. As we approached Beit Jibrin, however, we travelled along a fine open valley or plain, running from south to north, which seemed to be one of the principal Wadys. It passes onwards to the great plain, where it sweeps round on the south of Tell es-Sâfieh, forming apparently one of the main branches of Wady Simsim, which we afterwards encountered on our way to Gaza.

In this valley along the road were traces of ancient walls, once probably enclosing fields ; and in several places we saw short rude pillars, which at first we thought might have been intended as Roman milestones. For this however they were too numerous ; and they more probably once served as private landmarks, between the fields of different owners. We reached Beit Jibrin at 12½ o'clock, situated among low hills at the head of this main valley, where it is formed by the junction of two or three smaller Wadys, and runs at first N. N. W. The site is so shut in by hills, that no other places are visible from it. Like most of the villages in this region, it is surrounded with olive trees ; and

¹ See under May 22d ; and at the end of the discussion respecting Eleutheropolis, on the subsequent day, May 23d.

ii. 354, 355

beneath one of these, northwest of the ruins, we spread our carpets, and after a few minutes of rest and refreshment, entered upon our examination of this interesting spot.

Here is a village with ruins, apparently of different ages, and more extensive and massive than any we saw in Palestine, except the substructions of the ancient temple at Jerusalem and the Haram at Hebron. They consist of the remains of a fortress of immense strength, in the midst of an irregular rounded enclosure, encompassed by a very ancient and strong wall. This outer wall was built of large squared stones uncemented. It has been mostly thrown down; but on the northern side it is still several feet in height, running along the southern bank of the water-bed of the Wady which comes down from the E. N. E. In the other quarter also it is still distinctly to be traced. Along this wall on the inside, towards the west and northwest, is a row of ancient massive vaults with fine round arches, apparently of the same age as the wall itself. These are now nearly covered by the accumulated rubbish; yet some of them still serve as dwellings for the inhabitants. The northern wall of this exterior enclosure, representing the diameter from east to west, measured six hundred feet; and the other diameter cannot be much less. The character of this wall and of these vaults, leaves no doubt that they are of Roman origin.

In the midst of this area stands an irregular castle, the lower parts of which seem to be as ancient as the exterior wall; but it has obviously been built up again in more modern times. Indeed, an inscription over the gate-way shows that it was last repaired by the Turks in A. H. 958,¹ (A. D. 1551,) nearly ten years after the present walls of Jerusalem were built. The northern and western sides alone are regular; the former measured one hundred and ninety-two feet, and the latter one hundred and ninety-five feet. The gate was now shut up; and the court within planted with tobacco, so far as there was room among the heaps of stones and rubbish. The walls are so far broken down, that we could clamber over them and enter without difficulty. The interior of the castle was full of arches and vaults; and the people told us of a church with pictures in the southern part, now shut up and indeed buried beneath the ruins. Several small marble columns were strewed around. The area of the enclosure, outside of the castle, is occupied partly by the modern hovels of the village; partly by patches of tobacco and vegetables; while in the northern and eastern quarters, it is confusedly covered with heaps of stones, the materials of ancient walls and structures.

¹ I follow here the journal of my companion; my own pencil notes made on the spot have A. H. 948.

The situation of this fortress was low, on a point between two Wadys, one coming from the E. N. E. and the other from the S. S. E. Back of the village the ground rises into hills, which must have overlooked the fortress. The ancient town appears to have extended for some distance along the open valley towards the northeast. In this part are still remains of the former wall and dwellings. Just by the village on the west in the other Wady, is a large public well, around which cattle and flocks were collected for watering.

Twenty minutes from the village, in the direction S. 28° E. are seen the ruins of an ancient church bearing the name of Santa Hanneh (St. Anne), situated on higher sloping ground near the head of the southern Wady, northeast of its water-course. In following up the Wady to this spot we passed two other wells. One of them about half way was quite large; flocks and herds were gathered around both; while men and women were drawing water and filling for them the many drinking troughs, presenting an animated scene of pastoral life. Of the church, only the eastern end is standing, including the niche of the great altar, and that of a side chapel, built of large hewn stones of strong and beautiful masonry. The foundations remain throughout; and there are subterraneous vaults with windows on the north side. Indeed, the edifice stood on round arches; which with the foundations seem nearly of the same character and antiquity as the fortress itself.¹ In the Wady near by are the ruins of an ordinary village. Southwest of the church, on the other side of the Wady, rises a truncated Tell of a chalky and singular appearance. We had been told of a fountain near the church, which became dry for a part of the year; but it turned out that our informant meant only a well at some distance northeast, where men were drawing water for their flocks. This we found to be fifty-two feet deep, dug mostly in the solid rock, and apparently ancient. There is another on the slope of the hill southwest of the church, which was now dry.²

In returning to the village, as we passed one of the wells where the people were watering their flocks, a man called out to us: "Do not be long," that is, in coming to take possession of the country. Here, as elsewhere, we were supposed to be in search of our hereditary estates. Such expressions we often heard; and this desire for a Frank government or Frank protection we found to be universal in Syria, among both Chris-

¹ The only allusion I find to this church is in Gauf. Vinisauf, *Iter Hierosol. Regis Richardi*, etc. 5. 44, in *Gale Scriptores Historiæ Angl. Tom. II. p. 375.* See further on, p. 28, n. 5.

ii. 357, 358

² From the hill just east of Santa Hanneh the following bearings were taken: Tell es-Sâfieh N. 20° W. Beit 'Atâb N. 63° E. Min'in S. 64° E. Dûra on the mountain S. 44° E.

tians and Muhammedans; not excepting even the Bedawin. On this ground we were everywhere well received.¹ Here at Beit Jibrin the people were kind and communicative. The Sheikh of the village was understood to be absent, and we did not now see him.

Beit Jibrin is a village of moderate size, the capital of a district in the province of Gaza, beginning just west of Beit Net-tif, called the district of the 'Azazeh. It takes this name from an ancient family of Sheikhs, formerly hereditary lords of Beit Jibrin, and of great power in these parts, being one of the three chief families of the Keisiyeh. Having been leaders in the rebellion of 1834, some of the family were beheaded, and the rest compelled to remove to Tell es-Sâfieh. Another family, called the house of 'Amleh, resides at Beit Ūla; and a third, the house of Ibn 'Omar, at Dūra in the mountains of Hebron. The two former families were head Sheikhs of the lower Keis (el-Keisiyeh et-Tahta) in and near the plain.—These families of Sheikhs form a species of hereditary nobility; but they are here less ancient and less exclusive than those of the Druzes in Mount Lebanon. There are also smaller families of less powerful Sheikhs.

Such was the result of our inquiries and observations at Beit Jibrin on this our first visit. The question now naturally arose, Whether all this presented any ground for regarding this spot as the site of the ancient Eleutheropolis? The ruins certainly seemed to be sufficiently important to warrant such a conclusion; ruins worthy of the Roman name, and of a powerful city. Further, in travelling hither from the well where we had halted, we had by a winding road passed over the anticipated distance of two and a half hours within which we had supposed Eleutheropolis must lie. Still, this distance might apply just as well to some place lying more to the northwest; and I had in some way received the groundless impression, that the city in question lay actually in the plain itself, and not among the hills. We concluded therefore to make still further examination; and as notwithstanding all our inquiries, we could hear of no spot where there could be the slightest hope of finding the object of our search, unless perhaps at Tell es-Sâfieh, we determined to bend our steps that way.—We felt ourselves constrained to push our researches further, because the site of Eleutheropolis could not be fixed at this place, without making it identical with another ancient city, whose name has been preserved; an identity of which, as yet, no one had ever dreamed.

Indeed, whatever might be the fact in regard to Eleutheropolis, there could be no doubt upon our minds, that in Beit Jibrin was to be recognised the Betogabra of Ptolemy and the

¹ See also at Ma'in, above, Vol. I. p. 495.

Peutinger Tables and the Beigeberin, (an episcopal city) of the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* of the subsequent centuries.¹ This place is marked in the said Tables at sixteen Roman miles from Askelon, a distance considerably too small; since from the construction of our maps it appears, that the actual distance cannot be less than about twenty geographical miles.² An early legend of the life of Ananias names it "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis;" which, however the phrase may be regarded, implies at least that these places were not far remote from each other.³ Such is the amount of all the notices respecting the ancient city under this name, down to the time of the crusades.

In the twelfth century, the crusaders found on this spot an ancient site in ruins, called by the Arabs 'Bethgebrim;' here they built up again a fortress upon the former foundations, to guard against the incursions of the Muhammedans from Askelon. This took place about A. D. 1134, under king Fulco. William of Tyre describes the fortress as having impregnable walls, with a mound and bastions and other advanced works. The defence of this position was intrusted to the knights Hospitalers. The Arabic name became corrupted among the crusaders into "Gibelin;" and they and the Christian writers of that age, held the place to be the ancient Beersheba.⁴ It is not unfrequently mentioned by Arabic authors; who write the name almost indiscriminately Beit Jibrin and Beit Jibril, the latter signifying the 'House of Gabriel;' and they speak of it also as including the surrounding district. Benjamin of Tudela visited the spot, and found here three Jews.⁵ After the decisive battle of Hattin and the capture of Askelon by Saladin, in A. D. 1187, the fortress of Beit Jibrin also fell into his power;⁶ but it seems to have re-

¹ Ptolemy *Βατογὰβρα*. Tab. Pent. *Βετογὰβρι*. See Reland *Palæst.* pp. 461, 421, 222, 627.—Josephus mentions a large village *Βήταρις* (Betaris) in this region, which Rufinus read *Βήγαβρις* (Begabris) in his copy. Reland suggests that this may have been the same place, which is not improbable; p. 626. Joseph. B. J. 4, 8, 1.

² It would seem probable that an X may have been dropped in the Peutinger Tables; the original reading having been perhaps XXVI Roman miles.

³ *Acta Sanctor.* Jan. Tom. II. pp. 613, 614.

⁴ "Urberem veterem et dirutam.... Arabice *Bethgebrim*;" Will. Tyr. 14. 22. This writer gives its distance from Askelon at twelve miles; meaning apparently Italian miles of 60 to the degree; which falls short even of the sixteen Roman miles of the Peutinger Tables. See Note 2, above.

⁵ Will. Tyr. 14. 22. Jac. de Vit. 36, 41. pp. 1070, 1071. Wilken *Gesch. der* ii. 360, 361

Kreuzz. II. pp. 595, 615. Brocardus c. 10. p. 186. Marin. Sanut. pp. 163, 165. Adrichomius p. 133. Yet before the days of the latter writer, the true Beersheba had been visited by several travellers; see above, Vol. I. p. 205. G. Vinisaut seems to allude to the church of Santa Hanneh, when he speaks of Ybelin (meaning Gibelin) as being near the valley in which St. Anne was born; see in Gale's *Scriptores Historiæ Anglicæ*. Tom. II. p. 395.

⁶ Edrisi par Janbert p. 360. Ibn el-Wardi in Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 170. See especially Schulten's Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Beit-Sjebrinum*.—Still, as the interchange of *l* and *n* is not unfrequent in Arabic, it may after all be a question, whether *Jibrin* may not be the ancient Hebrew form, meaning perhaps "House of Men." The Greek form *Βατογὰβρα* accords better with this supposition.

⁷ Benj. of Tudel. p. 77.

⁸ Bohaed. Vit. Sal. p. 72.

verted into the hands of the Franks, perhaps with Askelon, and is mentioned in A. D. 1192, as a station in the march of one part of king Richard's army from the south towards Beit Nuba.¹ In A. D. 1244, it was captured by the troops of Bibars.² I find no further notice of Beit Jibrin or its fortress, excepting in Marinus Sanutus, who merely copies William of Tyre;³ but the inscription already mentioned, shows that it continued to be a place of strength even under the later Turkish dominion; being kept up perhaps in order to hold in check the turbulent spirits of the ancient Arab families of Sheikhs, the former lords of Beit Jibrin and the adjacent territory. Since the time of the crusades, I am not aware that this place has been visited by any Frank traveller; unless perhaps by Breydenbach and Fabri in A. D. 1483, on their way from Hebron to Gaza; who however make no mention of Beit Jibrin.⁴

We now left Beit Jibrin at 2½ o'clock, for Tell es-Sáfieh. A man from Ramleh, returning from Hebron, fell into our train, and continued with us; although Tell es-Sáfieh was out of his direct course. The way led at first down the same broad valley by which we had approached, and then more to the left. In half an hour, after crossing obliquely the low western slope, we emerged from the hills upon the wide rolling plain which extends to the sea; it is here not very fertile nor very well cultivated; though as we advanced, we found much of it covered with a crop of wheat. At 4.10 we passed the large village of Dhikrin, to which name our guide added the epithet el-Būradán. It stands on the left slope of a Wady, which I suppose to be that coming down from Beit Jibrin, and here sweeping round towards the Wady Simsim in the plain. Near the village are excavations, said to be like those we had seen at Deir Dubbân; but being in a low situation, the water of a small Wady is in winter turned into them, and they are used as cisterns.

This village of Dhikrin is mentioned by Tucher of Nurnberg in A. D. 1479. He travelled from Bethlehem to Gaza, passing by St. George and lodging at Thikrin (Dhikrin), where he also speaks of cisterns.⁵ His route down the mountains must therefore have been in general the same with ours.

We reached Tell es-Sáfieh at a quarter past 5 o'clock. It is an isolated oblong hill or ridge, lying from north to south in the plain; the highest part being towards the south. The village lies near the middle; lower down. We pitched our tent just

¹ Bohaed. Vit. Sal. p. 229. Wilken ibid. IV. p. 508.

² Makrizi in Wilken Comment. de Bell. Cruc. p. 204.

³ De Secr. Fidel. Cruc. p. 165.

⁴ Volney heard the name, as of an inhabited village in this quarter; Vol. II. p. 310. Ponjoulut professes to have found the fortress (not the name) four hours south-east of Askelon on his road from Gaza to Yafa! Correspondence d'Orient, V. p. 418.

⁵ Reissb. des h. Landes p. 677.

ii. 3 :1-363

above the village, and immediately repaired to the summit of the hill, in search of the ruins of which we had been told. They proved to be merely the indistinct foundations apparently of a castle on the highest part, constructed of large hewn stones. On the western side of the hill, are also the remains of a terrace built of like materials. There is no fountain here nor in the vicinity; but in the western plain, near the foot of the hill, is a well of living water, which was said to overflow during a part of the year. Upon the hill is seen a solitary palm tree.—Sâfieh we were told is the name of a ruin in the plain towards the northeast, and this is its Tell or hill.

The hill itself is not high; but rises sufficiently above the surrounding country to be seen at the distance of some hours in every direction, especially towards the north and west. Here it overlooks the plain, which extends north to Ramleh and west to Esdûd (Ashdod). The tower of Ramleh was distinctly visible; the distance was said to be five hours. Nearer the mountain, in the northeast, we could also distinguish Lâtrôn upon a conical hill.¹ A large number of villages and sites were visible on every side, with many of which we had already become acquainted; though not a few were also new. They are recorded in the note below.²

The people of the village flocked around us with kindness; and at evening our tent, as usual, was filled with visitors, conversing and drinking coffee. The Sheikh, Muhammed Sellim, was a young fine looking man, of prepossessing manners and quite intelligent. He belonged to the family of the 'Azazeh, the hereditary lords of Beit Jibrin; but they having taken part in the rebellion of 1834, his uncle and brother were beheaded, and the rest of the family ordered to take up their residence in this place.

We here came again in contact with the genuine hospitality of the east. The Sheikh sent two men to keep watch by our tent all night; and when we left in the morning, the people re-

¹ This was incorrectly reported to us at the time as 'Amwās (Nicomolis); and so stood in the former edition. See Vol. III. Sec. III, under April 27th, 1852.

² We took at Tell es-Sâfieh the following bearings, beginning at the south and proceeding towards the left: Dhikrin S. 10° E. Santa Hanneh S. 20° E. Kudna S. 34° E. Deir Dubbân S. 50° E. 'Ajjûr S. 72° E. Jeb'ah S. 77° E. Tell Zakariya S. 85° E. Kefr Zakariya S. 87° E. Beit 'Atîb N. 87° E. Kesla N. 84° E. el-Kheishûm N. 80° E. Deir el-Hawa N. 80° E. el-Bureij N. 70° E. Sur'ah N. 67° E. Râfât N. 64° E. el-Mughûllis N. 55° E. Lâtrôn N. 49° E. er-Ramleh N.

12° E. el-Küstineh N. 36° W. el-Mesmiyeh N. 45° W. Ustia N. 50° W. Tell et-Turmus N. 55° W. Berkûsieh S. 53° W.—Among these places, *Kesla* might suggest the *Chesalon* of Josh. 15, 10; it lies northeast of Beth-shemesh. Compare the *Chaston* of the Onomasticon.—El-Mesmiyeh seems to be the *Mesmië* mentioned by Volney between Ramleh and Gaza, four leagues from the former; Vol. II. p. 310. In that case, the Tell of which the same writer speaks, a league east of Mesmiyeh, was probably Tell et-Turmus; but he confounds it in part with Tell el-Hasy; see under May 22.

fused to receive pay for the articles which they had furnished to us ; saying it would be a disgrace to do so, and the Sheikh would be angry and beat them if they did. They were simple-hearted and kind ; and the refusal to take money, seemed to be the unaffected and conscientious observance of ancient national custom.

It had needed but a short survey of this spot to convince us, that the site of Eleutheropolis never could have been at Tell es-Sáfieh. One of the places, Zorah, said to be ten Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Nicopolis, lay in sight before us E. N. E. upon the hills, about three hours distant ; while Lá-trôn, which lies near Nicopolis was distinctly visible in the north-east not more than an hour or two more remote. It was evident that Zorah and Beth-shemesh could never have been said to lie near the road from Tell es-Sáfieh to 'Amwás, and especially not at the distance of ten miles on that road, without attributing to Eusebius and Jerome a greater absurdity than any of which they have yet been accused. Indeed Tell es-Sáfieh lies obviously quite too far westward within the plain, to accord with any of the ancient accounts respecting Eleutheropolis. Besides, there was nothing here to mark the site of an ancient place ; which we know to have been a large and flourishing city so late as the sixth century.

I know of nothing to connect Tell es-Sáfieh with the history of the Bible or of the early centuries ; unless perhaps the name may have some relation to that of the valley of *Zephathah* near Maresha, where king Asa defeated the hosts of Zerah the Ethiopian.¹ Maresha, as we know, was near Eleutheropolis ;² and the valley, as well as the Tell, might well take its name from an adjacent city. It may perhaps have been the broad Wady coming down from Beit Jibrin towards Tell es-Sáfieh.

In the middle ages this Tell became somewhat celebrated ; although, as we had with us no history of the crusades, we were not aware of the fact at the time. It appears that about A. D. 1138, several years after the rebuilding of the ancient fortress at Beit Jibrin, the crusaders under king Fulco erected upon Tell es-Sáfieh, described as eight Italian miles from Askelon, another castle as a further check upon the excursions of the Muhammedans from that city.³ It was built of hewn stones with four towers ; and became known among the Franks by the name of *Blanchegarde*.⁴ It afterwards came into the possession of Sala-

¹ 2 Chron. 14, 10.

² Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Maresa*, Μαρηδα. Reland Pal. p. 888

³ "Ab Ascalona octo distans miliaribus . . . nomen Arabice *Tellesaphi*, quod apud nos interpretatur *Mons Ave Collis clarus* ; " Will. Tyr. 15. 25. See Wilken Gesch. der

Kr. II. pp. 615, 616. But the true distance from Askelon is not much less than eighteen geographical miles ; and the reading in William of Tyre ought probably to be *octodecem* instead of *octo*.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 15, 25. Jac. de Vitri. 41, p. 1071. The Latin name of the castle

din, and was dismantled by him in A. D. 1191;¹ but appears to have been built up again by king Richard of England the very next year.²

Some of Richard's romantic adventures are related as occurring in the vicinity of this castle. Once, riding out in this quarter from his camp near Ramleh in search of adventures, he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of a chosen band of Turkish horsemen, whom Saladin had despatched from Askelon to Blanchegarde. At another time, on a similar excursion hither from Askelon, he had an affray with a party of Saracens, of whom he slew three and took five prisoners.³ Afterwards, this spot is mentioned by Bohaeddin in connection with the march of Richard's army to Beit Nûba; and also as visited by Saladin, who then proceeded from Tell es-Sâfieh to the place called es-Sâfieh, of which we also heard.⁴ From that time until the present day, although Blanchegarde maintains its place in the histories of the crusades, yet Tell es-Sâfieh appears to have been lost sight of by all writers and travellers.⁵

Saturday, May 19th. It had been our wish and plan, if possible, to proceed to Gaza by way of Ashdod and Askelon. Finding however that this route would require another day, which we could not well spare, and knowing that the two latter places had been often visited, we gave up reluctantly this part of our plan, and took the direct road to Gaza. Our search too after Eleutheropolis had thus far produced no decisive nor satisfactory results; and we determined, after visiting Gaza, to return again to the region of Beit Jibrin on our way to Hebron.

Leaving Tell es-Sâfieh at 5½ o'clock, we descended the western side of the hill into the wide plain. The morning was bright and balmy; and the scene was enlivened by large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, going forth in various directions to pasture. Our road lay obliquely across the plain on a general course W. S. W. ½ S. This is a beautiful and fertile tract of country; for a time almost perfectly level; and after a short distance almost without a stone. The soil is a light brown loam. The barley harvest was now mostly over. The peasants were in full

was 'Alba Specula,' also 'Alba Custodia,' ibid. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. IV. p. 426. So too 'Candida Custodia,' G. Vinisauf 5. 48. p. 398.

¹ Gaufr. Vinisauf, Iter Hierosol. Richardi regis, in Gale Scriptorum Hist. Anglie. Tom. II. lib. 4. 23, p. 362. Wilken l. c. p. 426.

² Roger de Hov. Annales Anglie. in Saville Scriptor. Rer. Angl. fol. 407. B. Wilken l. c. p. 477.

³ Gaufr. Vin. l. c. 4. 32, p. 369; 5. 29 ii. 366. 367

—33, pp. 388–390. Wilken l. c. pp. 457, 492.

⁴ Bohaeddin Vit. Salad. p. 229, 231. Also G. Vinisauf, l. c. 5. 48, p. 398.—See above, p. 30. Schultens Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Tell-Assaphia*.

⁵ Poujoulat supposes he found Blanchegarde (not Tell es-Sâfieh) at the village of Yâsûr, not far from the sand-hills of Askelon, on one of the roads from Gaza to Yâfa; Correspondence d'Orient, V. p. 417.

activity in the beginning of the wheat harvest ; and the fields full of reapers, and the threshing-floors around the villages, presented a lively scene. A large part of the plain, so far as it was tilled, was covered with grain already ripe. Some tracts were sown with Dhurah (millet), now a few weeks above the ground, and yielding a delightful refreshment to the eye by its beautiful green. We saw one field of cotton. The crops were good ; yet hardly one half of the plain was under cultivation.

At 6.05, we passed Ba'lin, a small village on the left a short distance from the road ; and near by it was Berkûsieh, somewhat larger. At 6.50, we came to Sümmeil, a considerable village on an elevation in the plain.¹ Here is a large public well at the foot of the hillock ; it measured one hundred and ten feet deep to the surface of the water, and eleven feet in diameter ; the walls being circular and composed of hewn stones of good masonry. Women were drawing water from the well by a rope passing over a pulley, which they hauled up by running off with it a great distance into the field, in the manner of sailors. In the village itself is a portion of an ancient wall apparently once belonging to a castle, built of large squared stones uncemented, resembling in a degree the oldest foundations at Beit Jibrin. At the bottom there is sloping work ; and along one side is a long round arch or vault, which however is probably modern. From here Estdûd (Ashdod) was pointed out to us, upon a low round eminence, with trees thick around it like a wood, probably olives. The distance was said to be three hours.² Askelon was said also to be only three hours distant ; but was probably not less than four or five ; the Arabs in general specifying distances by time very loosely.³

¹ In our Arabic list of the province of Gaza this place is called Sümmeil el-Khûlîl, i.e. of Hebron. This accords with the account of Tucher in A. D. 1479, who says it was a dependency of the mosque in Hebron. He however misunderstood the name, and calls it the castle of St Samuel. See more in Note XXXI, end of the volume.

² Estdûd was visited by Irby and Mangles in Oct. 1818 ; and by Lord Belmore and his party in April, 1819. The former describe there a large Khân pp. 179-182 [56] ; and Richardson, who was with Lord Belmore, speaks of the site of the town as on the summit of a grassy hill ; Travels II. p. 206. There are said to be no ruins ; and the place seems now to be only an ordinary Muslim village. See also Von Troilo in 1866 ; p. 349.

³ Lord Belmore and his party visited Askûlan in April 1818 ; Richardson's Travels, II. pp. 202-204. Other travel-

lers have since taken it in their way. The situation is described as strong ; the thick walls, flanked with towers, were built on the top of a ridge of rock, that encircles the town and terminates at each end in the sea. The ground within sinks in the manner of an amphitheatre. The distance from Gaza is about five hours. My companion, Mr Smith, passed by way of 'Askûlan in Feb. 1827, and describes it as one of the most mournful scenes of utter desolation he had ever beheld. In A. D. 1666, Von Troilo found it partially inhabited ; p. 350.—Askelon bears a conspicuous part in the history of the crusades. After being several times dismantled and re-fortified in the times of Saladin and Richard, its fortifications were at length utterly destroyed by Sultan Bibars in A. D. 1270, and its port filled up with stones thrown into the sea, for fear of further attempts on the part of the crusaders. See

While we were taking the bearings given in the note below,¹ the men of the village flocked around us, and seemed much interested in our proceedings. This indeed was the case in most of the villages. The people in general, in this part of the country, were ready to give us information, so far as they could; and seemed not to distrust us. Here too we found the same general impression, that our object was to collect information and survey the country, preparatory to the arrival of the Franks; and here too we were addressed in the usual phrase: "Do not be long." Indeed, the inhabitants everywhere appeared, for the most part, to desire that the Franks should send a force among them. They were formerly tired of the Turks; they were now still more heartily tired of the Egyptians; and were ready to welcome any Frank nation which should come, not to subdue, (for that would not be necessary,) but to take possession of the land.

After a delay of three quarters of an hour we left Sümmeil at 7.35. In about half an hour we passed Juseir on the left, the first village we had yet seen in Palestine not built of stone. The materials of the houses are here unburnt bricks; and such continued to be the case all the way to Gaza, and is so elsewhere throughout the plain. The bricks are formed from the common loam of the soil, with straw intermixed to bind the mass together, as in Egypt; they are of very large size, and are merely dried in the sun. Many of them, newly made, were laid in rows along the ground, in the process of drying. At 8.35, the similar village of Hatta was on our right. In Kürātiyeh, a village to which we came at 8.55, is a ruined tower of modern date, built partly of similar bricks; and we saw also a few ancient columns lying about. Here quite a number of places were in sight.²

The country now became more undulating; low ridges or swells ran from south to north, but the general character of the soil did not change. Our general course was S. W. by W. The white sand-hills which here skirt the shore of the Mediterranean

Ibn Ferath in Reinaud's *Extraits*, etc. p. 525. Wilk. *Gesch. der Kr.* VII. p. 586.

¹ At Sümmeil we obtained the following bearings: Tell es-Sáfieh N. 50° E. Berkúsieh N. 70° E. Tell et-Turmus N. 7° W. Esdúd N. 40° W. (?) Beit Dárás N. 53° W. (?) Beit 'Afa N. 85° W. Hatta S. 84° W. Juseir S. 80° W. Kürātiyeh S. 80° W. el-Falújy S. 51° W. 'Arák el-Menshiyeh S.

² These places bore from Kürātiyeh as follows: Tell es-Sáfieh N. 65° E. el-Mesmiyeh N. 7° W. Yásúr N. 12° W. el-Kustineh N. 16° W. es-Sawafir N. 32° W. 'Eddis N. 38° W. el-Falújy S. 38° E.—Eusebius and Jerome mention a Hazor (Αζάφ Asor) belonging to Judah in

ii. 369. 370

the borders of Askelon towards the east; Onomast. art. *Asor*. This accords well with the position of Yásúr as above; but if it be the same, we have here the very unusual change from the Hebrew guttural Heth (ח) to the Arabic Ye with a long vowel. The Onomast. incorrectly takes this village for one of the Hazors of Josh. 15, 25, in the south of Judah.—Sawafir seems to be a plural form for the Saphir (Heb. שפיר) of Mic. 1, 11; which Eusebius and Jerome place between Eleutheropolis and Askelon; Onomast. art. *Saphir*. Comp. Gesenius *Lex. Heb. art.* שפיר. There are three villages of this name, near each other.

began soon to appear. At 10½ o'clock, upon one of the said swells, Tell es-Sáfieh bore N. 61° E. while the village of Bureir lay before us S. 48° W. We reached the latter place at 11.10; and rested for more than an hour and a half under the shade of a spreading tree.

This is a flourishing village, forming a sort of central point in the plain. There is a large public well, at which camels were drawing water by means of a Sâkieh, or water-wheel with jars, as in Egypt;¹ the first machinery we had yet seen in Palestine. Flocks and herds were collected around the well; the troughs for which were partly laid up in front with ancient marble columns. Here were also several palm trees; and the whole scene was animated and pleasing.

Setting off from Bureir at three quarters past noon, we at first took a wrong road, which led us too far south towards the village of Hûj. The direct road keeps along on the north side of the broad Wady Simsim already mentioned, near which Bureir lies, on a general course W. by S. passing the village of Simsim on the northern edge of the Wady, about three quarters of an hour from Bureir. We crossed this Wady on the wrong road; and were then compelled to pick our way through the fields to the Gaza road, leaving the village of Simsim at a distance on the right. At 2.10, we passed the little village Nijid on the south of the Wady; here the peasants were winnowing barley by throwing it up into the air across the wind, with a wooden fork. Ten minutes later (at 2.20), we came again into the Gaza road, having lost half an hour by our detour. This road had here crossed the broad Wady very obliquely, and now left it to pass over low swelling hills. The valley bends more to the right; and passing by Deir Esneid, empties into the sea at 'Askulân. At 2.35, the village of Dimreh was on our right near the bend of the valley.

Our course still continued W. by S. At 3.20 we came to the village Beit Hunûn on our right in a low rich tract of the plain. Here as elsewhere all were busy with the wheat harvest; the reapers were in the fields; donkeys and camels were moving homewards with their high loads of sheaves; while on the threshing-floors near the village I counted not less than thirty gangs of cattle, occupied in treading out the grain, with many camels and donkeys standing idle around. The whole village seemed at work, and presented a busy scene.

Not far beyond this village, we came upon the immense olive groves which stretch far to the north of Gaza. At 4 o'clock we fell into the Yâfa road, at the line of hills which bounds the plain west, towards the coast. The road here crosses

¹ See Note II, at the end of Vol. I.

these hills at a low spot or gap, and continues along their western side, on a course southwest, having on the right a tract of drifts and hills of white sand, extending to the sea, here an hour distant. These sands seem only to need water in order to become fertile ; even now they are studded with trees and bushes like hedges ; apparently from the effect of the rains alone. For the whole distance from the gap of the hills to Gaza, the road passes through a vast grove of olive trees, not only very numerous, but also large and productive. Many of them are upon the sands. It is said to be the largest olive grove in Palestine. We saw but a single one more extensive, and that was near Beirut. At 4½ o'clock we pitched our tent among these trees, ten minutes from the entrance of Gaza, just at the edge of the gardens on the north of the city.

We found a quarantine guard stationed near by, to prevent the approach of persons coming from Yâfa, where the plague was now raging. As however we came from Jerusalem, where its prevalence was less known, no objection was made to our passing. Our servants said to them : " Suppose a party from Yâfa tell you they come from Jerusalem ; what then ? " The reply was : " That is no concern of ours."

The next day, being Sunday, we remained encamped ; and enjoyed a quiet day of rest.

Monday, May 21st. Our Jerusalem friend, Abu Selâmeh, had furnished us with a letter to an Arab Greek Christian in Gaza, named Suleimân el-Hashwy, a merchant who acts in some sort as a Frank agent. We called upon him this morning, and found him in his shop, one of the open stalls of the bazar ; where, like his neighbours, he was sitting cross-legged upon the sort of low counter in front. He received us with great kindness ; ordered coffee ; and introduced us to his neighbours, many of whom soon gathered around. One of these was a very intelligent Mussulman, who seemed quite interested in seeing strangers from the new world, and made many inquiries respecting America.

After the conversation had been carried on for some time, our new Mussulman friend, to our great surprise, proposed to take us into the neighbouring mosk, the oldest and most important one of the city, anciently a Christian church. Tradition, as a matter of course, ascribes it to Helena, and regards it as having been dedicated to St. John the Baptist.¹ We were not slow to accept the invitation, and went with him ; pulling off our shoes at the door, and walking in our stockings over the mats with which the stone floor is covered. The three parallel

¹ It possibly dates from the beginning of the fifth century, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see ; p. 42.

aisles of the ancient church remain, as well as the columns with Corinthian capitals which divide them. The middle one is higher than the other two, and has a second row of columns on each side above. The length of the building is about one hundred and ten feet ; not including the recess of the altar on the south, which is about twenty feet more. On the west side, the Muslims have added another low aisle in an inferior style of architecture.

We returned to the shop of Suleimân, who now took charge of my letters, in order to forward them by the Pasha's post to Cairo and Alexandria. This he punctually accomplished. We thought it best also to take here a *Tezkirah* (passport) for Hebron, in order to be able to show that we had come from Gaza and not from Jerusalem, in case of any quarantine regulations at Hebron against the latter city. The governor of Gaza, Sheikh Sa'id, we learned, was absent at or near Hebron, (where we afterwards met him,) collecting arms from the peasantry ; who, although once disarmed, had been fighting among themselves. We therefore waited upon his secretary, accompanied by a man sent by Suleimân ; and found him in a dirty room with bare stone walls, surrounded by six writers. He was an elderly man with a good face and bright eye. On learning that we likewise thought of visiting Wady Mûsa, he asked if we would have the *Tezkirah* made out for that place also ? Not supposing that this could be of the slightest importance, we said that one for Hebron would be sufficient ; and he ordered it to be made out accordingly. We afterwards had occasion to regret our decision, or rather the want of information which led to it ; for we found at a later period, that the region of Wady Mûsa was under the immediate jurisdiction of Sheikh Sa'id ; and his *Tezkirah* would have commanded a more implicit obedience from the Arabs of that quarter, than the *Firmân* of Muhammed Aly himself.

While the *Tezkirah* was making out, we walked around the city, and spent in all several hours in examining its various parts. The results of our observation and inquiries may be summarily given as follows.

Gaza, in Arabic Ghüzzeh, is situated on a low round hill of considerable extent, not elevated more than fifty or sixty feet above the plain around. This hill may be regarded as the nucleus of the city ; although only the southern half is now covered with houses. Most of these are of stone, and especially all such as belong to the government. But the greater part of the modern city has sprung up on the plain below, a sort of suburbs, stretching far out on the eastern and northern sides. These suburbs appear to be thickly populated ; the houses are numerous

and wholly built of mud or unburnt bricks, like the villages we had passed on the great plain.¹

The ancient city of Gaza, renowned as 'the strong,' lay obviously chiefly on the hill. The present town has no gates, being like an open village; yet the places of the former ones remain, and are pointed out around the hill. One of these, at the foot of the slope on the southeast, is shown as the gate whose doors and bars were carried off by Samson; and just by it is a Mukâm in his honour, which the Muslims pretend is also his tomb. Towards the south is another spot called Bâb ed-Dârôn, a name probably derived from the fortress Dârôn celebrated in the time of the crusades.² Indeed, all vestiges of the ancient walls and ancient strength of Gaza have disappeared; and nothing remains to mark its former extent, except the bounds of the hill itself on which it stood. Even the traces of its former existence, its vestiges of antiquity, are very rare; consisting of occasional columns of marble or gray granite, scattered in the streets and gardens, or used as thresholds at the gates and doors of houses, or laid upon the front of watering-troughs. One fine Corinthian capital of white marble, lies inverted in the middle of a street running from north to south along the eastern foot of the hill.

Gaza is said to be an hour distant from the sea; which is not here visible.³ Between the city and the shore, are the hills and tracts of sand already mentioned, on which are scattered a few trees and hedges. Around the city on the south, east, and north, are numerous gardens hedged with prickly pear, which forms an impenetrable barrier. The soil of these gardens is ex-

¹ So far as I know, the geographical position of Gaza has never been determined by astronomical observation; nor indeed in any way, except by Jacotin during the march of the French army in 1799. The relative position of Gaza in respect to Yâfa on his map, is the best, and indeed the only approximation which we have. The position of Yâfa being corrected according to the more accurate observations of Gauttier and Hell, gives therefore for that of Gaza, Lat. 31° 27' 30" N. Long. 34° 27' 24" E. from Greenwich. See Berghaus' *Memoir zu seiner Karte von Syrien*, pp. 25, 26.

² The fortress Dârôn, Lat. *Darum*, was built by king Amalrich on the ruins of a Greek convent of the same name, described as four (Italian) miles south of Gaza, and five furlongs from the sea; Will. Tyr. 20. 20. Marinus Sanutus gives the distance from Gaza at fifteen miles; pp. 86, 246. It was stormed by Saladin with-

ii. 375, 376

out success in A. D. 1170; though it fell into his hands, and was enlarged by him, after the capture of Askelon; Will. Tyr. l. c. Bohaed. *Vit Salad.* p. 72. Wilken *Gesch. der Kr.* III. ii. pp. 135, 138. King Richard took it after a short siege, and destroyed it A. D. 1192; Gaufr. *Vinisauf* 5. 39, in Gale *Scriptor. Hist. Angl.* Tom. II. p. 392, 393. Wilken *ib.* IV. pp. 498-500, 537. Wilken suggests that this fortress may have been at Khân Yûnâs; which is four hours with camels from Gaza; *ib.* III. ii. p. 136. Ali Bey's *Travels* II. p. 206.—The name Dârôn is probably the Hebrew דָּרֹם 'the south,' which Eusebius and Jerome apply as a proper name, *Daroma*, to the southwest part of Palestine; *Onomast. art. Gerara, Siccelech.* etc.

³ Arrian gives the distance from the sea at 20 stadia; *Exped. Alex.* 2. 26. Abulfeda describes the sandhills in the same manner; *Tab. Syr.* p. 77. ed. Köhler.

ceedingly rich and productive. Apricots and mulberries were already ripe ; the former delicious and abundant. Many palm trees are scattered around the city, though they form no grove as in Egypt ; while beyond the gardens, towards the north, lies the extensive olive grove through which we had passed. There are two pools of water, one on the north and the other south of the city ; but they seemed to contain merely stagnant rain water, of which no use was made. The public cemeteries lie straggling and scattered in all directions, mingling with the houses on the hill and along the roads in the plain.—Towards the east the view is shut in by the line of hills we had crossed. The highest point is a partially isolated hill southeast of the city about half an hour distant. On it is a Mukâm or Wely called el-Muntâr. The Christians pretend that it was once the residence of a bishop.¹

The population of Gaza has usually been rated as much too low, as that of Jerusalem has been over-estimated. Travellers have given different judgments, usually from two thousand to five thousand souls.² The number of inhabitants has probably increased of late years. From information given us by both Christians and Mussulmans, it appears, that the city now contains nearly four thousand taxable Muhammedans, and one hundred Christians. This indicates a population of not less than fifteen or perhaps sixteen thousand souls, and makes Gaza larger than Jerusalem ; a fact which is also confirmed by its greater extent of crowded dwellings. There were said to be fifty-seven resident Christian families ; but their number is increased by transient sojourners.

We heard nothing of the port of Gaza, the ancient Majuma ;³ nor did we learn whether it is now visited by vessels. Gaza itself has no more the appearance of a maritime city than Jerusalem. Yet it certainly might be a place of considerable commerce. The fertile soil produces, in abundance, grains and fruits of every kind and of the finest quality. Volney speaks here of manufactures of soap, and also of cotton for the supply of the neighbouring Bedawin.⁴ The position of Gaza on the

¹ Jacotin's map, copied also by Berghaus, gives to this eminence the name of 'Samson's mount,' as being the hill before (Heb. *towards*) Hebron, to which he carried off the doors of the gate of Gaza ; Judg. 16, 3. So too the Latin tradition and some travellers ; Quaresmius II. p. 926. Sandy's p. 117. Büsching Th. XI. S. 451. Raumer Pal. p. 174, ed. 3. There is nothing improbable in the supposition ; but the people of Gaza know of no such name, and have no such tradition.—Rich-

ardson makes this hill to be "a lofty promontory of the mountains of Hebron !" Vol. II. p. 198.

² Volney 2000 ; II. p. 313. Richardson 2000 to 3000 ; II. p. 199. Fisk 5000 ; Raumer's Paläst. p. 175.—Poujoulat comes nearer the truth, when he estimates the population at ten or eleven thousand souls ; Corresp. d'Orient V. p. 399.

³ Reland Palæst. p. 791.

⁴ Voyage II. p. 313.

route of the great caravans, which in all ages have passed between Egypt and Syria, is favourable to its commerce and prosperity ; both as affording a means of constant communication with both countries, and also from the opportunity of furnishing supplies to the caravans in passing. Those travelling towards Egypt, naturally lay in here a stock of provisions and necessaries for the desert ; while those coming from Egypt, arrive at Gaza exhausted, and must of course supply themselves anew. The inhabitants of Ma'an likewise, on the east of Wady el-'Arabah, about the time of the passing of the Syrian Haj to and from Mecca, buy up provisions of all kinds at Gaza and Hebron, and sell them at a great profit to the pilgrims.¹ The bazars in Gaza seemed well supplied with wares ; far better indeed than those of Jerusalem.

Gaza is among the earliest of the Canaanitish cities mentioned in the old Testament ;² and became afterwards celebrated as one of the five cities of the five lords of the Philistines. Joshua extended his conquests to Gaza, but did not vanquish this remarkable people ;³ and although the tribe of Judah, to whose lot it fell, subdued the city, yet they appear to have held it but a short time ; and the lords of the Philistines soon not only regained possession of their own territory, but also increased in strength, and at length extended their jurisdiction in turn over the Israelites.⁴ After forty years of oppression, Samson appeared as the champion and avenger of his people ; and Gaza becomes renowned as the scene of his later deeds and of his fall. Here too he drew down upon himself and the assembled multitude the temple of Dagon ; so that " the dead which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life."⁵ After continual wars under the Judges and with Saul and David, the Philistines appear to have been subdued by the latter ; and Gaza became the border of Solomon's kingdom on this side.⁶ Yet they gave trouble to the following Jewish kings ; and Hezekiah at length smote them unto the borders of Gaza.⁷

The situation of Gaza on the great route of the military expeditions, which the monarchs of Egypt, and those of Syria and the east, afterwards undertook against the dominions of each other, necessarily exposed it to the calamities of war and to frequent change of masters. To the Egyptians, Gaza ' the strong,' was the key of Palestine and Syria ; and no conqueror could

¹ Burckhardt Travels in Syria, p. 436. Volney II. pp. 314, 315.—The caravan route between Ma'an and Gaza passes near Wady Mûsa, and strikes the fountain el-Weibeh in the 'Arabah.

² Gen. 10, 19.

³ Josh. 10, 41. 11, 22. 13, 2.

.. 378 379

⁴ Judg. 1, 18. 3, 3. 13, 1.

⁵ Judg. c. 16.

⁶ 1 Sam. c. 4-6. 14, 52. 31, 1 sq. 2 Sam. 5, 17 sq. 8, 1. 21, 15 sq. 1 K. 4, 24.

⁷ 2 Chr. 21, 16. 26, 6. 28, 18. 2 K. 18, 8.

well pass by, until this city had submitted to his power. Thus one of the Pharaohs (probably Necho) subdued it in the time of Jeremiah ; and Cambyses, during his expedition to Egypt, is reported to have deposited here his treasures.¹ Gaza opposed itself for five months to the progress of Alexander the Great ; but was finally taken by storm, its brave defenders slaughtered at their posts, their wives and children sold as slaves, and the city repeopled with inhabitants drawn from the surrounding country.² During the wars of the Maccabees, Gaza continued to be a place of strength ; it was fortified by the Syrian Bacchides, its suburbs burned by Jonathan, and the city itself captured by Simon.³ Alexander Jannæus at length destroyed Gaza about 96 B. C. after a siege of a year ; but it was again rebuilt with other cities by the Roman general Gabinus.⁴ Augustus gave it to Herod ; and after his death it was assigned to Syria.⁵ About A. D. 65, during the government of the procurator Gessius Florus, Gaza with other cities was again laid in ruins by the rebellious Jews.⁶ Yet this destruction was probably partial, and could have been but temporary ; for there exist coins of Gaza struck in honour of Titus, Adrian, and the following emperors ; which show at least that the city was still a place of importance, very soon after the destruction of Jerusalem.⁷

From these details it seems to follow, that the expression in the book of Acts,⁸ which might at first appear to imply that Gaza was then "desert," is more probably to be referred to the particular road from Jerusalem to Gaza, on which the Evangelist was to find the eunuch, viz. the southern road leading from Eleutheropolis to Gaza through the "desert," or region without villages, as is the case at the present day.⁹

A Christian church appears to have been early planted at Gaza ; its bishop Silvanus is mentioned by Eusebius as a martyr under Diocletian about A. D. 285 ; and among the names of other bishops enumerated, not less than six are found in the subscriptions of councils, as late as to that of Jerusalem in A. D. 536.¹⁰ Yet

¹ Jer. 47, 1. Pomp. Mela 1. 11.

² Arrian Exp. Alex. 2. 26, *καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτὰν Ἀλέξανδρος· τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικήσας ἐκ τῶν περιόικων, ἐκῆρτο ὅσα φρουρία ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.* Strabo indeed says that Gaza was destroyed by Alexander, and remained desolate ; 16. 2. 30, *ἐνδοξος πότε γενομένη, κατεσπασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μένουσα ἔρημον.* But this is contradicted by the express language of Arrian ; nor do other writers who describe the siege, mention any such destruction ; e. g. Q. Curt. 4. 6. Plutarch Alex. c. 25. Joseph. Ant. 11. 8. 3, 4. It

is also contradicted by the facts which follow in the text.

³ 1 Macc. 9, 52. 11, 61. 62. 13, 43 sq. Jos. Ant. 13. 5. 5. Comp. 1 Macc. 14, 7. 15, 28. 16, 1.

⁴ Joseph. Ant. 13. 13. 3. ib. 14. 5. 3.

⁵ Ibid. 15. 7. 3. ib. 17. 11. 4.

⁶ Joseph. B. J. 2. 18. 1, *Ἀνδεδὼνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπτον.*

⁷ Mionnet Descr. de Médailles Antig. V. p. 536 sq. Reland Pulæst. pp. 788, 797.

⁸ Acts 8. 26.

⁹ See more in Note XXXII, end of the volume.

¹⁰ Eusebius Hist. Eccles. 8. 13. de Mar-

the city still retained in a great degree its devotion to idolatry ; and in the beginning of the fifth century, not less than eight public temples dedicated to the worship of the heathen gods, still existed there.¹ Among these the most celebrated was a temple of Marnion, the Cretan Jupiter. By the influence of Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius, the bishop Porphyrius was invested with authority to demolish these temples ; and was furnished with means to erect a Christian church, which was dedicated in A. D. 406 and named after the empress.² This may probably have been the great church now converted into a mosk, which we visited.—Eusebius and Jerome speak of Gaza in their day as an important city.³ About the end of the sixth century, or the beginning of the seventh, Gaza was visited by Antoninus Martyr, who describes it as “splendid and delicious ;” and its inhabitants as “noble, liberal, and friendly to strangers.”⁴

Such was Christian Gaza. In A. D. 634 it fell into the hands of the generals of Abu Bekr, the first Muhammedan Khalif, after a decisive battle with the Roman armies ; but the Khalif died before the tidings of the victory could reach him.⁵ From this time we hear little more of Gaza, except as the birth-place of esh-Shâfi'y the founder of a Muhammedan sect,⁶ until the time of the crusades. In A. D. 796 it was laid waste during a civil war among the Arab tribes.⁷ During the many wars between the Muhammedan rulers of Egypt and Syria, which preceded the crusades, Gaza appears to have suffered greatly, if indeed it had recovered from the former blow. The crusaders found it deserted, and its ruins spread out over the hill and the adjacent plain, like the city of the present day.⁸ Here in A. D. 1152 they erected a fortress, occupying a portion of the hill, in order to cut off the approach to Askelon from the south ; the defence of this castle was entrusted to the knights Templars.⁹ The dwellings of the city became again inhabited ; but in A. D. 1170 the place was sacked by the troops of Saladin, who however did not get possession of the citadel.¹⁰ Yet after

tyrib. Palæst. c. 13. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 603 sq. Reland Pal. p. 795 sq.

¹ Marc. Diaconi Vit. Porphyrii, in Acta Sanctor. Feb. Tom. III. p. 655. Reland Pal. p. 793.

² Marc. Diacon. l. c. p. 655 sq. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. pp. 613, 614. Reland Pal. pp. 793, 794. Jerome also mentions the destruction of the temple of Marnion in his day, and speaks as if the church was erected on its site ; Comm. in Esa. xvii. 3.

³ “Est usque hodie insignis civitas ;” Onomast. art. *Gaza*.

⁴ Antonin. Mart. Itin. 33, “Gaza autem civitas splendida, deliciosa, homines ii. 381 382

honestissimi, omni liberalitate decori, amatores peregrinorum.”

⁵ Eutychiei Annales II. p. 260 sq.

⁶ Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 77. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. art. *Gazzah*. Reland Pal. p. 793.

⁷ See above, Vol. I. p. 391.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 17. 12, “Gaza urbs antiquissima ab Ascalona decem distans miliaribus, diruta et habitatoribus carens . . . sita in colle aliquantulum edito, magnum satis et diffusum infra muros continens ambitum.” Comp. also 20. 21.

⁹ Will. Tyr. l. c. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 10.

¹⁰ Will. Tyr. 20. 21. Wilken l. c. p. 133

the fatal battle of Hattin in A. D. 1187, and the surrender of Askalon to Saladin, Gaza also passed into his hands.¹ It appears also to have opened its gates to Richard for a short time;² but it must soon have reverted to the Muhammedans. It is afterwards mentioned in the history of the crusades, only as the scene of two battles lost by the Franks in A. D. 1239 and 1244.³

According to Brocardus, it was in his day commonly called *Gazara*;⁴ and it is also mentioned by this name as late as the close of the fifteenth century. At that time the pilgrims were accustomed to travel from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai by way of Gaza; where they laid in their stores for the desert.⁵ Fabri in 1483 describes the city as populous, with many Jews and Christians as in Jerusalem, and an abundance of provisions, cheap in price and excellent in quality.⁶

Our visit to Gaza was rather an episode in our journey, than the result of any definite plan of inquiry and observation. We did not anticipate here much new information; and were therefore not disappointed. We made minute and particular inquiries after several places, which appear to have lain towards the south and southeast of Gaza, such as Lachish, Ziklag, Gerar, and others; but could hear or find no vestige of them. We afterwards repeated the same inquiries among the Arabs of the plain, but with no better success. Of Gerar, or a name answering to it, some of the Christians of Gaza thought they had heard in the south; but the people of the country knew nothing of it.

According to the ancient accounts, Gerar lay in or near a valley,⁷ which would seem to be no other than the great Wady Sheri'ah or one of its branches. This Wady, as we have seen, was said to receive Wady es-Seba' which comes down from Beersheba;⁸ and we know that Gerar was near the land of the Philistines, and Isaac went up from it directly to Beersheba, which was not far distant.⁹ The name continued to exist, (perhaps as a matter of tradition,) for several centuries after the Christian era. Eusebius and Jerome place it twenty-five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards the south; and Sozomen re-

¹ Bohaeddin Vit Saladin. p. 72.

² Gaufr. Vinisaufr in Gale Scriptor. Hist. Angl. II. Lib. V. 40. p. 394. Comp. V. 19. p. 382. Wilken. *ibid.* IV. pp. 477, 502.

³ Wilken *ib.* VI. pp. 588 sq. 642.

⁴ Brocard. c. 10, p. 186. This is an ancient Greek form; Joseph. Antiq. 7. 4. 1. *ib.* 13. 6. 6.

⁵ So Tucher 1479, Breydenbach and

Fabri 1483; Reissb. des h. Landes pp. 678, 187, 289-291.

⁶ Reissb. p. 291. So Belon about 1548, Obs p. 310; and Helffrich in A. D. 1565; Reissb. p. 722.

⁷ Gen. 26, 17.

⁸ See above, Vol. I. p. 204.

⁹ Gen. 26, 1. 20. 23. 26-33. Comp 20, 1.

lates, that a large and celebrated monastery stood there, adjacent to a winter torrent.¹ The abbot Silvanus resided there near the close of the fourth century; and the name of Marcian, as bishop of Gerar, (perhaps in the convent,) appears among the signatures of the council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451.² Future travellers may perhaps still find traces of its monastery, in connection with Wady Sheri'ah or its branches; although the name of Gerar seems to have become extinct, at least in this district.³

We left Gaza the same day (May 21st) at 11.20, intending to take a more southern route to Beit Jibrin on our way to Hebron. We heard much of the village of Hûj, as having been recently founded by order of the government in the territory hitherto occupied by the Bedawin; and we determined to visit it, and then proceed directly through the country of the Arabs, in the hope of discovering some ancient sites. Our way led us back along the Yâfa road, by which we had approached Gaza, for half an hour, to the gap of the line of hills; thence directly east until 2.10; and afterwards about E. by N. The country is undulating; the few shallow Wadys all run northwards to Wady Simsim. At 1½ o'clock we passed the mounds of a former village called Beit Dirdis; and at 1.55 the hill el-Muntâr near Gaza bore S. 83° W. We reached Hûj at 2.55; it being only about two and a half hours from Gaza.

Hûj is one of the many villages which in former times were left to go to ruin, in consequence of the vexations and oppressions of the Arabs who occupied the neighbouring country, and spread themselves by degrees over the whole district. The region towards the south and east is called the country of Hasy, from a fountain and former place of that name; and is filled with deserted sites and ruined villages; there being not one of them inhabited. The Arab tribes of the Jebârât and Wahâideh, who recently occupied the tract around Hûj, having joined in the rebellion against the Egyptian government in 1834, were defeated and many of them killed. Of the remainder, some were taken as soldiers, and the rest ordered to become Fellâhin; but the greater portion fled, and these tribes were comparatively exterminated. The small remnants of them were now encamped near Tell el-Hasy. These Wahâideh were said to be relatives of a tribe of the same name further south. After the district had thus been left without inhabitants, the village of Hûj was built up with wretched mud houses, and was now occupied by a motley collection of two or three hundred souls.

¹ Onomast. art. *Gerara*. Sozom. Hist. Ecc. 6. 32. ib. 9. 17. Reland Palæst. p. 804 sq.

² Mr. Rowlands supposes he found Gerar near Wady Sheri'ah, three hours S. S. E. from Gaza. This needs further examination. Holy City, I. p. 464.

³ See above, Vol. I. p. 122. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. pp. 662, 663. ii. 384, 385

The village stands on the west of a curve of Wady el-Hasy, which here sweeps round to the north, and then turns to the west after half an hour to join Wady Simsim. We found the lazy inhabitants still engaged in treading out their barley harvest, which their neighbours had completed long before. Several women were beating out with a stick handfuls of the grain which they seemed to have gleaned.¹ One female was grinding with a handmill; turning the mill with one hand, and occasionally dropping in the grain with the other. Here were several subterranean magazines for grain, like cisterns, with a mouth like a well, such as we had seen in several villages. A yoke of oxen were drawing water from a deep well, by hauling the rope over a pulley; being driven off on a line from the well into the fields. By pacing the ground over which they thus passed, we found the depth of the well to be nearly two hundred feet.

We stopped here for about half an hour, wishing to obtain a guide for es-Sukkariyeh, the next village on the direct route to Beit Jibrin, though several hours distant. One was found after some difficulty; but just as we were setting off, we learned from him, that the sites we wished to visit, were not on the direct road, but lay between Bureir and es-Sukkariyeh. We concluded therefore to return to Bureir, which was in sight, where we had rested on Saturday; and where we were sure of obtaining more certain information and a better guide. We had already paid the Sheikh for the present guide, and now sent for the money back; he came himself to repay it, and rather impertinently demanded a *bakhshish* for his trouble. As however the trouble we had given him, was much less than the vexation he had caused us, we chose to set off one against the other.

From Huj the village of Bureir lies N. 20° E. We left the former place at 3½ o'clock, passing first over a swell of ground, and in half an hour crossing Wady el-Hasy, here a broad meadow tract running west, and immediately uniting with Wady Simsim. This was the same road which we had taken from Bureir by mistake on Saturday. At 4.20 was a mound and some foundations, called Jelameh. We reached Bureir at 4.50, and encamped for the night. Several Sheikhs and chief men soon visited us, and answered our inquiries as to places and ruins in the vicinity, some with freedom, and others with more reserve. They gave us at once a guide for to-morrow.

The soil of all the plain through which we passed is good; as is proved by the abundant crops of grain we saw upon it. The whole of this vast level tract is the property of the government, and not of the inhabitants. Whoever will, may cultivate

¹ Ruth 2, 17, "So she gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that she had gleaned." This process we saw often.

it, and may plough in any place not already preoccupied. But for every two yoke of oxen thus employed in tillage, he must pay to the government seven Ardebs of wheat and eight Ardebs of barley. The peasants, when rich enough to own oxen, plough and sow on their own account; but they frequently are the partners of merchants and others in the cities. The merchant furnishes the oxen, and the Fellâh does the work; while the expenses and income are divided equally between them.

In like manner, as we learned, the greater portion of all the rich plains of Palestine and Syria are in the hands of the government; while the hill country and mountains are held in fee simple, or nearly so, by the inhabitants. It results from this state of things, that the inhabitants of the hills and mountains are far better off than those of the plains; they raise a greater variety of crops, and have an abundance of all kinds of fruit; while those of the plains are in general poor, and are compelled to cultivate only grain in order to satisfy the rapacity of the government. Hence, while the rocky and apparently almost desert mountains teem with an active, thrifty, and comparatively independent population, and the hand of industry is everywhere visible; the rich and fertile plains, deserted of inhabitants or sprinkled here and there with straggling villages, are left to run to waste, or are at the most half tilled by the unwilling labours of a race of serfs.

The land around Bureir, like the rest of the plain, belongs to the government. For the portion cultivated by the people of the village, they now paid annually to the government eight hundred Ardebs of barley and three hundred of wheat. Besides all this, they paid twelve purses Firdeh, and thirty purses of taxes on property. Fifty men had been taken away as soldiers. The people complained bitterly of oppression; and joined in the universal expression of a wish for a Frank government. Here as elsewhere a watch was given us for the night.

Tuesday, May 22d. We had heard of deserted sites on the way to es-Sukkariyeh, bearing the names of Um Lâkis and 'Ajlân; as also of a Tell el-Hasy on the right of the road, where from the accounts we thought there might be ruins. Leaving Bureir at 5.25, and passing immediately the low plain of Wady Simsim, we continued along the higher undulating tract between that Wady and the Hasy, on a course E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. At 6.10, Um Lâkis lay at our left upon a low round swell or knoll. It proved to be a former site, now covered confusedly with heaps of small round stones, with intervals between; among which were seen two or three fragments of marble columns. The place was wholly overgrown with thistles. Towards the southeast below

the hill, was a well, now almost filled up, around which were lying several columns.¹

We had come to this spot, not indeed in the expectation of finding here the site of ancient Lachish, but rather in order to satisfy ourselves more certainly of the fallacy of any supposed resemblance in the two names. These remains are certainly not those of an ancient fortified city, which could for a time at least brave the assaults of an Assyrian army.² Nor indeed does either the name or the position of this spot correspond to those of Lachish; although the varying form of the name might be allowed to pass, did other circumstances combine to identify the position.³ But Lachish, although enumerated among the cities of Judah in the plain, is also mentioned between Adoraim and Azekah;⁴ and lay, according to Eusebius and Jerome, seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards the south.⁵ This would seem to imply that it was situated among or near the hills, somewhere to the southward of Beit Jibrin; while the present Um Lâkis lies in the middle of the plain west of Beit Jibrin three hours distant from the tract of hills.—Yet except this spot, we were not able to find, either now or afterwards, the slightest vestige which might be referred either to Lachish itself, or to the apparently neighbouring city Libneh.⁶

The direct road passes on from Um Lâkis to 'Ajlân by a course nearly due east; the distance being about three quarters of an hour. We sent on our servants thither, while we ourselves turned off more to the right to visit Tell el-Hasy, starting again at 6.20. The land descends gradually towards the Wady of the same name, which we reached in about forty minutes. The way led us through the open fields, where the people were in the midst of the wheat harvest. The beautiful tracts of grain were full of reapers of the Henâdy Arabs; and also of gleaners almost as numerous. These were mostly women; and this department seemed almost as important as the reaping itself; since the latter is done in so slovenly a manner, that not only much falls to the ground, but also many stalks remain uncut.

The Wady el-Hasy is a broad tract of fine meadow lands; on which a large number of the Henâdy were pasturing their horses. These were said to be Bedawin cavalry in the service of Muhammed Aly. The gravelly bed of the Wady winds through

¹ From the hill at Um Lâkis, Bureir bore N. 85° W. Tell el-Hasy S. 55° E. Kufeir S. 5° W. Tûbûkah S. 10° E. The two last are deserted sites in the district of Hasy.

² 2 Kings 18, 14. 19, 8.

³ Besides the addition of Um, the change of *Kaph* into *Koph*, though sometimes found, is not usual; see Vol. I. p. 558, n. 2,

above. Further, in the Arabic form, an Alef is inserted and the Hebrew Yodh omitted.

⁴ Josh. 10, 3. 5. 31. 15, 39. 2 Chr. 11, 9.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Lachis*.

⁶ Josh. 10, 29, comp. verse 31. 15, 42. 2 K. 19, 8. Onomasticon, art. *Lebna*.

this lower tract ; and in it a little water springs up at intervals. It can hardly be said to flow, but rather soaks along through the gravel. The course of the Wady in this part is northwest, and on the southwest side Tell el-Hasy rises steeply, directly from the bed, to the height of two hundred feet or more ; being connected towards the southwest with other lower swells.—At 7.05 we passed in the valley some unhewn foundations of a former village called Tünnür ; and at 7.25, reached the summit of the Tell.

The form of the Tell is singular, a truncated cone with a fine plain on the top, somewhat resembling the Frank mountain, though by no means so high. From the information of our guides, and from the remarkable appearance of this isolated Tell, we had expected to find here traces of ruins ; and a finer position for a fortress or fortified city could hardly be imagined. Yet we could discover nothing whatever, to mark the existence of any former town or structure ; there was nothing indeed but the level circular plain, which seemed never to have been occupied.¹

The summit commands a rich and pleasing prospect, over a wide extent of undulating country, low swelling hills and broad valleys, all of the finest soil ; yet without a single village or ruin rising above the ground, on which the eye can rest. Still, although in the language of Scripture and in common parlance, such a region without fixed habitations may well be called a 'desert,' there was here not wanting the charm of busy life. Several Arab encampments, chiefly Wahâideh and Jebârât, were in sight, surrounded by flocks and herds and troops of camels and asses ; besides the tents of the Henâdy and their numerous horses, and the multitudes of reapers and gleaners scattered over the fields. The other principal Arab tribes of the region, were said to be the Zeyâdât, the Sawârikeh, the 'Amarin, and the Henâideh.—From the Tell, the site of 'Ajlân bore N. 5° W. A Wely was also seen upon a hill not far from the village ed-Dawâimeh, bearing N. 75° E.

From this point to Wady esh-Sheri'ah, the next great valley towards the south, the distance was said to be three hours or more. Wady el-Hasy itself comes down from the vicinity of el-Burj in the southeast, passing by a place of springs called Kûs-sâbeh with ruins in its neighbourhood. It afterwards sweeps

¹ Yet this must be the hill, I think, which Felix Fabri says some of his party ascended, on the way from Sukkariyeh to Gaza in 1483, and found there "thick ancient walls drawn around it ;" Reissb. p. 289. It seems also to be the same hill which Volney describes near a village *Hasi*

as being artificial, and having still on its summit traces of a strong citadel ; Voyage II. p. 311. Traces of walls may well have formerly existed here ; or after all, both these accounts may perhaps rest only on the exaggerated testimony of Arabs. That of Volney certainly does.

round near Hûj, on its way to join Wady Simsim. This latter Wady, as we have seen, is the drain of all the region round Beit Jibrin and Tell es-Sâfieh; and having received the Hasy, bends off northwest by the village of Deir Esneid, and forms the river of Askelon.¹

We heard nothing at the time of any village or ruin called el-Hasy, as reported by Volney;² but a deserted site of that name is marked in our lists along with Hûj and 'Ajlan. It is therefore probably not far distant from the Tell. In the days of Saladin and Richard, this place is mentioned, in connection with the march of their armies, under the name of *Elhissi* and *Alhassi*; and is said to be near water, and not far remote from the mountains of Abraham or Hebron.³

We now left Tell el-Hasy at 8½ o'clock, and came in half an hour directly to 'Ajlan N.½ W. ascending gradually from the valley. On the way we fell in with a troop of seven gazelles feeding. Here is a site of ruins much resembling Um Lâkis in appearance; a low round hillock covered with scattered heaps of unhewn stones. The name alone identifies it with the Eglon of the Old Testament; and there seems to be nothing in the position to contradict this evidence. Eglon was situated in the plain of Judah, apparently not very far distant from Lachish.⁴

Leaving 'Ajlan at 8.25, we bent our course E. by S. towards the village of es-Sukkariyeh. On the way the muleteers killed a large black snake, six feet long; the only one we saw in Palestine.⁵ The day proved exceedingly warm and very uncomfortable; the hot wind coming from behind us. Our eyes and faces were filled all day long with small gnats rising from the wheat fields; and large flies troubled our animals, like swarms of bees. From the dry fields here and there whirlwinds of dust frequently arose, reminding us of those we had formerly seen in the deserts of the south.

We reached es-Sukkariyeh at twenty minutes past 9 o'clock. Like Hûj, it had recently been built up by the governor of Gaza, Sheikh Sa'id, upon former foundations, and was considered as his property. A large house of stone had been erected for himself; and several other houses are also of stone. The name of the village, which signifies "the Sugary," cannot of course be ancient; but tradition knows no other. It existed already in

¹ See above, p. 35.

² See above, p. 48, n.

³ Bohaeddin Vit. Saladin, pp. 228, 229, 231, 233. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. IV. p. 508, 513.

⁴ Josh. 10, 34. 36. 15, 39.—Eusebius and Jerome make Eglon identical with Aduſſan, and place it twelve miles east of Eleutheropolis; Onomast. art. *Eg'lon*. But

this stands in direct contradiction with Josh. 12, 12. 15. 15, 35. 39.—From 'Ajlan, Bureir bore W. 'Arak es-Suweidan N. 12° W. Beit 'Affa N. 3° W. Tell el-Hasy S. 5° E.

⁵ At 8.55, at a high point in the road, Sümmeil bore N. 21° E. Tell es-Sâfieh N. 32° E. Fâlûj N. 36° E. es-Sukkariyeh E.

the fifteenth century ; and seems to imply the former cultivation of the sugar cane in the vicinity.¹—In one place is a small enclosure of large squared stones, apparently of ancient workmanship. Several marble columns and a Corinthian capital, were also strewn upon the ground. In Sheikh Sa'id's house likewise, many large square stones of former structures have been built in. The place seems to be, without much question, an ancient site ; but I am unable to assign to it any scriptural name with even a tolerable degree of probability.² From Sukkariyeh, Tell es-Sâfieh bore N. 27° E.

We were delayed here for half an hour, in procuring a guide for el-Kubeibeh and Beit Jibrin. We found great difficulty, for the first time, in persuading any one to accompany us for money ; although many persons were lounging about the village without occupation. Indeed, we had finally to appeal to the Sheikh, and obtained a man only by his order. The obstacle seemed, in this case, to be sheer indolence ; the men were too lazy to take the trouble even to earn money so easily.

Starting again at ten minutes before 10 o'clock, we took the road to el-Kubeibeh. Just out of the village of Sukkariyeh we passed the large public well, where a camel was drawing water by a Sâkieh ; while large flocks and herds were waiting around. Our course was about E. by N. The country soon became more hilly, and rocks began occasionally to appear. The crops of grain were however good. In one field, as we approached Kubeibeh, nearly two hundred reapers and gleaners were at work ; the latter being nearly as numerous as the former. A few were taking their refreshment, and offered us some of their " parched corn." In the season of harvest, the grains of wheat, not yet fully dry and hard, are roasted in a pan or on an iron plate, and constitute a very palatable article of food ; this is eaten along with bread, or instead of it. Indeed, the use of it is so common at this season among the labouring classes, that this parched wheat is sold in the markets ; and it was among our list of articles to be purchased at Hebron, for our further journey to Wady Mûsa. The Arabs, it was said, prefer it to rice ; but this we did not find to be the case. The whole scene of the reapers and gleaners, and their " parched corn," gave us a lively representa-

¹ F. Fabri and Breydenbach with their party, in travelling from Hebron to Gaza in A. D. 1483, spent the night at a Khân in the plain near a village called Zuckaria (Sukkariyeh). See F. Fabri in Reissb. des h. Landes p. 289. Breydenbach also speaks of the Khân, but gives no name ; *ibid* p. 186. They probably travelled the usual road by Beit Jibrin ; of which place however neither makes any mention.—

Sukkariyeh is also mentioned by Mejr ed-Din in 1495 ; *Fundgr. des Orients* II. p. 142.

² Es-Sukkariyeh is about 2½ hours W. S. W. of Beit Jibrin. If the latter be taken as Eleutheropolis, then this distance (but not the direction) would correspond well enough with the position of Lachish. See p. 47, above.

tion of the story of Ruth and the ancient harvest-home in the fields of Boaz.¹

We passed el-Kubeibeh at twenty minutes past 11 o'clock, situated on a stony barren hill ten minutes on our right. It is another village built up by the governor of Gaza on former foundations ; but there seemed to be nothing to mark it particularly as an ancient site. Our course now lay more to the left, north-east over the low hills to Beit Jibrin ; which place we reached at half past twelve, descending into the southern valley from the southwest. We spread our carpets under the same olive tree as on our former visit ; and after a lunch laid ourselves down to enjoy a short *siesta*.

On awaking, we found ourselves surrounded by a circle of people, to the number of a dozen or more, who seemed to consider themselves quite at home in our company. They proved to be men from Beit Jāla, friends and neighbours of our guide, who had come down to hire themselves out during the harvest in the plain ; their own harvest in the mountains being two or three weeks later. There were said to be few places of importance in the plain, where some of the men of Beit Jāla were not now to be found ; a fact which speaks well for their industrious habits. They all gathered around us, and accompanied us wherever we went. The Sheikh of the village was now at home, and came to us. He was an intelligent man, and of his own accord proposed to show us several antiquities in the vicinity, which we had omitted to see on our former visit. Mounting his sleek mare, and accompanied by several men of the village, and by the whole posse of our friends from Beit Jāla, he led the way to several places of no little interest, which certainly deserve the further attention of travellers and antiquarians.

We went first to some caverns on the southwest side of the Wady leading up to Santa Hanneh, near the path by which we had approached from Kubeibeh. These are artificial excavations, having partly the character of those we had seen near Deir Dubbān, but of much more careful workmanship. Besides domes, there are here also long arched rooms, with the walls in general cut quite smooth. One of these was nearly a hundred feet in length ; having along its sides, about ten feet above the level of the floor, a line of ornamental work like a sort of cornice. On one side, lower down, were two niches at some distance apart, which seemed once to have had images standing in them ; but the stone was too much decayed to determine with

¹ Ruth 2, 8, "Then said Boaz unto Ruth,—Go not to glean in another field, neither go from hence, but abide here fast by my maidens." Verse 14, "And she sat beside the reapers ; and he reached her

parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed and left." Of the vinegar mentioned in the same verse we heard nothing. See the whole chapter.

certainly. These apartments are all lighted by openings from above. In one smaller room, not lighted, there was at one corner what looked like a sarcophagus hollowed out of the same rock ; but it was too much broken away to enable us to speak positively. The entrance to the whole range of caverns, is by a broad arched passage of some elevation ; and we were surprised at the taste and skill displayed in the workmanship.

The Sheikh now took us across the same valley to other clusters of caverns in the northern hill ; more extensive indeed than the former, occupying in part the bowels of the whole hill ; but less important and far less carefully wrought. These consist chiefly of bell-shaped domes lighted from above, like those at Deir Dubbân ; though some are merely high arched chambers excavated in the face of the rock, and open to the day. The rock is here softer, and very many of the domes are broken down. The Sheikh related, that one chamber before unknown having recently fallen in, he thinking there might be treasure in it, sent down a man to explore it ; but he found only a human skeleton. In one of these caverns was a small fountain ; and near by were two short inscriptions in very old Cufic, which my companion copied. They seem however to have been the work of casual visitors ; and afford no explanation of the age or object of the excavations.¹

We now struck down to the church of Santa Hanneh, passing on the way the well already described as lying northeast of the ruin.² On inquiring of the Sheikh, whether there was any living fountain in the vicinity, he said that according to their tradition, the well in the valley half way towards the town,³ was once a fountain, whose waters overflowed and ran along the valley ; but in order to obtain more, they dug it deeper and walled it up ; so that the water now no longer rises to the top. It is called Um Judei'a. This circumstance, as we shall see, is of some historical importance.

We next bent our course towards the Tell on the south of the valley, where from the accounts of the Arabs there seemed to be a prospect of finding ruins. At its foot, just out of the valley, we passed several excavated tombs. I entered one, descending by a few steps ; and found it to be about fifty feet long by fifteen or twenty broad, with deep niches on each side and at the end for dead bodies. The others were similar externally. The Tell itself, consisting of chalky limestone, is rather a striking object in this part of the country ; a truncated cone with a flat circular plateau on the top, some six hundred feet in diameter. On this plat are no traces of foundations, except a few on

¹ See Note XXXIII, end of the volume.

² Page 26.

³ Page 26.

ii. 396, 397

the southwest part. But towards the southeast and especially on a lower plateau or projection of the hill on that side, there are many foundations of walls and buildings ; yet no hewn stones, nor any remains of the superstructures. There would seem to have been here an ancient site ; the materials of whose buildings may perhaps have been absorbed in the later erections of Beit Jibrin.

But the most remarkable spot of all remained yet to be visited. This was another series of immense excavations on the southern end of the same hill, below the traces of foundations just described. Lighting several candles, we entered by a narrow and difficult passage from a pit overgrown with briars, and found ourselves in a dark labyrinth of galleries and apartments, all cut from the solid rock, and occupying the bowels of the hill. Here were some dome-shaped chambers as before ; others were extensive rooms, with roofs supported by columns of the same rock left in excavating ; and all were connected with each other by passages, apparently without order or plan. Several other apartments were still more singular. These were also in the form of tall domes, twenty feet or more in diameter, and from twenty to thirty feet high ; they were entered by a door near the top, from which a staircase cut in the same rock wound down around the wall to the bottom. We descended into several of these rooms ; but found nothing at the bottom, and no appearance of any other door or passage. We could discover no trace of inscriptions ; nor any thing, indeed, which might afford the slightest clue for unravelling the mystery, in which the history and object of these remarkable excavations are enveloped.—Near by were said to be other similar clusters, which our time did not permit us further to explore.

Such was the further amount of information which we obtained at Beit Jibrin on this our second visit. The question naturally now came up again, Whether this was to be regarded as the site of Eleutheropolis ? The massive ruins in the village, the fine church of Santa Hanneh, and the immense and singular excavations which we had now explored, testify sufficiently to the existence here of a great and important city ; more important indeed, by far, than any other in the whole tract between the coast and the cities of the mountains. We had also now passed through the whole region north and west of Beit Jibrin, in which, if not here, Eleutheropolis must have stood ; and that without finding the slightest trace of any site, which could even with the remotest probability be referred to that ancient city. All these circumstances tended strongly to produce upon our minds an impression of the identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrin ; but as they were not in themselves decisive, we preferred

still to suspend our judgment, and prosecute our inquiries yet further.

From Beit Jibrin two roads lead to Hebron. The easier and more usual one goes up the left hand valley by the village of Terkûmieh. On or near this road we were told of a place now called Beit Nûsib ; in which name it was easy to recognise the Nezib of the plain of Judah, situated according to Eusebius nine, and according to Jerome seven miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron.¹ The other road passes up the southern valley by Santa Hanneh ; and on this was said to be a village called Idhna, which could be no other than the Jedna of Eusebius and Jerome, lying on the way to Hebron, six Roman miles from Eleutheropolis. The distance of Beit Nûsib and Idhna, and especially the latter, would therefore furnish a decisive test as to the probable identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrin ; and we accordingly determined to take the road leading by Idhna. The village ed-Dawâimeh was also spoken of ; and having received the impression that it lay on the way to Idhna, we concluded to proceed thither for the night.

The valley in which Santa Hanneh stands, has its head a few minutes above the church ; and beyond the water-shed towards the south, is a small plain, formed by the junction of two Wadys, one coming down from the E. S. E. and the other shorter one from the S. S. E. This point of junction is ten minutes from the church, or half an hour from Beit Jibrin. The outlet of this little area is towards the west, passing off south of the Tell towards the western plain. We descended from the caverns under the Tell into the little plain ; and at half past 4 o'clock proceeded on our way up the southern valley S. 20° E. for forty-five minutes. The Sheikh accompanied us for a considerable distance in token of respect, and to show us the road ; and then clapping spurs to his fine animal, soon disappeared down the valley. The hills were bushy and green. For a part of the way, near the head of the little valley, there were traces of an ancient road, with walls in several places. Here were also several rude pillars ; and one weather-worn column might well have been a Roman milestone.

At 5½ o'clock we crossed the water-shed at the head of this valley, and immediately began to descend along another similar Wady running S. 20° W. After about twenty minutes, it enters a much broader Wady coming from the southeast, which then bends off south of west, and passing on into the western plain, runs by Fâlûjy, and finally unites with Wady Simsim. On a high rocky ridge beyond this valley, and around which it thus bends, stands the village of Dawâimeh. We reached it at

¹ Josh. 15, 43. Onomast. art. *Necrib*. See p. 17, above.

5½ o'clock, making one hour and three quarters from Beit Jibrin. The surface of the hill is so rocky and uneven, that for some time we could not find a place to pitch our tent. At length, however, after passing the village, we came upon several threshing-floors towards the south, where the stones had been cleared away; and here we encamped for the night.

On inquiring of the people respecting Idhna, we were not a little surprised to hear, that we had taken a wrong road, and were now nearly as far from that place as we had been at Beit Jibrin. The right road, it seemed, passed up the left hand Wady from the little plain south of Santa Hanneh; while we had followed the other valley. The mistake was owing to the well meant officiousness of our guide; who hearing us inquire respecting Idhna and Dawâimeh, and wishing to show us both places, had first brought us hither, intending to-morrow to take Idhna in our way to Hebron. This circuit was of course likely to frustrate the whole purpose of our visit to Idhna; and we were not a little disappointed.

The hill on which Dawâimeh stands, is one of the highest in the surrounding tract. It affords a view of several villages and sites towards the east among the hills, and also on the higher mountain; while on the west an elevated ridge shuts out all view of the great plain. On this ridge stands the Wely we had seen from Tell el-Hasy.¹

The people of the village came around us as usual; and we found here also several Christians from Beit Jâla, employed as labourers in the harvest. The barley harvest was just at an end, and the wheat harvest just beginning; so that the treading out of both species of grain was going on at the same time. Camels laden with sheaves were coming in as we arrived, carrying on their backs almost a small cart-load.—After coffee in our tent, most of the people went away; but the Sheikh remained. We were not much disposed to like him; he was cringing in his manner, and at the same time reserved and unaccommodating. He still sat and sat, until dinner was served, and then partook of our meal; the first time that an Arab had yet eaten with us, though we had always invited them.

The Sheikh and others spoke much of a ruined fortress called el-Burj, of which we had already heard, situated an hour or two south of Dawâimeh. The former offered to give us a guide thither in the morning; and we concluded on the whole to take this course, and return at a later period directly from

¹ We obtained at Dawâimeh the following bearings: Beit 'Auwa, ruin, S. 45° W. N. 85° E. Kusbur N. 72° E. Bükkr N. 72° E. Beit Ummar N. 70° E. Idhna N. 70° E. Wely seen from Tell el-Hasy N. 75° W. Taiyibeh on the mountain

Hebron to Beit Jibrin. The guide was accordingly selected, and received his instructions to be ready at early dawn. We paid eight piastres for his services into the hands of the Sheikh ; and regarded it as a much higher price than usual, it being indeed the wages of a whole day ; while less than half a day would be occupied by the man, both in going and returning.

Here as elsewhere men were set to watch all night around our tent ; but in this instance their charge probably extended also to the adjacent threshing-floors. Yet the Sheikh took good care not to burden his own people ; but laid the task upon the poor labourers from Beit Jâla. No pay or present was now or at any time demanded on account of the watch. Our guards here, however, took their own pay in grain from the threshing-floors, which they parched and ate during the night ; solacing themselves with this favourite article of harvest food, and turning their watch into a wake.

Wednesday, May 23d. We rose early ; and just as we were mounting to set off for el-Burj, the guide came, and with him the Sheikh, saying he could not go with us unless we paid him a larger price. As this was a barefaced attempt at extortion, I decided instantly to take the road back to Beit Jibrin and so to Idhna, in order to determine at once the question as to Eleutheropolis. Indeed, we did not regret, either now or afterwards, that this occasion had intervened thus to change our proposed course. We demanded back our money, which was repaid with evident chagrin. This was the first, and I think the only instance we met with of a like meanness after a bargain had once been concluded ; for however variable and extravagant an Arab may be in his previous demands, yet when an agreement had been actually made, we usually found them faithful to their engagements.

Setting off at once, we returned by our road of last evening to the junction of the two Wadys in the little plain south of Santa Hanneh, half an hour from Beit Jibrin. Here turning into the more eastern valley at 6½ o'clock, we followed it up on the way to Idhna. I know not when I have felt more the excitement of suspense, than while traversing this short distance. A question of some historical moment was depending on the circumstance, whether we reached Idhna at 8 o'clock. If so, our researches after the long lost Eleutheropolis would be crowned with success ; if not, we were again afloat, and certain of no thing.

In this valley also there were occasionally traces of an ancient road, skirted by walls which probably enclosed fields. Our general course all the way to Idhna was E. S. E.½E. The valley became narrower as we advanced, with green bushy hills

on both sides. The hills round about had evidently once been terraced for cultivation ; but the tillage is now confined mostly to the bottoms of the valleys. At a quarter past seven, we passed a well in the valley, and the ruins of a village called Beit 'Alâm, on a low mound at our left.

Soon after this we saw a man walking before us with a gun ; a suspicious circumstance in these days, when the people had been all disarmed. Sending forward a man to reconnoitre, we found he was a peaceable Fellâh from Dûra in the mountains. The inhabitants of that village, in their quarrels among themselves, had recently employed fire arms ; thereby showing to the government that they still possessed them, although they had formerly professed to give them all up. In consequence of this, the governors of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Hebron, were now at Dûra, demanding from the inhabitants their arms. Every man was required to bring in a gun ; no matter whether he possessed one or not. This poor fellow, who had none, had been searching after one for three days in the plain, and had finally purchased a miserable old thing for sixty piastres. He was now returning home in order to surrender it to the governors.

At 7.50 we came to the head of the valley ; and here in the midst of a rocky tract of gradual ascent was a large public well. The stones round about it were much worn, by the friction of the ropes in drawing water. It now wanted but ten minutes of 8 o'clock ; and as yet nothing was to be seen of Idhna. But as we reached the top of the ascent, the village lay before us, somewhat lower down on the other side ; and precisely at 8 o'clock we entered the place and dismounted at the house of the Sheikh. We thus found Idhna to be just two hours, or six Roman miles, from Beit Jibrin ; which is the specified distance of Jedna from Eleutheropolis.

At a later period we visited Beit Nûsib, lying near the other road from Beit Jibrin to Hebron, not far from Terkûmieh. This latter village is reckoned at two and a half hours from Beit Jibrin, and Nûsib is apparently a little less distant ; corresponding well to the account of Jerome respecting Nezib, that it lay seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron.

ELEUTHEROPOLIS.

I have thus detailed all the circumstances of direct evidence, which led us to the conviction, that Eleutheropolis must have been identical with Beit Jibrin, the ancient Betogabra. The latter was the earlier native appellation, for which (as in so many other cases) the Greek name Eleutheropolis was officially substituted ; yet the ancient name maintained its place in the

mouths of the people, and the later one at length fell into disuse and was forgotten. An exact parallel is presented by the cases of Lydda, Emmaus, Jerusalem, and several other cities; which after having been for centuries officially known as Diospolis, Nicopolis, and Ælia, afterwards resumed their native names, while the others sunk into oblivion. In these and similar instances, there is indeed historical testimony to the identity of the native and foreign appellations; while in the case of Eleutheropolis and Betogabra, it happened that no such incidental testimony was then known to exist. But on the other hand, as we shall see, there also existed none more direct against the identity; and the accidental silence of history could not weigh against the mass of positive evidence.

Our conviction of the identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrin, was derived solely and exclusively from the specifications of Eusebius and Jerome, respecting the distances of various places from the former, the sites of which we were able to ascertain. These, as we have already seen, were the following:

Zorah	10 R. M.	} on the way towards Nicopolis.
Beth-shemesh	10 "	
Jarnuk	10 "	} on the way towards Jerusalem.
Socoh	9 "	
Jedna	6 "	} on the way towards Hebron.
Nézib	7 or 9 "	

In respect to these places, it is to be remarked, that the distances specified are not to be regarded as definitely exact, or as having been accurately measured; unless perhaps, in the case of those which might happen to lie directly upon a great road. Now such a road from Eleutheropolis to Nicopolis, let the former have lain where it may, certainly did not pass through Beth-shemesh and Zorah; it ran without doubt among the hills near the plain, and crossing the mouth of Wady es-Sūrâr, passed along near the mountains to the city in question. At the tenth mile from Eleutheropolis, a traveller would see Beth-shemesh and Zorah on his right; one in the mouth of Wady es-Sūrâr, and the other on the hill further north.—To Jerusalem there appear to have been two roads. One seems to have followed the Nicopolis road until it approached Wady es-Sūrâr; and then turning through the hills to or near Beth-shemesh, went up perhaps through the Sūrâr, or more probably, as now, by way of Sâris; this would pass at or near Jarmuk, which could not well have been seen from the Nicopolis road. The other probably was nearly the same as the present road through the Wady el-Musûrr;¹ on this Socoh would be visible and not from the

¹ See pp. 15, 20.

former.—From Eleutheropolis to Hebron there must also have been two roads, as there are now from Beit Jibrin; for from no conceivable position of Eleutheropolis, could a traveller pass by or even see both Jedna and Nezib on one and the same route to Hebron; inasmuch as they both lie among the hills, nearly two hours apart in a direction from north to south, and are not visible from each other.¹

These things being premised, and making all due allowance for the merely approximate specifications of Eusebius and Jerome, it appears from our routes and examination, as already detailed, that the space actually travelled over by us, in connection with short estimated distances from the first four places, Zorah, Beth-shemesh, Jarmuk, and Socoh, renders it certain that Eleutheropolis could not have lain at the most more than half an hour further north or further south than Beit Jibrin.² In like manner the ascertained distances of Jedna and Nezib show, that it could have lain neither further east nor further west than the same place. Further, we had now traversed the country by five different routes (and later by a sixth) on the north, west, south, and east of Beit Jibrin, anxiously searching out every trace of former sites; and had found nothing, which with the slightest degree of probability could be tortured into the site of Eleutheropolis. Indeed, in no other position do all these distances from various known points meet at all; while in Beit Jibrin they come together of themselves, and all the other circumstances likewise correspond.³ Further, the Itinerary of Antoninus places Eleutheropolis at twenty-four Roman miles from Askelon, which nearly coincides with the true distance of Beit Jibrin.⁴

Such is the amount of the direct and positive topographical evidence in favour of the identity of Eleutheropolis and Beit Jibrin; and in the absence of collateral historical testimony, I can hardly conceive of a case more strongly supported. Future travellers, by more exact measurements, may add to, or modify in some degree, this evidence; but I have no apprehension that the main result will ever be disturbed.

¹ There are doubtless also corruptions in the Onomasticon. Thus, according to Eusebius, Nezib was nine miles from Eleutheropolis, while Jerome gives it at seven, which appears to be correct.—In respect to Jedna the specification of six miles rests on the authority of Eusebius; Jerome's article reads as follows: "*Jedna, in deserto ab Eleutheropoli lapide pergentibus Chebron.*" Here "*lapide*" is without any adjunct, and the word "*deserto*" should doubtless be read "*sexta*."

² Pages 22, 27.

³ Thus if the site of Eleutheropolis were to be assumed at Kudna, then Socoh becomes less than six, and Jedna more than nine miles distant; the latter besides not then being on any direct road to Hebron. So too of any other position.

⁴ See above p. 27 sq. Antonin. Itin. ed. Wess. p. 200. Reland Pal. p. 420. The same Itinerary sets Eleutheropolis at xx Roman miles from Jerusalem, which should probably read xxx; an x having been lost. This would correspond well with the actual distance.

Let us look now at the notices of Eleutheropolis which have come down to us in ancient writers, and compare them with those of Betogabra. Not indeed in the hope of thus decidedly tracing the identity of the two ; for the slight link which might connect them in the chain of historical evidence,—a single line upon the page of history,—was unfortunately omitted or had since been lost ; but in order to see whether there is any thing which militates against this identity ; and if not, to see further, whether this very silence and the attendant circumstances do not tend indirectly to confirm the same hypothesis.

The earliest mention of Betogabra, as we have seen, is by Ptolemy in the beginning of the second century ; and again in the Peutinger Tables, probably in the reign of Alexander Severus, about A. D. 230.¹ Whether the name Eleutheropolis already existed in the days of Ptolemy we do not know ; but before the construction of the Tables, this name is found upon coins of the city inscribed to Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and dated in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of that emperor, corresponding to A. D. 202 and 203. The emperor had been in Palestine about that time (A. D. 202), and had conferred privileges and immunities on various cities.² Among them Eleutheropolis appears to have shared his favour, and thus testified its gratitude. Another coin of the same city, struck in honour of Caracalla, the next emperor, is also extant.³

The earliest writer who mentions Eleutheropolis, is Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* about A. D. 330 or later, followed by Jerome near the close of the same century. In their day it was an episcopal city of importance ; and was so well known, that they assumed it as the central point in southern Palestine, from which to determine the position of more than twenty other places. The renown and the very name of the greater central city have long since passed away ; while many of these minor places still remain, and have afforded, in their turn, to strangers from a new world, the means of determining the site and re-establishing the claims of the ancient metropolis.

In that age this city was indeed the metropolis of the adjacent country, which is frequently spoken of as the region of

¹ Ptolemæus 4. 16, Judæa. Reland *Palæst.* pp. 461, 421.

² Spartian. in Severo, cap. 16, 17. Belley p. 431. See the next note.

³ See a description of these three coins, (one of which is in the collection of Sir Hans Soane,) in Mionnet *Médaill. Antiques*, Tom. V. p. 534. Haym *Tesor. Brittan.* I. p. 261. Eckhel *Doctr. Numm.* Tom. III. p. 448. Rasche's *Lexicon art. Eleutheropolis*. See also particularly

ii. 408, 409

the able essay of the Abbé Belley, "Sur les Médaill. des villes de Diospolis et d'Eleutheropolis," A. D. 1754, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Tom. XXVI. p. 429 sq.—On the reverse of these coins the city styles itself *Lucia Septimia Severiana*, after the name of the emperor ; just as Cæsarea and Neapolis took on coins the appellation of *Flavia*, Tiberias that of *Claudia*, Gadara that of *Pompeiana*, etc. Belley p. 431.

Eleutheropolis.¹ The names of five of its bishops are found in the records and signatures of councils, from that of Nicea in A. D. 325 to that of Jerusalem in A. D. 536 ; besides historical notices of three others during the same period.² Epiphanius, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century, is said to have been born at a village three miles distant from Eleutheropolis ; he is thence called a native of that city, which he several times mentions in his writings.³ To the next following centuries belongs the mention of Eleutheropolis as an episcopal city, in two Greek ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* ; one of which was compiled before A. D. 451, since it still speaks of Cæsarea as the metropolitan see ; while the other, to judge from the preamble, refers to a time not very long after the erection of Jerusalem into a patriarchate.⁴ The same age was also the age of legends and lives of saints ; and in these the name of Eleutheropolis not unfrequently occurs.⁵ About the close of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, Antoninus Martyr appears to have visited this city ; the name of which is corrupted in his account, to Eliotropolis and also Heliopolis.⁶

It is somewhat remarkable, that with the exception of the coins above mentioned, the name of Eleutheropolis occurs in profane history only in two writers ; both of whom mention it incidentally, in connection with the same period of ecclesiastical renown. The first of these is Ammianus Marcellinus, the contemporary of Jerome, in the latter part of the fourth century. From his language the conclusion has sometimes been drawn, though without sufficient ground, that Eleutheropolis was built up in the third century, and did not exist before that time.⁷

¹ Onomast. art. *Esthmo*, *Maspha*, etc. Hieron. Ep. 39, ad Theophilum ; " Monasterium S. Epiphani in Eleutheropolitano territorio et non in Eliensi situm est."

² Reland Palest. p. 750. *Le Quien Oriens Christ.* III. p. 633 sq.

³ See the references in Reland *ib.* pp. 751, 752.

⁴ See these *Notitiæ* in Reland Palest. pp. 214 sq. 219 sq. The last is ascribed to Nilus in A. D. 1151 ; but it evidently refers to a time preceding the Muhammedan conquests. Jerusalem was made an independent patriarchate at the council of Chalcedon A. D. 451-3 ; see above, Vol. I. p. 380. In both these *Notitiæ* the name of Betogabra does not occur.

⁵ So in the tract ascribed to Dorotheus bishop of Tyre ; where Simon, one of the apostles, is said to have preached at Eleutheropolis ; and Jesus surnamed Justus, to have been its first bishop ; see the passages cited in Reland p. 751. So too in the legends respecting Ananias, which will be

mentioned further on ; Acta Sanctor. Jan. Tom. II. p. 613. Also in the life of St. Euthymius, Cotel. Monum. Eccl. Græc. II. p. 329. Acta Sanctor. Jan. Tom. II. p. 326.

⁶ Itin. 32. Reland *ib.* p. 752.

⁷ Reland p. 749. The passage of Ammianus is as follows ; he is enumerating the cities of Palestine : " Cæsaream . . . Eleutheropolim, et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem, Gazam, ævo superiore extractas ;" 14. 8. 11. Here the last clause, " ævo superiore extractas," can obviously apply in no stronger sense to Eleutheropolis, than it does to Neapolis, Askalon, and Gaza ; in respect to all which, if understood to imply that they were then first built, it is notoriously false. To say nothing of the antiquity of Gaza and Askalon, I need only remark of Neapolis, that this name is already mentioned by Josephus ; B. J. 4. 8. 1.

The other writer is the grammarian Suidas ; whose work perhaps belongs rather to ecclesiastical history. Writing not earlier than the close of the tenth century, from sources now lost, he mentions circumstances which formerly took place in Eleutheropolis. These are wholly unimportant, relating merely to the unsuccessful attempt of Eutocius, a Thracian soldier, to become a citizen and senator of the city ; and also to Marianus, a late poet at Rome, whose father removed to Eleutheropolis, and who acquired honours under the reign of the emperor Anastasius, A. D. 493–518.¹

This is the amount of all we know of Eleutheropolis before the Muhammedan conquest of Palestine, which was completed in A. D. 636. After that time the city is mentioned only once by a cotemporary writer ; and that, in monastic annals, in order to record its fall. In the year 796, the cities of Gaza, Askelon, and Sariphæa are said to have been laid waste, and Eleutheropolis converted into a desert, during a civil war among the various tribes of Saracens in Palestine.² Whether it recovered in any degree from this desolation, we are nowhere informed.

During the Muhammedan dominion and the prevalence of the Arabic tongue, it would be natural to expect, that the ancient name of Betogabra, (later Heb. Beth Gabriel or Beth Gerbrin,) which had doubtless remained among the common people, would again become current ; and cause the Greek name which so long had usurped its place, to be forgotten. And here, as in so many other instances, this seems actually to have been the case ; the ancient name revived, and assumed the Arabic form in which we find it at the present day. In two Latin *Notitiæ*, the date of which is uncertain, but which were obviously first compiled in reference to the centuries preceding the crusades, the name of Eleutheropolis is no longer found ; but in its place appears, in one the name Beigeberin, and in the other Beit Gerbein.³ Not improbably both these notices are to be referred to

¹ Suidas Lexicon art. Εὐτόκιος, Μαριανός. Reland Palest. pp. 753, 754. That the reign of Anastasius I. is intended, is apparent ; for the short sway of the second emperor of that name (A. D. 713–715), falls nearly a century after Palestine was in the hands of the Muhammedans.

² Διαφόρους γὰρ πολυανθρώπους πόλεις ἡρήμωσαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἐλευθερόπολιν παντελῶς ἀεὶ ὁλοκλήτων ἔδειξαν, πᾶσαν ἐκπορεύσαντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Γάζαν καὶ Σαρεφάλαν καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις δεινῶς εἰκύνσαντο. “Depopulati sunt frequentissimas urbes non paucas; Eleutheropolim, abductis in captivitatem universis, desertam fecere. Ascalonem, Gazam, et Sariphæam, aliasque civitates, violenter diriperant.” So Ste-

ii. 411, 412

phen a cotemporary monk of Mâr Sâba, Acta Sanctor. Mart. Tom. III. p. 167 sq. Reland Pal. p. 387. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 313. Comp. Vol. I. p. 391.

³ Reland ib. pp. 222, 227. The latter *Notitia* is found appended to the History of William of Tyre; Gesta Dei per Francos p. 1044.—A comparison of this last Latin *Notitia* with the Greek one of Nilus (Reland p. 220) shows that in the seventh place of each, the Greek has *Eleutheropolis*, and the Latin *Beit Gerbein*. This affords a strong corroborative testimony to the identity of the two ; but is not of itself decisive. See Raumer's Pal. ed. 3, p. 168 Biblioth. Sac. 1844, p. 218, 219.

the eighth century, before the destruction of the city. At any rate, the crusaders found the place in ruins ; and if not wholly deserted, yet at least it had long ceased to be an episcopal see. They rebuilt the fortress ; and its subsequent history I have already recounted.¹ At that time the name and position of Eleutheropolis were so thoroughly forgotten, that Cedrenus, in the last half of the eleventh century, held it to have been the same with Hebron.²

On comparing the preceding notices, it is to be observed, that, with one apparent exception hereafter to be considered, all the writers who mention Betogabra, make no allusion to Eleutheropolis ; while all those who so often speak of the latter, are silent as to Betogabra. Indeed, the latter name is found only quite early in Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables, or again quite late in the two Latin Notitiæ. The Greek name, as appears from the coins, had been adopted before A. D. 202 ; but the subsequent mention of Betogabra in the Tables, shows that this more ancient appellation was still generally current. In the fourth century, when Constantine had adorned Jerusalem with splendid churches, and Palestine became the abode of thousands of foreign monks and ecclesiastics, all using the Greek language, it was natural that the Greek name of this episcopal city should obtain the ascendancy. Accordingly we hear no more of Betogabra until this ecclesiastical authority had been crushed by the Muhammedan conquest, and the ancient name found a more ready utterance upon the lips of a people speaking a kindred tongue. The case, as already suggested, is entirely parallel to those of Diospolis, Nicopolis, and Ælia or Jerusalem itself.

The exception above alluded to, where the names of Betogabra and Eleutheropolis appear to be once mentioned by the same writer, is the expression "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis," to which reference has already been made.³ This expression, in view of the evidence which has since come to light, can only be regarded as originally a gloss, transferred afterwards from the margin into the text. In this way, the expression which at first probably meant nothing more than "Betogabra or Eleutheropolis," assumed its present form "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis." The examples of various readings arising from like glosses in the manuscripts of the New Testament and other ancient writings, are too numerous and well known, to admit a question as to the propriety of applying the same principle for the solution of this case ; and further, this gloss appears to be

¹ Pages 27, 28.

² Geo. Cedreni Historiar. Compend. Paris 1647, Tom. I. p. 33, *ἀπέρται (ἡ Σάββα) ἐν Χεβρών, ἥτις νῦν Ἐλευθερόπολις καλεῖται.*

³ *Ἐν Βηθσαυρῇ τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως.* See p. 28, above. The Latin version of Hervetus has "Betagabre Exeutheropolis;" Acta Sanctor. Jan. Tom. II. p. 614. Note b.

the only shadow of historical testimony, which might tend to excite a doubt as to the identity of Eleutheropolis with the present Beit Jibrin.¹

Another ancient tradition connects itself also, in some degree, with the position of Eleutheropolis; I mean that respecting the miraculous fountain, springing out of the jaw-bone of an ass with which Samson smote the Philistines.² Josephus, in relating the same event, says the fountain sprang out of a rock, and the place in his day still bore the name of the "Jaw-bone;" though it may be doubtful whether he does anything more than merely copy the words of Scripture.³ All this has no connection with Eleutheropolis. Nor is the language of Jerome much more definite, who in tracing the journey of Paula from Jerusalem or Bethlehem to Egypt, makes her pass by way of Socoh to the fountain of Samson; around which he then loosely mentions the Horites and Gittites, and the names of several other cities.⁴ By the Horites he probably meant Eleutheropolis,⁵ and the tradition appears to have been current in his day, that this fountain of Samson was in that region. Somewhat more definite is the testimony of Antoninus Martyr, not long before the Muhammedan conquest; in travelling from Jerusalem to Askelon and Gaza, he came to Eleutheropolis, where the fountain of Samson was still pointed out.⁶ All this however only shows that the fountain was held to be in the vicinity of that city.

No further mention of this fountain occurs before the age of the crusades; nor do any of the Frank or Arabian historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, appear ever to have heard of the fountain of Samson, or of Eleutheropolis. Yet a wandering tradition respecting both the fountain and city, would seem to have maintained itself in the Greek church even out of Palestine; for in the twelfth century the historian Glycas relates, that Samson's fountain was to be seen in his day in the suburbs of Eleutheropolis. But the value of this tradition is shown by the fact, that a century earlier, Cedrenus had declared

¹ For the "*vicus Betagabæorum*" which has been supposed to be the same with Betogabra, see Note XXXIV, at the end of the volume.

² Judg. 15, 18, 19.

³ Antiq. 5. 8. 9, δ Θεὸς πηγὴν κατὰ τινος πέτρας ἀνέλκυσιν ἡδεῖαν καὶ πολλήν· ὅθεν δ' Ἀμφίων ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον Σιαγόνα, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτο λέγεται. So the Heb. *יָבֵהוּ*, Lehi, i. q. Jaw-bone, Judg. 15, 19.

⁴ "Transibo ad Ægyptum; et in Socoth atque apud fontem Samson, quem de molarum maxillæ dente produxit, subsistam parumper; et arentia ora colluam, ut ii. 417, 418

refocillatus videam. Morasthim, sepulchrum quondam Michææ Prophetæ, nunc Ecclesiæ. Et ex latere derelinquam Chorreo, et Gettheos, Maresa, Idumæam, et Lachis," etc. Hieron. Ep. 86, Epitaph. Paulæ, Opp. Tom IV. ii. p. 677. ed. Mart.

⁵ He elsewhere speaks of the Horites as inhabiting Eleutheropolis. Comm. in Obad. va. 1. See pp. 68, 69, below.

⁶ Antonini Martyr. Itin. 30, 32, "Venimus in civitatem quæ dicitur Eliotropolis (al. Heliopolis) in loco ubi Sampson, etc.—Qui fons usque in hodiernum diem loca illa irrigat; nam in loco ubi surgit fuit."

Eleutheropolis to be the same with Hebron.¹ From the same legendary source apparently, Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century derived a notice of the same fountain, but not of the city. He makes a water run from Bethsur first west and then south; where, after being joined by a stream from the north from the fountain of the Jaw-bone, it flows west to the sea near Askelon.² Now the Bethsur of that day was at the present fountain of St. Philip in Wady el-Werd;³ which indeed flows west to the great Wady es-Surâr. This again runs in a south-westerly direction to the plain; entering the sea, however, not at Askelon, but near Yebna. Hence whatever position be assigned to the fountain on the testimony of Sanutus, it lying north of Wady es-Surâr, can never have been less than ten Roman miles distant from Eleutheropolis.

Thus the testimony to the existence of Samson's fountain in the immediate vicinity of Eleutheropolis, which at first sight seemed so explicit, becomes on a nearer view quite indefinite. Of this however we were not aware at the time, and therefore inquired the more diligently after the fountains throughout the whole region, in the hope of being thus able to discover a trace of Eleutheropolis. But we could neither find, nor hear of, a single living spring or running brook throughout the district in which that city must have lain. The nearest and only approach to it, was in the large well called Um Judei'a, half way between Beit Jibrin and the ruined church of Santa Hanneh, which, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, was once a running fountain.⁴ This testimony is at least as definite and good, as that on which rests the proximity of the ancient fountain to Eleutheropolis; and furnishes, so far as it goes, another proof of the identity of that city with Beit Jibrin.

I have now done with Eleutheropolis; and if the reader (as I fear) shall regard the investigation as prolix and tedious, I beg him to bear in mind, that the subject is one of some historical importance, and has never before been discussed by any one who had visited the spot.

Such was the evidence on the strength of which I formerly ventured to assume the identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrin; a conclusion as to which I have yet to learn, that any scholar has ever taken exception. Yet there was still wanting some decisive historical testimony, to show that the two names

¹ Mich. Glycæ Annales, Par. 1660, p. 164, ἡ τοιαύτη πηγή μέχρι καὶ τήμερον ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις Ἐλευθεροπόλεως φαίνεται, Σιαγόνης ἐπωνομαζομένη πηγή. For Cedrenus, see above, p. 63. n. 2.

² Marin. Sanut. p. 252, "De prope Bethsura descendit aqua, primo fluens versus occidentem, deinde prope meridiem, et tunc

ei jungitur fons invocantis de mazilla, veniens a parte aquilonis; et ibi prope fuit baptismus Eunuchi; et descendit ultra Staal prope Ascalonem, versus occidentem in mare."

³ Brocardus c. 10. p. 186. Adrichomius p. 44. Quaresmius Tom. II. p. 696 sq.

⁴ See above, p. 52.

were applied to one and the same place. This last absent link of testimony was discovered by Prof. Roediger of Halle in 1842.¹ In the *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum*, published by Assemani in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, the martyr Peter Abselama is said to have been born at Anea; which lay, according to the Syriac account, *in the district of Beth Gubrin*; while both the Greek and Latin accounts read, *in the district of Eleutheropolis*.² This evidence is decisive.

Having thus presented the evidence which goes to fix the site of Eleutheropolis itself, it may be worth while to look for a moment at two or three other ancient places, the situation of which is only known from their relative position to that city.

The first of these is Gath, one of the five cities of the Philistines, whither the ark was carried from Ashdod; it is also celebrated as the residence of Goliath, and was afterwards fortified by Rehoboam.³ It appears early to have been destroyed, or at least to have lost its importance; the prophet Amos alludes to such an event, and Gath is not enumerated by the later prophets along with the other four cities of the Philistines.⁴ Tradition seems also to have been already at fault in the days of Eusebius, who enumerates two places of this name; one five miles from Eleutheropolis towards Diospolis; and the other, a large village, between Antipatris and Jamnia, which he held to be the Gath whither the ark was carried.⁵ Yet Jerome, who in the *Onomasticon* merely translates the words of Eusebius, gives us in another work the definite specification, that Gath, one of the five cities of Philistia, was situated near the borders of Judea, on the way from Eleutheropolis to Gaza, and was then a very large village.⁶ He does not mention the distance at which it lay from either of these cities; nor whether it still bore the name of Gath; thus leaving it uncertain, after all, whether this specification is anything more than a conjecture of his own.

No subsequent mention of Gath or its position occurs in history or in the accounts of Palestine; and we sought in vain for any present trace of the name throughout the whole region. On

¹ Allgem. Lit. Zeitung, 1842, No. 72. Biblioth. Sacra. 1844, p. 218.

² Assemani Acta Sanctor. Mart. Oriental. Tom. II. p. 209, coll. p. 207.

³ 1 Sam. 5, 7. 8. 17, 4. 23. 2 Chr. 11, 8.

⁴ Jer. 25, 20. Amos 6, 2. 1, 7. 8. Zeph. 2, 4. Zech. 9, 5. Reland supposes this to have taken place about the time of the destruction of the first temple; Palæst. p. 786.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Geth*, *Getha*.—The cru-

saders held Gath to be in this quarter, or rather at Jamnia itself; and erected upon the supposed site the castle of Ibelin or Hibelin, which Benjamin of Tudela identifies with Jabneh, now Yebna. Will. Tyr. 15. 24, 25. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. p. 615. Benj. of Tud. p. 79.

⁶ Hieron. Comm. in Mich. i. 11, "Geth una est de quinque urbibus Palestinæ, vicina Judææ confino, et de Eleutheropolitæ euntibus Gazam nunc usque vicus vel maximus."

our return from Gaza to Beit Jibrin, we took the road by es-Sukariyeh and el-Kubeibeh, because these villages were much spoken of; and we thought perhaps traces of antiquity might be found there, from which at least a presumption might be drawn as to the site of Gath. But, as already related, we found nothing to authorize even the slightest conjecture. Another road somewhat further north passes through the villages el-Falûjy and 'Arâk el-Menshiyeh, which we did not visit, although they were in sight. We could not learn that they contain any remains of antiquity.

The Gath which Eusebius and Jerome place at five Roman miles north of Eleutheropolis towards Diospolis, appears to be the same with *Gath Rimmon*, a Levitical city in the tribe of Dan,¹ which the same writers describe as lying twelve miles from Diospolis towards Eleutheropolis. The distance from Eleutheropolis accords well with the site of Deir Dûbbân, near which we first fell in with the remarkable excavations of this region. From that place to Beit Jibrin we travelled not quite two hours, by a somewhat winding road.² The distance to Lydda, however, must be more than four hours, or twelve Roman miles.

Another ancient city which lay not far from Eleutheropolis, was Maresha, the Maresa or Marissa of Josephus, situated in the plain of Judah and afterwards fortified by Rehoboam.³ Here Asa defeated the immense host of Zera the Ethiopian; and Judas Maccabæus, after having captured Hebron from the Idumeans, descended by way of Maresha, which he laid desolate, to Ashdod.⁴ After various changes of masters, it was at length rebuilt and fortified by Gabinius; but was again destroyed by the Parthians during their irruption against Herod.⁵ In the days of Eusebius and Jerome the ruins of Maresha were shown "in the second mile" from Eleutheropolis.⁶ The direction is not given; but from all the circumstances, it would seem probable, that Eleutheropolis (at first Betogabra) had sprung up after the destruction of Maresha, and had been built with its materials.⁷ Assuming Beit Jibrin as the site of Eleutheropolis, we were led to suppose at the time, that the foundations we discovered on

¹ Josh. 19, 45. 21, 24. 1 Chr. 6, 69.

² See above p. 23.

³ Josh. 15, 44. 2 Chr. 11, 8

⁴ 2 Chr. 14, 9. 10. Joseph. Antiq. 12. 8. 6. Comp. 1 Macc. 5, 65-68, where as Reland shows, Maresa should be read for Samuria; Palæst. p. 889. Comp. p. 31, above.

⁵ Jos. Antiq. 14. 5. 3. ib. 14. 13. 9.

⁶ Onomast. art. *Masera*, *Μαρηδα*.

⁷ If we may assume with Reland, that the Betaris of Josephus is for *Begabris* (Be-

togabra), as Rufinus read it in his copy, (Joseph. B. J. 4. 8. 1. Reland Palæst. pp. 626, 628; comp. p. 28, n. 1, above,) then this village, which Vespasian captured in Idumea, would seem to have sprung into note after the destruction of Maresha, as related in the text; and grew up into the later and more renowned Eleutheropolis. That the Idumea of Josephus extended thus far, will be immediately shown in the text; pp. 68, 69.

the southeastern part of the remarkable Tell south of the place, were remains of Maresha. The spot is admirably adapted for a fortress ; it lies about a Roman mile and a half from the ruins of Beit Jibrin, that is, within the second mile, though certainly not two miles distant. Nowhere else in the vicinity could we find or hear of any trace of ruins.¹

Somewhere in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis lay also the village of Moresbeth, the birth-place of the prophet Micah.² The name Moresbeth-Gath, under which it once occurs, seems to imply that it was near to Gath ; Eusebius and Jerome place it eastward of Eleutheropolis ; and the latter writer in another place remarks, that it was still a small village near that city.³ In the journey of Paula, Jerome again speaks of the village in connection with the fountain of Samson, as having formerly contained the sepulchre of Micah, where was now a church.⁴ This latter circumstance seems not improbably to refer to the ruined church of Santa Hanneh, twenty minutes S. S. E. of Beit Jibrin, close by which are the ruined foundations of a village, which may or may not be ancient. In this case Jerome would appear either to have confounded Maresha and Moresbeth ; or else the one lay perhaps upon the hill, and the other in the valley north, between the church and the excavated sepulchres. That they were two distinct places, appears, partly from the difference of the names, which come from different roots ; and partly from the fact that the prophet Micah mentions them together.⁵ More difficult is it to account in any case for the epithet Gath.

It appears from history, that during or soon after the Jewish exile, the Edomites spread themselves throughout the south of Judea, which they continued to occupy, and which consequently is included under the name of Idumea by Josephus and later writers. Judas Maccabæus captured from them Hebron, Marissa, and Ashdod ; and John Hyrcanus, after taking Adora and Marissa, compelled the Idumean inhabitants of the whole region to conform to the laws and customs of the Jews.⁶ Jerome also in speaking of the Idumeans, calls them Horites, and makes them dwell within the borders of Eleutheropolis.⁷ Now we

¹ Benjamin of Tudela places Maresha at Beit Jibrin itself; Itin. p. 77. "Sed ejus auctoritas tanti non est," is the remark of Reland, p. 890.

² Mic. 1, 1. Jer. 26, 18. Moresbeth-Gath, Mic. 1, 14.

³ Onomast. art. *Morasthi*. Hieron. Comm. in Mic. Prol. "Ad Michæam de Morasthi, qui usque hodie juxta Eleutheropolin urbem Palæstinæ, haud grandis est viculus."

⁴ Ep. 86, ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 677. ed. Mart. "Ut refocillatus videam

Morasthim, sepulchrum quondam Michææ prophætæ, nunc Ecclesiam."

⁵ Mic. 1, 14. 15.

⁶ Joseph. Antiq. 12. 8. 6. ib. 13. 9. 1. Comp. 1 Macc. 5, 65-68. Josephus speaks expressly of Hebron as in Idumea ; B. J. 4. 9. 7. He says too that Idumea was round about Gaza ; c. Apion. 2. 9. [10.]

⁷ "In finibus est 'Ελευθεροπόλεως, ubi ante habitaverant Horræi, qui interpretantur *liberi*, unde ipsa urbs postea sortita vocabulum est ;" Comm. in Obad. vs. 1.

know, that the original inhabitants of Idumea proper were actually Horites, that is, Troglodytes, "dwellers in caverns," or under ground; who, although dispossessed by the Edomites, continued to live among the latter, and apparently became with them one people.¹ It is for this reason, probably, that Jerome thus calls the whole nation Horites; adopting however a different signification of the word, "the free," in order (by a Rabbinic conceit) to make out a Hebrew etymology for the later name Eleutheropolis. Yet it is also possible, that the Edomites were called Horites in Palestine in the original acceptation of the word; for Jerome also asserts, that Idumea, or the whole southern region from Eleutheropolis to Petra and Ailah, was full of habitations in caves; the inhabitants using subterranean dwellings on account of the great heat.²—Does not this language suggest the idea, that Jerome is here alluding in part to the singular excavations which we discovered near Deir Dubbân, and which are so particularly numerous around Beit Jibrin or Eleutheropolis? May we perhaps suppose, that the Idumeans brought with them their habits of life, and preferred to excavate for themselves here dwellings under ground in the soft limestone rock? It did not indeed occur to us at the time, that possibly this had been the object of these caverns; but it might well have been the case; for they were all dry, and in general well lighted. We needed candles only in exploring those on the south side of the Tell near Beit Jibrin; and even these may not improbably have once received light by openings now filled up.—I do not wish to be considered as here advancing an hypothesis; but merely as bringing forward a suggestion, which may deserve consideration.³

May 23d continued. The village of Idhna lies just east of the water-shed at the head of the valley we had ascended. Just beyond it, another larger valley, Wady el-Feranj, comes from the southeast and running by the place towards the north-west ultimately passes down to Beit Jibrin, forming with others the broad valley which there comes in on the north side. The present Idhna is a small village, divided into two parts by a short Wady or gully running into Wady el-Feranj. Each part has its separate Sheikh with his Kûsr or tower; and the inhabitants are divided into two parties, according as they live north or

¹ Gen. 14, 6. Deut. 2, 12. 22. Gen. 36, 20, 21.

² Comm. in Obad. vs. 5. 6, "Omnis australis regio Idumæorum de Eleutheropoli usque ad Petram et Ailam (hæc est possessio Esau) in specubus habitatiuncu-

las habet; et propter nimios calores solis, quia meridiana provincia est, subterraneis tuguriis utitur."

³ See the account of these various caverns, not less than five different clusters in all, pp. 28, 29, 51-53.

south of the water-course. In all civil broils, the Sheikhs with their followers usually take different sides.

We had alighted at the Kûsr of the Sheikh on the north side, a rude square building of stone, two stories high. He was an old man, who welcomed us kindly, and went with us to the top of the hill which overhangs the village on the north, to point out and name the places in sight. According to him, the village once stood upon this hill. It is now cultivated, and covered with young orchards of fig trees ; the ground having been cleared of stones by laying them up in walls. In this way all traces of ancient foundations have been destroyed ; but I picked up on the top a handful of marble tesserae, once belonging to ancient Mosaic work.¹

Idhna lies near the foot of the mountains, where the steep ascent of the higher ridge soon begins. Here a village called et-Taiyibeh came in sight, situated on the high ridge above ; and the direction of Nûsib or Beit Nûsib at the foot, was also pointed out, though the place itself was not visible. Beit Ûla lay beyond, also out of sight. These with Nûba and Khârâs form a cluster of villages at the foot of the mountain near Ter-kûmieh ; through which last passes the more travelled road from Beit Jibrin to Hebron.²

While taking our observations on the hill, we were exceedingly incommoded by a strong southwest wind, which was blowing with some violence, although we had felt it comparatively little in the valleys. Before going with us, it seems, the hospitable old Sheikh had without our knowledge given orders to prepare a breakfast for us ; and on our return, the women announced that the bread was baked, and the meal would be ready in a few minutes. Although anxious to get on, we yet waited for some time, rather than disappoint his well meant though ill timed hospitality ; but as we saw no end to the delay, we at length mounted and moved off. The Sheikh now came running with his bosom full of bread, which he distributed among our muleteers ; assuring us that the *semen* (melted butter) and *leben* (soured milk) were already poured upon the bread in a bowl for the breakfast ; and beseeching us to wait and partake of it. We thought it better to proceed ; much to the dissatisfaction of the muleteers, who complained long afterwards, that we had

¹ I am not aware that Idhna (Jedna) can be brought into connection with any scriptural name. Reland indeed, forgetting his usual sagacity, finds in it the Ithnan of Josh. 15, 23. But this latter place lay quite at the southern extremity of Judah, towards Edom ; comp. vs. 21. Reland Palæst. p. 862.

² We took here at Idhna the following
ii. 425-427

bearings of places, all but one (the last) lying east of the meridian line : Um Burj N. 3° E. Jemrûrah N. 8° E. Ribba N. 10° E. Deir el-Hawa N. 23° E. Khârâs N. 56° E. Nûba N. 60° E. Beit Nûsib nearly N. 62° E. Jedûr N. 62° E. Beit Ummar N. 67° E. Bûkkâr N. 70° E. Kusbur N. 73° E. Sûfa N. 87° E. Taiyibeh S. 80° E. Dawâimeh S. 70° W.

taken them away from a savoury breakfast.—We had thus far found it so much against the custom to offer money in return for our entertainment, that we had given it up ; and from Gaza to Hebron we did not pay a para, nothing being expected. We were doubtless thought the better of, for not making the attempt.

Leaving Idhna at 9¼ o'clock, we followed up Wady el-Feranj on a course E. S. E. into the mountains, which here began immediately to rise on our left. The Wady soon became a deep and narrow glen. At 10.10 we reached a fork of the valley, where on a projection of the right hand mountain stands a ruined tower. A path leads along up the right hand Wady towards the village of Dûra, and another up the left hand branch to Taiyibeh ; while our road began immediately to climb the mountain between the two valleys. The ascent was long and steep, but rendered easier by many zigzags. At 10.50 a village (probably Dûra) appeared S. 10° W. on a distant part of the mountain. We reached the top at 11 o'clock, just by a cistern of rain water excavated in the rock. Here our course back bore W. N. W. and Taiyibeh, now about upon the same level, N. by E.

We came out here upon a somewhat narrow ridge of high table land, between the two valleys above mentioned, which here run nearly parallel to each other towards the northwest and into both of which we could look down almost perpendicularly to a great depth. This plateau we found after a short distance to be well tilled ; its surface being occupied by fields of grain, olive groves and vineyards. The bottoms of the two deep valleys on each side were also in high cultivation.

Pursuing the same general course and gradually ascending, we reached Teffûh at 11½ o'clock ; an old village on a higher and broader part of the same ridge. It contains a good number of inhabitants, and lies in the midst of olive groves and vineyards, with marks of industry and thrift on every side. Indeed many of the former terraces along the hill sides are still in use ; and the land looks somewhat as it may have done in ancient times. Several portions of walls, apparently those of an old fortress, are visible among the houses ; and seem to attest the antiquity of the place. The large stones of which they are built, are soft ; and the edges being worn away by the weather, the chinks are everywhere filled in with thin pieces of stone, which give to the whole a more modern aspect than really belongs to it. The name Teffûh marks this as the site of the ancient Beth Tappuah of the mountains of Judah, not far from Hebron.¹ From here

¹ Josh. 15, 53. Another Tappuah lay in the plain of Judah, apparently in the vicinity of Zanoah, Jarmuth, Socoh, etc.

Josh. 15, 34. Which of these was the place conquered by Joshua, it is difficult to say ; Josh. 12, 17, comp. 10, 36.—Eu-

ii. 427 428

Neby Nûh, the Wely near Dûra, bore S. 41° W. Taiyibeh N. 17° W.

After a stop of three quarters of an hour, we set off again at 12½ o'clock, still ascending gradually along the ridge on a course E.½S. The direction of the deep valleys on each side is here more from east to west, and for a time, our way led along the steep declivity overhanging that upon the south, among slippery rocks, which rendered the path difficult and dangerous. The bottom of the valley, far below us, was highly cultivated and full of vineyards. The Sirocco wind which we had felt all day, now increased to a violent tempest, bringing up the dust and sand from the desert, and filling the air so as to obscure the sun. The whole atmosphere became of a deep dun or yellowish hue, such as we had seen before in the desert near Ruhaibeh.¹ As we approached the height of land, a few drops of rain fell, and left upon our clothes spots of mud, as if we had been spattered from a puddle. The guide said immediately, this would blast the grain; he thought the mud had a saltish taste, which we could not perceive; nor did we afterwards hear of any damage to the crops.

At 1.10 we reached the top of the whole ascent, the height of land and water-shed, between the valleys behind us and the branches of that in which Hebron lies. The town itself here came in sight down a valley, S. 65° E. fifty minutes distant. Descending gradually for ten minutes, we came to the head of the fine open valley north of the town. Here in a field on our left, was a very large and beautiful oak tree, (*Quercus ilex*, Arabic *Sindîân*), which passes among the Muhammedans for the tree of Abraham, where his tent was pitched. Towards the city followed fine vineyards and fields of grain, occupying most of the valley, all now in high verdure. At 2 o'clock we reached Hebron, and selected a spot for our tent on the grassy slope west of the town, not far above the lower pool, and near the straggling cemetery which covers a part of the open ground. We found great difficulty in pitching the tent, as the Sirocco had now become almost a tornado; the ropes were several times broken, and had at last to be doubled on the windward side. The air became dark, almost like night, from the sand and dust. After a short time, however, the tempest abated; and we had at evening a fine cool wind from the northwest. The actual heat was not unusually great; the thermometer rose only to 86° F.

We here dismissed our trusty muleteers and our guide; with all of whom we had been well satisfied, and indeed much

sebius and Jerome seem to refer the names Tappuah and Beth Tappuah to one and the same village, and to place it more to

wards Egypt; Onomast. arta. *Bethaphu, Thaffu.*

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 195, 196.

pleased. We too were able to satisfy all their expectations; and they returned with light hearts the same evening to their homes near Jerusalem.

As we were pitching the tent, Elias of Damascus (Elyâs esh-Shâmy), the only Christian resident in Hebron, sent to invite us into the town, and to take up our quarters at his house. We however declined; and he then came himself to repeat and urge the invitation. This he did, not knowing who we were, but supposing us to be some "Milords" or other; probably from the rather showy appearance of our tent. We again declined, and positively; for we knew that we should be far more masters of our time and actions in our own tent, than in the house of another person; to say nothing of the inconvenience and vermin to which we should have been thus exposed. The refusal was softened on our part, by accepting a dinner, which he soon after sent us.—Elias had two years before removed hither from Damascus, and occupied the post of secretary or banker (or perhaps both) to the governor of Hebron. It was his ambition to become the agent of a Frank consul; and his applications in this behalf, both to English and American visitors at Hebron, were unceasing and somewhat burdensome.¹ In the mean time, he was fond of appearing as the host and protector of Frank travellers, expecting thus to gain a sort of consideration in the eyes of his Muslim neighbours. This indeed had been the secret of his ready and somewhat officious hospitality towards ourselves.

Before leaving Jerusalem, we had made arrangements, as we supposed, to have men and camels from the Jehâlin ready for us at Hebron, so as to be able to set off immediately for Wady Mûsa. We had accordingly expected to find them waiting our arrival; but by some mishap, connected probably with the shutting up of Jerusalem, our orders had never been transmitted to Hebron; and we were therefore compelled, to our great disappointment, to lose the whole of the two following days in waiting for camels. Our chagrin was still further aggravated by the mismanagement of Elias, by which we were led to expect the arrival of the camels at every hour; and were thus prevented from making excursions to various places in the vicinity of the town.

Thursday, May 24th. The general appearance of Hebron, and the impression it made upon us as we formerly passed through it, on our way to Jerusalem, have already been described.² It is situated in a deep narrow valley, which having its head in

¹ See Mr. Stephens' description of the visit and similar application of Elias to himself; Incidents of Travel, II. p. 166.—

Elias however was not a Copt, as there represented.

² Vol. I. pp. 213, 214.

the open country an hour north of the place, passes down S. S. E. at first broad, with many vineyards, and then narrower as it approaches the town, with high hills on either side. The town itself consists of three parts. The main quarter is around and north of the great mosk, upon the slope of the eastern hill; here are the bazars and the chief places of business. Further north, and separated from this part by an open space of fields, is another smaller cluster of houses, like a suburb. On the slope of the western hill, opposite the mosk and the south end of the main quarter, is also a smaller tract of houses; or rather, perhaps, the main quarter may be said here to extend across the valley and occupy the lower portion of both declivities. The town is without walls; yet at the entrance of one or two of the streets, in coming from the country, there are gates.

Directly overagainst the main part of the town, the high western hill retreats somewhat, leaving a recess with the gentle slope on which we were encamped; while north of this the hill again advances, and the acclivity is thickly covered with olive orchards of very old trees.¹—The geographical position of Hebron, so far as yet determined by a comparison of routes, is in Lat. $31^{\circ} 32' 30''$ N. and Long. $35^{\circ} 8' 20''$ E. from Greenwich.² The elevation above the sea is given by Schubert at 2664 and by Russegger at 2842 Paris feet.³

In the bottom of the valley, towards the south, where the town extends across it, is the lower pool; a square reservoir, measuring one hundred and thirty-three English feet on each side, built with hewn stones of good workmanship. The whole depth is twenty-one feet eight inches, of which the water now occupied not quite fourteen feet. Flights of steps lead down to it at each corner. Just at the north end of the main part of the town is another smaller pool, also occupying the bed of the valley, measuring eighty-five feet in length, by fifty-five feet broad; its depth is eighteen feet eight inches, of which the water occupied not quite seven feet. These reservoirs seemed to furnish the chief, if not the sole supply of the town at the time; and were constantly frequented by persons carrying away the water in skins. That of the upper pool seemed to be neither clear nor clean. The pools were said to be filled only from the rains.—Near the summit of the hill, north of our tent, was a fine cool fountain, from which we obtained our supply; it is sunk in the ground and arched over, with a flight of steps by which to de-

¹ Schubert mentions here on the west of the town a number of very old *Pistacia*-trees (*Pistacia vera*) with large trunks; Reise II. p. 478. These we failed to notice.

² See Kiepert's Memoir in the former edition of this work, III. App. p. 34, 42.

³ Schubert's Reise II. p. 469. Berg-haus' Annalen, Marz 1839, p. 429.

scend to it. Just north of the town too, by the side of the road along the bed of the valley, is another small fountain ; which seemed to serve chiefly at this season for watering animals.

The pools above described are doubtless of high antiquity ; and one of them is probably to be regarded as the "pool of Hebron" over which David hanged up the assassins of Ishbosheth.¹ The other alleged antiquities of Hebron, (with the exception of the great mosk,) did not occupy our attention. We neither saw nor inquired after the tomb of Abner, nor that of Jesse, nor the red earth of which Adam was formed, nor the place where Cain slew Abel, nor various other legendary spots mentioned by early and later travellers. The place called by the Jews the "House of Abraham," an hour from Hebron towards Jerusalem, with the remains of massive walls, has already been described, as the probable site of what was held to be Mamre in the early Christian ages.²

The great Haram, or rather the exterior wall which encloses the mosk, constitutes the most remarkable object in Hebron, and one of the most so in all Palestine. It is also one of the most sacred places of the Muhammedans ; being held to cover the sepulchre of Abraham and the other patriarchs. We had looked at it with some care in our previous visit ; and it was now one of the first things to claim our further attention. On our way thither this morning, we called at the house of Elias in the north part of the main quarter, to pay him our respects in return for his kindness. We found that he and his family had already gone out to spend the day under the great oak, which we had passed yesterday ; and had left an invitation for us to join them there, and breakfast with them at a later hour. We then proceeded to the mosk.

The exterior has the appearance of a large and lofty building in the form of a parallelogram ; its longest dimension being along the valley from N. N. W. to S. S. E. and not as in most ancient churches from W. to E. We measured on a line parallel to its eastern side and southern end, as near to it as we could ; though not without some hints to desist, from an old man or two who came along. The length proved to be nearest two hundred feet, and the breadth one hundred and fifteen feet. The height cannot be less than fifty or sixty feet. The walls are built of very large stones, all bevelled and hewn smooth ; and similar in all respects to the most ancient parts of the walls around the Haram at Jerusalem. But they are not in general so large, nor is the bevelling so deep.³ The architecture has this peculiarity,

¹ 2 Sam. 4, 12.

² See Vol. I. pp. 215, 216.

³ According to Irby and Mangles, and also Mr Legh, some of these stones are

upwards of twenty-five feet in length ; Travels p. 343. Legh under May 8th.

We did not notice any larger than about eighteen feet.

that the walls are built up externally with square pilasters, sixteen on each side and eight at each end, without capitals, except a sort of cornice which extends along the whole building. Above this, the walls have been raised by the Muslims eight or ten feet higher, with a small turret or minaret at each corner. There are no windows in any part of these walls. The places of entrance are at the two northern corners, where a long and broad flight of steps of very gentle ascent, built up and covered along each side of the building externally, leads to a door in each wall opening into the court within. That at the northwest corner seemed to be the principal entrance, merely perhaps as being the most conveniently situated.—The building stands upon the slope of the eastern hill; the rocks having been excavated along the upper side, in order to lay the foundations.

According to all accounts, the structure here described, including all that is visible from without, is merely an exterior enclosure of walls, around a court within. In this court stands the much smaller mosk, which is said to have been once a Christian church.¹ Here in different parts, the Muhammedans have built tombs for the patriarchs; while their actual place of sepulchre is held to be in a cavern below, which even the faithful are not permitted to enter.² But as the jealous bigotry of the Mussulmans of Hebron precludes all admittance to Franks and Christians; and the height of the exterior wall prevents any view of the interior, even from the adjacent hill; we are yet without any intelligible description of the mosk and its appurtenances, and know nothing at all of the cavern which thus represents the cave of Machpelah.³

The outer structure thus described, evidently belongs to a high antiquity; and the resemblance of its architecture to that of the remains of the ancient temple at Jerusalem, seems to point to a Jewish origin.⁴ Yet we have no certain accounts of

¹ Life of Giovanni Finati, edited by Mr. Bankes, Vol. II. p. 236. Finati as a Mussulman entered the mosk.

² "All the sepulchres of the patriarchs are covered with rich carpets of green silk magnificently embroidered with gold; those of their wives are red, embroidered in like manner. The Sultans of Constantinople furnish these carpets, which are renewed from time to time. I counted nine, one over the other, upon the sepulchre of Abraham. The rooms also which contain the tombs, are covered with carpets." Ali Bey's Travels II. p. 233.

³ The only Europeans, who have entered this Haram, are the Spaniard Badia (Ali Bey) travelling as a Mussulman, and Giovanni Finati, the Italian servant of Mr Bankes. The account of the latter is ex-ii. 434-436

ceedingly brief; and that of the former, besides being brief, is so confused, that I can make out nothing either from his description or his plates. Ali Bey, Vol. II. pp. 232, 233.—Monro gives a more intelligible account; but as he does not mention the source of his information, we are still left in the dark as to its credibility; he speaks indeed as if from personal observation, for which most assuredly he never had an opportunity; nor does he indeed expressly say so; Summer Ramble I. p. 243 sq.—Benjamin of Tudela professes to give a description of the cavern, in which he says are deposited vast quantities of the bones of Jews; Itin. p. 76 sq.

⁴ So too Mr Leigh: "From the general aspect of the building, resembling neither Grecian, Roman, nor early Christian ar-

it; and all we can learn respecting it is from a few scattered hints in ancient writers, which merely serve to cast a further gleam of probability upon this conclusion. As a matter of course, monastic tradition refers the edifice to Helena, as one of her churches; but for this, as we have seen, there is not the slightest ground;¹ while the form, direction, and elevation of the structure, and especially the absence of windows, all go to show, that these walls were never any thing more than what they are at present, an exterior enclosure around an inner edifice or court.

I know of nothing that should lead us to question the correctness of the tradition, which regards this as the place of sepulchre of Abraham and the other patriarchs, as recorded in the book of Genesis.² On the contrary, there is much to strengthen it. Josephus relates, that Abraham and his descendants erected monuments over the sepulchres in question; which implies at least, that in his day the place was marked by some ancient memorial. In another passage he says expressly, that the sepulchres of the patriarchs were still seen in Hebron, built of marble and of elegant workmanship.³ In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, the monument of Abraham was yet pointed out;⁴ and the Bourdeaux pilgrim in A. D. 333, describes it as a quadrangle, built of stones of admirable beauty.⁵ This description appears to me, without much doubt, to refer to the exterior structure, as we see it now; and I venture to suppose, that this existed already in the days of Josephus and probably much earlier; and was either itself the monument referred to by him, or perhaps the sacred enclosure within which the tombs of the patriarchs were erected. The whole appearance of the building, as well as its architecture, leads decidedly to such a conclusion.

The next notice we have of the sepulchre of the patriarchs is from Antoninus Martyr, not long before the Muhammedan conquest. He describes a "Basilica" upon the spot, a quadrangle with an interior court open to the sky, into which Jews and Christians entered from different sides, burning incense as they advanced.⁶ Arculfus visited Hebron near the close of the seventh century; he describes the several sepulchres themselves as small and mean; the feet being turned, not as usual towards the east, but towards the south; they were situated about a chitecture, it seemed to me to be possibly of Jewish origin." May 8th.

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 375.

² Gen. c. 23. v. 25, 9. 49, 30. 31. 50, 13.

³ Ant. l. 14. B. J. 4. 9. 7.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Arboch* (Ἀρκώ). The church described by Jerome in the same article, was at the Terebinth; Eusebius does not mention it.

⁵ "Inde Therebinto Chebron, Mil. II. Ubi est memoria per quadrum ex lapidibus miræ pulchritudinis, in quo positi Abraham," etc. Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling p. 599. *Memoria* is here i. q. monumentum sepulchrum; see Wesseling's note on the passage.

⁶ Antonini Mart. Itin. 30.

stadium from ancient Hebron towards the east, and surrounded by a low wall.¹ In the latter half of the eighth century, St. Willibald passed here on his way from Gaza to Jerusalem, and mentions the sepulchres of the patriarchs at a place called the "Castle of Aframia."² In this corrupt reading we may recognise the first trace of the "Castle of St. Abraham," the name by which Hebron was generally known in the age of the crusades, and in allusion to which it is still called among the Arabs el-Khūlil. In like manner Sæwulf, about A. D. 1103, speaks of the monuments of the patriarchs as surrounded by a strong castle.³

Thus far we find no mention either of a church or mosk within the enclosure ; unless it be the above notice of a "Basilica," by Antoninus Martyr, before the Muhammedan conquest. This seems however merely to refer to the exterior structure ; for certainly Christians and Jews would not be found occupying a church together. Ali Bey indeed describes the present mosk as having formerly been a Greek church ; remarking at the same time, that the body of it is Gothic.⁴ But here is an inconsistency ; no Greek church has pointed arches, which were first introduced by the Saracens and imitated by the Latins. Hence, if the latter assertion of Ali Bey be correct, the edifice may not improbably have been built as a church by the Latins, when they erected Hebron into a bishopric in A. D. 1167.⁵ The historians of that age do not indeed mention the building of a church on that occasion ; but neither do they speak of the Latin church at Neby Samwil, as to which however there can be no question. The Arabian historian of Jerusalem and Hebron, describes the mosk as having a large dome between two smaller ones towards the east and west ; and speaks of a pulpit with carved work in wood, bearing date A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091) ; which however was first brought hither by Saladin after the capture of Askelon in A. D. 1187.⁶

Thus it appears to me, we may rest with confidence in the view, that the remarkable external structure of the Haram is

¹ "Horum locus Sepulchrorum quadrato humili circumvenitur muro;" Adamnanus ex Arculf. 2. 10. The epithet *humili* was probably added from some misapprehension on the part of Adamnanus himself.

² "Et inde tunc ibat ad castellum Aframia ; ibi requiescunt tres patriarchæ," etc. Hodepor. 21. p. 377. ib. 13. p. 387. ed. Mabillon.

³ "Hebron—in cujus orientali parte monumenta sanctorum patriarcharum antiquitus facta castello fortissimo circumcinguntur." Sæwulf Peregrinat. p. 269.

⁴ Travels II. p. 232.

ii. 437–439

⁵ Will. Tyr. 20. 3. Le Quien Or. Christ. III. p. 1270. William of Tyre says expressly, there had never been a Greek bishop at Hebron, but only a prior. Mejr ed-Din about A. D. 1495 refers the mosk to the times of the Greeks ; by whom he most probably means the crusaders. Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 375. Benjamin of Tudela, who was here after A. D. 1160, says the tombs had been built up by the Christians ; Itin. p. 76 sq.

⁶ Mejr. ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 375.

indeed the work of Jewish hands, erected long before the destruction of the nation, around the sepulchre of their revered progenitors, "the Friend of God" and his descendants.¹ The cave of Machpelah is described in Scripture as at "the end of the field," overagainst Mamre, the same as Hebron;² and all the later writers above quoted, speak of the sepulchres of the patriarchs as *at* or *in* Hebron, not near it. Here then the "Father of the faithful," as also Isaac and Jacob, rested from their wanderings!

Just at the left of the principal entrance of the Haram, is a small hole in the massive wall, through which the Jews are permitted at certain times to look into the interior. Here several Jewish women were reading prayers and wailing; although the hole was now closed by a shutter from within. I spoke to some of them in German; but they were all from Spain, and we could hold no communication.

A little north of the Haram, on the main street leading to it, is a castle or citadel, not high, but with massive walls of great strength; a part of which had been thrown down and were now lying in ruins. This was said to have been occasioned by an earthquake. It may perhaps with more probability be referred to the troops of Ibrahim Pasha in 1834; since an earthquake powerful enough to overturn walls so massive, would hardly have failed to leave behind other traces of its devastations.—Near by the Haram, on the opposite side of the same street, the gateway of a Khân, or some building of the kind, bears an inscription with the date of A. H. 679 (A. D. 1280), recording that it was erected by order of the Egyptian Sultan Seif ed-Din.

In passing along the skirts of the town on the hill side north of the Haram, we came upon a large manufactory of water-skins, occupying an extensive yard with several tanner's vats. These are merely the skins of goats stripped off whole, except at the neck; the holes at the legs and tail being sewed up. They are first stuffed out full and strained by driving in small billets and chips of oak wood; and are then filled with a strong infusion of oak bark for a certain time, until the hair becomes fixed and the skin sufficiently tanned. This constitutes the whole process. Not less than fifteen hundred skins were lying thus stuffed, in rows about the yard. They are sold at different prices, from fifteen up to forty piastres. This establishment is private property.

The bazar is on a street not far north of the Haram. We were struck with the abundance and large size of the raisins; finer indeed than we saw anywhere else in the east; and also with the excellence and cheapness of the fruits in general. The

¹ James 2, 23.

² Gen. 23, 9. 17. 19. Comp. 35, 27.
ii. 439 440

large delicious oranges of Yāfa were selling here eight or ten for a single piastre. The butchers' stalls attracted our notice by the abundance of mutton hung out before them; the fatness and apparent delicacy of which would do credit to an English farmer. In other respects, the bazars were not well supplied; and portions of them stood empty and desolate in consequence (it was said) of the decay of trade, after the storming of the town in 1834.

In the dark narrow lanes near the north end of the main quarter, are the manufactories of glass for which Hebron has long been celebrated.¹ We looked in upon some of these, and found the processes in general much the same as elsewhere, though more rude. The aspect of these establishments reminded me much of Pittsburg; though they are on a far inferior scale. The articles manufactured consist almost solely of small glass lamps, many of which are exported to Egypt; and rings of coloured glass, worn by females on the arms. We had seen great quantities of these for sale in Jerusalem; and several large crates of rings and lamps were now lying in the streets, ready for loading on camels for transportation.

Returning to our tent, we found there several visitors from Jerusalem. From them we learned, that on the day of our departure proclamation had been made through the streets, that the city would be shut up on the following day; which was done accordingly. They and many others had left their homes; and were now wandering about in the neighbouring towns and villages.

About 11 o'clock, we went out to pay our respects to Elias and his family under the great oak. Just as we left the town, two camels escorted by a few soldiers came in from Dūra, loaded with the miserable spoils in the shape of old and broken fire arms, extorted from the people of that place by the three governors.² Our road was the same by which we had arrived yesterday, lying between two walls, and leading through rich fields and vineyards. The general character of these, as well as the variety and abundance of other fruits which grow around Hebron, such as figs, pomegranates, apricots, quinces, and the like, has already been alluded to, in connection with our former visit.³ We could now observe more nearly the peculiar manner of training the vines. They are planted singly in rows, eight or ten feet apart in each direction. The stock is suffered to grow up large to the height of six or eight feet, and is then fastened

¹ These are mentioned in the 15th century as already flourishing. Gumpenberg's Journal, A. D. 1449, Reissb. p. 445. Felix Fabri in A. D. 1483, *ibid.* p. 288.

² See above, p. 57.

³ See the account of our first visit to Hebron, Vol. I. p. 214.

in a sloping position to a strong stake, and the shoots suffered to grow and extend from one plant to another, forming a line of festoons. Sometimes two rows are made to slant towards each other, and thus form by their shoots a sort of arch. These shoots are pruned away in autumn.

The vineyards belonging to the city are very extensive, reaching almost to Teffüh, and also for some distance towards Dhoheriyeh, and covering the sides of nearly all the hills. The lodges of stone, which serve for the watchmen, and also in part for the families of Hebron during the vintage, have been before mentioned.¹ The vintage is a season of hilarity and rejoicing to all; the town is then deserted, and the people live among the vineyards in the lodges and in tents. The produce of these vineyards is celebrated throughout Palestine. No wine however nor 'Arak is made from them, except by the Jews; and this not in great quantity. The wine is good. The finest grapes are dried as raisins; and the rest being trodden and pressed, the juice is boiled down to a syrup, which under the name of *Dibs*² is much used by all classes wherever vineyards are found, as a condiment with their food. It resembles thin molasses; but is more pleasant to the taste.

The venerable oak (Sindiän) to which we now came, is a splendid tree; we hardly saw another like it in all Palestine, certainly not on this side of the plain of Esdraelon. Indeed large trees are very rare in this quarter of the country. The trunk of this tree measures twenty-two and a half feet around the lower part. It separates almost immediately into three large boughs or trunks; and one of these again, higher up, into two. The branches extend from the trunk in one direction forty-nine feet; their whole diameter in the same direction being eighty-nine feet, and in the other at right angles eighty-three and a half feet. The tree is in a thrifty state, and the trunk sound. It stands alone in the midst of a field; the ground beneath is covered with grass and clean; there is a well with water near by; so that a more beautiful spot for recreation could hardly be found.

I am not sure whether this is the tree which Sir John Maundeville saw near Hebron, of which he relates that it was green in Abraham's day, but dried up at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, like all the other trees then in the world.³ It seems to be mentioned by Belon in the sixteenth century, as a terebinth; and is described as such by writers in the following century.⁴

¹ Vol. I. p. 213.

² This is the Hebrew word שֶׁבֶבֶת signifying 'honey,' and also 'syrup of grapes.'

³ Travels p. 68. Lond. 1839.

⁴ Belon Observat. Paris 1588, p. 324. Quaresmius Elucidat. Terræ Sanct. II. p. 783. Morone I p. 306. Von Troilo Orient. Reisebeschr. p. 325. Dresd. 1676.

But this is not a terebinth (Butm); nor is there any large tree of that species in the vicinity of Hebron. Least of all can this be either the tree of Abraham or its successor; for his terebinth probably stood more towards Jerusalem, and had already disappeared in the days of Jerome.¹

Here we found Elias and his family spending the day, and enjoying themselves beneath the wide spreading shade of the noble tree. The party consisted of himself, his wife, her sister a young woman about eighteen, their little son four or five years old, a young man, one of the secretaries of the governor of Jerusalem, and two servants. They had brought with them a rope, and suspended it as a swing from the branches of the tree. The two men were lounging at their ease upon carpets, smoking and occasionally tasting 'Arak, which was presented in a small shallow bowl. The young guest was a man of more intelligence and good sense than the host. A fire was kindled not far off, at which the mistress and servants seemed to be engaged in cooking; while the sister and child were playing and swinging. We took our seats upon the carpets; pipes were offered and 'Arak presented and tasted freely by the others; coffee was not brought. The guest joined in the sports of the sister and child; pursuing each other, swinging, laughing, and romping.

After about an hour a servant came from the town, bringing a warm breakfast in a tray upon his head, thickly covered over with large thin sheets of the common bread of the country. Soon after came the wife's mother, who had remained at home to prepare the food. She was mounted on a fine gray mare; which, while yet at some distance, took a start and came up the field and steep banks at full speed; the lady sitting on both sides, and exhibiting no mean skill in eastern horsemanship. She was an active lively elderly woman, and seemed to be the life and soul of the family. We joined the men in breakfasting by ourselves; after we had finished, the women sat down apart at some distance. Such is the oriental custom, even among Christians. These females, and especially the elder, were not wanting in intelligence, though they had never been taught to read. They wore no veils, and exhibited no particular shyness before strangers. They were however from Damascus; where the Christian females are understood to enjoy more freedom, than in many other parts of the east.—We spent here a couple of hours; and then returned to our tent.

In the course of the afternoon, I went out upon the eastern hills, in the hope of obtaining a view of the country around, and thus being able to connect Hebron with some of the points we had formerly visited or seen. But the prospect towards the

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 216. Onomast. arta. *Drys*, *Arboch*.
ii. 442-445

east and north was limited by higher hills near at hand, so that I was compelled to return disappointed in my hope. The summit of this ridge is crowned with vineyards ; as is also that of the western hills on the opposite side of the valley.

Painful as was the delay to which we were here subjected, we yet had enough to occupy our time in writing up our journals, and arranging our materials and plans for further inquiries. We were also amused with the proceedings of the people round about us. The fine grassy slope on which we were encamped, besides the cemetery on the north, was occupied towards the south by threshing-floors, where the various processes of threshing, or rather treading out the grain, were continually going on. The wheat harvest here in the mountains had not yet arrived ; but they were threshing barley, 'Adas or lentiles, and also vetches, called by the Arabs Kersenna, which are raised chiefly for camels. The various parcels had apparently lain here for several days ; the people would come with their cattle and work for two or three hours, and then go away. Some had three animals, some four ; and once I saw two young cattle and a donkey driven round together. In several of the floors they were now winnowing the grain, by tossing it up across the wind with a fork. Here we needed no guard around our tent. The owners of the crops came every night and slept upon their threshing-floors to guard them ; and this we had found to be universal in all the region of Gaza. We were in the midst of scerres precisely like those in the book of Ruth ; where Boaz winnowed barley in his threshing-floor, and laid himself down at night to guard the heap of corn.¹

Friday, May 25th. We had this morning some ground for hope, that we might be able to set off in the course of the day. This hope too proved vain ; though it encouraged us for the moment.

We went early to call on the chief Rabbi of the Jews. Finding a young Jew before our tent, and inquiring of him the way, he said the Rabbi was his master, and went with us. The Jewish dwellings are in the northwest part of the main quarter of the town. We were received at the entrance by a Spanish Jew of middle age, with a remarkable bright eye and good countenance ; and ushered by him through a long series of passages, into a small but very neat room, with a divan around the walls, and the windows looking out upon the western hills. Everything here was perfectly clean ; the walls and passages white-washed ; and the whole appearance far neater than anything I had yet seen of eastern life. The old Rabbi soon came in, blind of one eye and having a long white beard. My companion had already

¹ Ruth 3, 2-14.

seen him here in 1835. He was a subject of Austria, from Venice ; and was the same old man, for whom our countryman Mr Stephens had procured a passport and protection from the Austrian consul at Beirût in 1836. He now seemed sincerely grateful for this favour, and rejoiced to hear once more some tidings of the stranger who had thus been his benefactor.¹ The manner of the two men was very kind, without being ostentatiously so. Sherbet and coffee were brought ; and they pressed us to breakfast, which we declined.

As we sat conversing, we saw the cavalcade of the three governors coming in from Dûra, descending the western hill beyond our tent ; in all about twenty-five persons, mounted on beautiful horses, gaily caparisoned. It was said, that they were about to pass on to Carmel ; but they stopped for the day in Hebron.

We saw here none of the Jewish women, except in passing the open doors of different rooms where they were sitting ; they greeted us kindly. Those whom we had met yesterday at the Haram, and indeed all we had yet seen in Palestine, were habited in white,—a long piece of white stuff like a veil or shawl thrown over the head, drawn together under the chin, and hanging down to the feet. Many of the Arab women dress in the same manner when they go out ; but they wear a face-veil to conceal their features, which the Jewish females do not. The appearance of the latter was neat and prepossessing. Indeed, so far as concerns their general condition of thrift, cleanliness, and welfare, the Jews of Hebron seem to be far better off, than their brethren in Jerusalem or elsewhere in the Holy Land.

As we were about to take leave, the two Rabbis of their own accord led us into the synagogue, situated under the same roof. It is a poor, but neat room, furnished with benches ; in it was now a school of six or eight boys. The manuscripts of the Old Testament are kept in two cupboards or presses on one side. Like all Hebrew manuscripts, they are written upon long rolls of parchment, at each end of which a rod is fastened, so that they may be rolled backwards or forwards as a person reads ; the columns being perpendicular to the length of the roll. In the first cupboard were six or eight manuscripts enclosed in cases standing upright. The rods are inserted into holes in the top and bottom of the case ; and extend up through the top, where they are ornamented with large silver knobs not made fast. The rolls are read as they stand in the cases, without being taken from the cupboard. The manuscript is thus wound off from one rod to the other as the reader advances ; the rods being far enough apart to leave a column unrolled between. The other cupboard was also full of rolls ; some of them in cases cov-

¹ Incidents of Travel in Egypt, etc. II. p. 167 sq.

ered over with silver or embroidery. These were said to be presents from wealthy Jews in Europe.—We bade adieu to these kind friends with feelings of respect ; and were highly gratified by our visit.

We now repaired to the top of the western hill, in the hope of obtaining a view of the country around. In this we were more successful than I had been yesterday upon the eastern ridge ; and from the watchtower of a vineyard some distance south of the road to Dhoheriyeh, a prospect opened towards the east and south and west, which was very extensive and satisfactory. Towards the north and northeast we could see little or nothing. Before us Beni Na'im and Yûkin were visible near at hand ; while in the distance we could distinguish Kerak very clearly. Further south the atmosphere was hazy ; or we might perhaps have been able to make out Mount Hor. Carmel and the adjacent region were in full view. We could also mark the course of the great valley, which had formerly been on our right as we approached Beni Na'im,¹ and into which the valley of Hebron enters. It passes along southwest on the north of Yûtta and to the left of Dhoheriyeh, towards the region of Beersheba, where it apparently forms one of the main branches of Wady es-Seba'. Behind us, towards the west and southwest, was a sea of rocky hills ; on one of which we could distinguish the village of Dhoheriyeh. We took here several important bearings, which are given in the note below.²

The presence of three such dignitaries as the governors of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Hebron, could not but naturally occasion some stir in such a town ; and accordingly their movements and actions were the object of general observation. They too seemed not unwilling to make an impression of their dignity and importance. At the mid-day hour of prayer, we could perceive them from our tent proceeding, not to the Haram, but to an open platform adjacent to the west side of the lower pool, near which they lodged, where they performed their devotions in public, surrounded by a crowd of idlers. Although we were not in general much disposed to seek intercourse with authorities, yet as we were now going into a part of the country where the Egyptian government was less known and less felt, we thought it best to lay before the governor of Hebron our Firmân from the Pasha, and inform him of our purpose, in order that in case of accident he might not throw off the responsibility, by saying we had gone

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 489.

² Bearings from the hill west of Hebron: The Haram below us, half a mile distant, N. 67° E. Beni Na'im, estimated distance one hour and a half, N. 82° E.

Yûkin S. 61° E. Kerak S. 50° E. Peak in the mountains of Moab near Khanzireh, S. 37° E. Carmel, the tower, S. 8° E. Dhoheriyeh S. 54° W.

without his knowledge. In the course of the afternoon, we therefore sent our servant with the Firmân to his excellency of Hebron, preparatory to paying our respects to him in person. The servant soon came back, saying that the three governors were still together, but could not read the Firmân ; it being in Turkish, and they having no Turkish secretary with them. They were however ready to receive us.

We accordingly repaired to the house where they lodged, in the western quarter of the town, near the lower pool ; but found them at dinner. We were nevertheless ushered into the apartment where they were eating, after putting off our shoes ; and taking our seats at the side of the room, had leisure to observe the scene before us, which was not in the slightest degree interrupted by our entrance. The house was not large. The room was a common one of the country, about twenty feet square ; the ceiling rising into one of the usual small domes upon the roof above it. The stone floor was nearly covered with small carpets of various sizes, qualities and colours ; while a few cushions were scattered in different parts along the walls.

The governor of Gaza, Sheikh Sa'id, was the father of Sheikh Mustafa, governor of Jerusalem ; while the governor of Hebron, whose name we did not learn, is subordinate to him of Jerusalem. Of course the principal personage was Sheikh Sa'id, a fine jolly elderly Mussulman, with good natured intelligent features, and an air of decision, not inconsistent with an evident liking for the enjoyment of good cheer. His son, Sheikh Mustafa, was tall and slender, with a very fine and prepossessing countenance ; the Franks indeed complained of him as uncourteous, but one would not expect it from his physiognomy. The Sheikh of Hebron had a more vulgar and almost forbidding aspect.

They were dining in the true oriental, and, as it would seem, official style. A very large circular tray of tinned copper, placed upon a coarse wooden stool about a foot high, served as the table. In the centre of this stood a large tray or dish with a mountain of pillaw, composed of rice boiled and buttered, with small pieces of meat strewed through and upon it. This was the chief dish ; although there were also other smaller dishes, both of meat and vegetables. Around this table ten persons, including the three governors, were seated, or rather squatted on their feet. Each had before him a plate of tinned copper and a wooden spoon. Some used the spoon, without the plate ; but the most preferred to eat with the fingers of the left hand, without the aid of either spoon or plate. They all seemed earnestly engaged, and took no notice of any interruption. When at length any one had finished, he immediately rose, and went and washed

his hands, by having water poured upon them in an adjacent room. The vacant place at table was immediately filled by a new comer. The Sheikh of Gaza outsat them all ; but at last turned round and greeted us kindly. He was the only one who did not leave his place to wash ; but had the water brought to him where he sat. An old Derwish from Bagdad was also present, now on his return from Mecca ; he had made use of his spoon, and did not wash at all.

Sheikh Sa'id now drew back to the middle of that side of the room where we were sitting, opposite to the entrance, so that we were now on his left. His colleagues took their seats on his right ; the old Derwish sat down near us on our left ; ten or twelve other persons were seated around the room ; while many were continually passing in and out. Sheikh Sa'id was emphatically the great man, gave all the orders, and led the whole conversation ; his colleagues sitting in such a position, that they could not address us, nor we them. A poor ragged peasant now came in with perfect unconcern, presented himself before Sheikh Sa'id, uncovered his wounded shoulder, and begged charity. The Sheikh instantly sent him out ; at the same time ordering a garment to be given him. This is one of the traits of oriental society and government, that the highest are thus entirely accessible to the lowest. Coffee was now brought, and presented first to the three Sheikhs, then to us, and afterwards to the rest. There was a good deal of conversation in the room ; the old Derwish made inquiries about the new world ; he began at length a sort of homily upon the vanity of wealth and power, in which he was rather unceremoniously cut short by Sheikh Sa'id, and soon left the room.

The Sheikh confirmed the intelligence we had heard, that Jerusalem was shut up ; but said an order had since been received from the head-quarters at Aleppo, to impose no quarantine upon the city at large, but only upon the houses where the plague should actually exist. He supposed that the gates would be immediately opened. This was welcome news to us ; but the latter part at least did not turn out to be true. He further said, that there was now no danger whatever in going to Wady Mûsa, and made not the slightest objection to our undertaking the journey, but rather gave it his sanction. We too were disposed to regard the present as a favourable moment for accomplishing our object ; for the visit of the governors to this region would of course be known among the Bedawin, and prevent for the time any hostile incursion from the Arabs east of the Dead Sea and Ghôr ; the only source from which any danger was to be apprehended to travellers. The conversation of Sheikh Sa'id showed him to be a man of quickness and good sense ; and it

was probably this union of intelligence and *bonhomie*, that had obtained for him the confidence of Muhammed Aly, and the powerful influence which he now wielded over the ancient territories of Judah and Edom.¹

We returned after an hour. As we were now expecting to set off early the next morning, we went to take leave of Elias, whom we found at home lounging on his divan.

The following data for the population of Hebron were given us by Elias, who had the best opportunity of knowing the truth. According to him, there were at the time fifteen hundred taxable Muhammedans, and forty-one Jews who paid taxes, besides some two hundred Jews who had European protections. He himself was the only Christian in Hebron; nor are there any others in the whole district. Not less than seven hundred and fifty Muslims had been taken as soldiers, and about five hundred were killed during the rebellion of 1834. He estimated the whole population at ten thousand souls; which is perhaps not very much larger than the true number.

The trade of Hebron received a heavy blow in 1834, in consequence of the part which the people took in the rebellion of that year, and the subsequent sacking of the place by the Egyptian troops. From this shock it had not yet recovered. Many of the glass lamps and trinkets manufactured here, are exported to Egypt; as well as large quantities of Dibs and raisins. The cities too of the middle and south of Palestine appear to draw their supplies of all these articles chiefly from Hebron. Notwithstanding the immense vineyards, neither wine nor 'Arak, as we have seen, is made for exportation.

I have formerly alluded in general terms to the antiquity of Hebron, and to some of the circumstances of its early history.² It is doubtless one of the most ancient cities still existing; having been built, as the sacred writer informs us, "seven years before Zoan in Egypt;" and being mentioned in Scripture still earlier than Damascus.³ Its most ancient name was Kirjath-Arba, 'City of Arba,' so called from Arba the father of Anak and the Anakim, who dwelt in and around Hebron.⁴ The town

¹ The subsequent fortunes of Sheikh Sa'id show, that he might have done well to listen to the homily of the old Derwish, upon the vanity of wealth and power. In the year 1839, as I am informed, he was deposed from his government on a charge of mal-administration and corrupt practices; his large possessions seized; and he himself thrown into prison at 'Akka, and subjected to the bastinado, until he gnawed the flesh of his own arms in agony. At the same time, his son, Sheikh Mustafa, was also deposed at Jerusalem, and sent

ii. 452-454

to Damascus to await in prison the pleasure of the government. Both father and son were still in prison in June 1840.

² Vol. I. p. 213 sq.

³ Num. 13, 22. Gen. 13, 18; comp. 15, 2.

⁴ Gen. 23, 2. Josh. 14, 15. 15, 13, 21, 11. Judg. 1, 10. etc. In connection with this name, we have a curious instance of the origin of a false tradition. The passage in Josh. 14, 15, reads literally thus: "And the name of Hebron before was (Kirjath-Arba) the city of Arba, a great

itself appears also to have been called Mamre, probably from the name of Abraham's friend ; while the terebinth of Mamre is placed, by a tradition older than Josephus, at some distance from the town towards Jerusalem.¹ The ancient city lay also in a valley ; and the two pools, one of which at least is as early as the time of David, serve unquestionably to identify the modern with the ancient site.²

Here Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived and walked with God ; and here they were all entombed. From Hebron or its neighbourhood Jacob and his sons went down by way of Beersheba to Egypt to meet and dwell with Joseph.³ After the return of the Israelites from Egypt, the city was taken by Joshua, and given over to Caleb, who drove out the Anakim from the region ;⁴ it was afterwards made one of the six cities of refuge, and assigned to the Levites and priests.⁵ Hebron became at length the royal residence of David, where he reigned for seven and a half years over Judah ; and here too he was anointed king over all Israel.⁶ It was also at Hebron, that Absalom raised the standard of rebellion.⁷ This was likewise one of the places fortified by Rehoboam ; and after the exile the returning Jews dwelt again in the city and surrounding villages.⁸

The name of Hebron does not occur any further in the Old Testament, and not at all in the New ; but we learn from the first book of Maccabees and Josephus, that it came into the power of the Edomites, who had taken possession of the south of Judah, and was recovered from them by Judas Maccabæus.⁹

man among the Anakim." But as the Hebrew word ארבע (Arba) also signifies *four*, and the word for *man* (אדם) Adam, is likewise used as a proper name, some of the Jewish Rabbins in this verse took Kirjath-Arba in the meaning 'city of the four,' and read likewise 'Adam the great' instead of 'a great man ;' then 'the four' were held to be the patriarchs Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were supposed to be all buried here. The same conceit Jerome doubtless derived from his Jewish teacher : "Arbee, id est, quatuor ; eo quod ibi quatuor patriarchæ Abraham, Isaac et Jacob sepulti sunt, et Adam magnus, ut in libro Jesu scriptum est ;" Onomast. art. *Arboch*. Comm. in Matth. 27, 33. Hence the Vulgate likewise reads in the same verse : "Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est." See Bochart Phaleg, ed. Villem. p. 300.—A tomb of Adam was shown here with those of the other patriarchs in the seventh century (Adamnanus 2. 10) ; and from this source probably came the later traditions, which connect the creation of Adam with Hebron.

¹ Mamre is expressly said to be Hebron, Gen. 23, 19. 35, 27. Comp. 14, 13. 24. The terebinth of Mamre, (Engl. version less correctly, *plain* of Mamre,) seems to be distinguished from Hebron or Mamre itself, Gen. 13, 18. 18, 1. See Vol. I. p. 216 and n. 1. Reland Pal. p. 711 sq. For the market which existed there, and the sale of the captive Jews under Adrian, see above, Vol. I. p. 369. Reland pp. 714, 715.

² Gen. 37, 14 "the vale of Hebron." 2 Sam. 4, 12.

³ Gen. 37, 14. 46, 1 sq.

⁴ Josh. 10, 36. 37. 14, 6-15. 15, 13. 14. Judg. 1, 20.

⁵ Josh. 20, 7. 21, 11. 13.

⁶ 2 Sam. 2, 1-4. 11. 1 K. 2, 11. 2 Sam. 5, 1. 3.

⁷ 2 Sam. 15, 9. 10.

⁸ 2 Chr. 11, 10. Neh. 11, 25.

⁹ 1 Macc. 5, 65. Joseph. Ant. 12. 8. 6. For this invasion of the Edomites, and their subsequent subjection by John Hyrcanus, see above, p. 69.

It was afterwards seized by the rebel Simon Giorides; but recaptured and burnt by Cerealis an officer of Vespasian.¹ In the same connection, Josephus describes the tombs of the patriarchs as existing there in his day; and both Eusebius and Jerome, and all subsequent writers who mention Hebron, down to the time of the crusades, speak of it chiefly as containing these sepulchres; under which they probably refer more particularly to the ancient massive exterior walls described above, as being apparently remains of Jewish antiquity.²

In the course of time, this remarkable external structure, enclosing the tombs of Abraham and the other patriarchs, came to be called the "Castle of Abraham;" and by an easy transition, this name was afterwards applied to the city itself. We have already seen the earliest trace of it in a notice of St. Willibald in the eighth century;³ and in the time of the crusades, the names of Hebron and the Castle of St. Abraham, were used interchangeably.⁴ Hence, as Abraham is also distinguished among the Muhammedans by the appellation el-Khülil, *the Friend*, i. e. of God, this latter epithet passed over among them into a name of the city; and they now know Hebron only as el-Khülil.⁵

Soon after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, Hebron appears also to have fallen into their hands, and in A. D. 1100 was bestowed as a fief by Godfrey of Bouillon upon Gerhard of Avennes.⁶ Sæwulf, two years after, describes it as in ruins.⁷ We hear not much more of it in the history of those times. In two of the expeditions of king Baldwin I, into the region southeast of the Dead Sea, in A. D. 1100 and 1116, he is said to have passed by Hebron in going or returning; and the same was perhaps the case in the other similar expeditions of the same sovereign in A. D. 1115, and in that of Baldwin III, in A. D. 1145.⁸ In A. D. 1167, Hebron was raised to be a

¹ Joseph. B. J. 4. 9. 7, 9.

² Onomast. art. *Arboch*. See the other notices down to the time of the crusades, pp. 77, 78. See also the general account of the Haram, pp. 75-79.

³ See p. 78.

⁴ Edrisi mentions Hebron only under the name "Kabr Ibrahim," Abraham's sepulchre; ed. Jaubert p. 338. Albert Aquensis (in Gesta Dei) uses only the name "Castellum seu Præsidium ad St. Abraham," 7. 15, 41, 43, ib. 10. 32. ib. 12. 22. (Comp. Gesta Dei p. 604.) In this last passage, indeed, he seems to distinguish the "Præsidium ad St. Abraham" from the valley of Hebron; and in 7. 41 he places the former near the Dead Sea; so that it is very possible he may have thought it to be a different place from Hebron. Yet the same facts which he here relates of St.

Abraham, are referred by other writers of the same age to Hebron; Gesta Dei p. 580. Will. Tyr. 10. 8.—William of Tyro speaks only of Hebron, e. g. 8. 1. ib. 10. 8. ib. 15. 6. etc. Abulfeda has *Beit Hebrün*; Tab. Syr. ed. Koehler p. 87. Comp. Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 140.

⁵ Abulfeda describes here the "Mesjid Ibrahim el-Khülil," Tab. Syr. p. 87. n. Schulten's Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Beit-Sjebrinum*. So too Ibn Batûta p. 19. See also d'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. arts. *Abraham* and *Khalil*. Comp. James 2, 23.

⁶ Albert. Aq. 7. 15. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. p. 44.

⁷ Peregrinat. p. 269.

⁸ For the first of these military expeditions, A. D. 1100, see Albert. Aq. 7. 41, 43. Fulcher Carn. 23. p. 405. Gui-

Latin episcopal see, and Rainald appointed bishop ; there had before been here only a Greek priory.¹ The title of bishop of Hebron continued for some time in the Romish church, and four other bishops are mentioned, one of them as late as A. D. 1365.² But this was merely nominal ; for after the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in A. D. 1187, Hebron also reverted to the Muhammedans, and has ever since remained in their possession. The church which the Christians had built or at least decorated, within the structure around the tombs of the patriarchs, now became a mosk, and was honoured with presents from the Sultan.³

Thus far there is nothing to excite a doubt as to the identity of the site of the ancient and modern city. Arculfus near the close of the seventh century, found the place without walls, exhibiting only the vestiges of an ancient desolated city ; although a multitude of people yet lived there in miserable dwellings scattered in the valley, partly within and partly without the ruins of the former walls.⁴ Yet Benjamin of Tudela, after A. D. 1660, affirms, that the ancient city was situated on a mountain, and was then desolate and deserted ; the city of that day being in the valley.⁵ Brocardus, a century later, repeats this account, with more particulars ; according to him, the ancient city was on the hill north of the slope on which we encamped, three bow-shots west of north from the modern town, where nothing was then visible except large ruins.⁶ This story is copied by writers of the following centuries ; and the idea seems to have become current, that the ancient city lay upon the hill.⁷ Yet none of the travellers of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, speak of any ruins there, on their own knowledge.

We were not aware of this old report at the time of our visit ; and therefore did not examine the hill in question. My companion has since informed me, that according to his impression, the site of a former village was spoken of on that hill,

bert 7. 36. Will. Tyr. 10. 8. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. pp. 88, 89.—For that in A. D. 1116, see Alb. Aq. 12. 22. Wilken ib. p. 403. Comp. Will. Tyr. 11. 29.—For the two others, see Will. Tyr. 11. 26. Wilken ib. p. 402. Will. Tyr. 16. 6. Wilken ib. III. i. p. 208.

¹ Will. Tyr. 20. 3. Jac. de Vit. 57.

² Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 1270.

³ E. g. the carved pulpit ; Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 375. See above, p. 78.

⁴ Adamnanus ex Arculfo 2. 8.

⁵ Itin. p. 76.

⁶ Brocardus c. 9. p. 185.

⁷ By Marinus Sanutus, p. 248. Brey-

denbach in Reissb. p. 133. Quaresmius II. p. 771 sq. Zuallart. Viagg. p. 233. Von Troilo p. 321, Dresd. 1676. The site upon the hill is alluded to (but not ruins) by F. Fabri in Reissb. p. 287 ; and also by Baumgarten p. 78.—But Maundeville, Lud. de Suchem, and William of Baldense, who all passed through Hebron in the fourteenth century ; as well as Stephen von Gumpenberg, F. Fabri, and Mejr ed-Din, who minutely describe it near the close of the fifteenth ; and also Belon who was here about the middle of the sixteenth ; make no allusion to any other site than that of the present town.

similar to several others in the neighbourhood of Hebron; but with the remark that there were no remains there of importance. Had we then known the circumstances above related, we should certainly have gone upon the hill, and ascertained the facts for ourselves. The later researches of friends¹ show conclusively, that there is nothing on that hill to counterbalance the mention of "the valley of Hebron" in the book of Genesis, and the strong evidence of the ancient pools.²

In the fourteenth century, pilgrims passed from Sinai to Jerusalem directly, through the desert, by Beersheba and Hebron.³ In the following century, this route was abandoned for that by Gaza; yet the pilgrims sometimes took Hebron in their way, or visited it from Jerusalem.⁴ Writers of that period describe here an immense charitable establishment or hospital, situated near the Haram, where twelve hundred loaves of bread, besides oil and other condiments, were daily distributed to all comers, without distinction of nation or religion.⁵ The annual expenses were said to amount to twenty-four thousand ducats; of which two thousand were derived from the village of Sümmeil in the western plain.⁶ Hebron continued to be occasionally visited by travellers, down to the latter part of the seventeenth century; although, before that time, it seems no longer to have been generally resorted to by pilgrims.⁷ But from that period onward until the present century, no Frank traveller appears to have found his way to the city of the Patriarchs.

Morison relates, in A. D. 1698, that a few years before, a French (Frank?) merchant on a visit to Hebron, being mounted on a spirited horse, rode over and killed a child in the streets. Although he made shift to escape the rage of the people by flight, yet such was the excitement and the hatred caused by

¹ So Rev. S. Wolcott, in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, p. 59, 60.

² See pp. 88-90. A remark of Jerome may seem at first to favour the site upon the hill, and perhaps gave rise to the story; Quæst. in Gen. xxxv. 27, "pro Arbee in Septuaginta campum habet, quum *Chbron* in monte sita est." But this expression "in monte" stands here by way of antithesis to a *plain*, and is therefore equally applicable to a high hill-side; in which sense it would also be true of the present town. The ancient city was doubtless larger and extended further up the sides of the valley.

³ So Maundeville, L. de Suchem, W. de Baldensel.

⁴ Gumpenberg was here in A. D. 1449; Breydenbach and F. Fabri in 1483, on their way to Gaza; Baumgarten in 1507, coming from Gaza; Belon about 1548; etc.

ii. 458-460

⁵ Gumpenberg's Journal in Reissb. p. 445. F. Fabri ib. pp. 288, 289. Mejrédin in *Fundgr. des Orients* II. p. 377. This last writer says there were three distributions of bread and the like daily; in the morning and at noon to the inhabitants only; and in the afternoon to all comers.

⁶ F. Fabri l. c.—For the error which converts Sümmeil into St. Samuel, and the greater blunder of Breydenbach, see above p. 33, and Note XXXI, end of the volume.

⁷ Zuallart speaks of Hebron, probably without having seen it; p. 233. So too Cotovicus, p. 241 sq. Quaresmius appears to have been there, II. p. 769 sq. Von Troilo visited it in 1666, p. 319 sq. But both Surius and Doubdan, who were earlier than he, and strictly pilgrims, make no mention of Hebron.

this accident against the Christians, that from that time no traveller had ventured to approach the place.¹ It is not unlikely that some accident of this kind may have alarmed the fears of the monks, and led them to dissuade travellers from going thither; but their timidity was probably still more wrought upon, by the restless and warlike disposition of the people of Hebron, and their continual feuds with the inhabitants of Bethlehem and other neighbouring villages; they being of the Keis party, and the latter of the Yemen.² Hasselquist in 1751 mentions, that five or six years before, "the inhabitants of Bethlehem and Hebron carried on such a war as destroyed the greatest part of the best inhabitants of both villages; and the neighbourhood of Bethlehem was entirely laid waste."³ Even so late as 1807, Ali Bey fell in with "a band of Christian shepherds, who were going to Jerusalem, to lay a complaint against the Mussulman shepherds of Hebron, who had carried off a part of their cattle. They had with them two camels, which they had taken from the Mussulmans as reprisals."⁴ Under such circumstances, it is not surprising, that the influence of the monks should have been successfully exerted, to restrain travellers from extending their excursions towards the south beyond the pools of Solomon.

In the present century, Seetzen was the first to lay open again the way to Hebron in 1806; he travelled from here to Mount Sinai through the desert, making however a circuit almost to Gaza.⁵ He was followed the very next year by Ali Bey.⁶ Then another interval of eleven years elapsed, before the visit of Irby and Mangles and their party in 1818, as they passed this way on their route to Wady Mûsa.⁷ Thirteen years later, in 1831, Poujoulat made an excursion hither from Jerusalem, as did Monro in 1833.⁸ Then came the rebellion of 1834; in which the people of Hebron and the whole region round about bore a conspicuous part, and brought down upon themselves a heavy retribution. They were among the last to hold out; and when, after quelling the disturbances at Nâbulus, Ibrahim Pasha marched southwards with his troops, the rebels gave him battle not far from Solomon's pools, and were defeated.⁹ They retired and entrenched themselves in Hebron; but Ibrahim pressed forward, carried the place by storm, and gave it over to sack and pillage. Many were slain; and the Jews especially are reported to have suffered the most

¹ Relation Historique p. 480.

² See above, p. 17. Quaresmius relates, that in his day (about 1620) Tekoa was seldom visited for a similar reason: "Non facile possumus Thecnam ire, propter ibi et in via inhabitantes et discurrentes Arabes." Vol. II. p. 687.

³ Reise nach Paläst. p. 170.

⁴ Ali Bey's Travels, II. p. 230.

⁵ See his letter in Zach's Monatl. Correspond. XVII. p. 132 sq.

⁶ Travels II. pp. 230, 231.

⁷ Trav. p. 342 sq. [104.] Legh, May 7, &

⁸ Correspond. d'Orient V. p. 211 sq. Summer Ramble, I. p. 232 sq.

⁹ See above, Vol. I. p. 217.

cruel outrages from the brutal soldiery.¹ Many of the rebels escaped and fled to Kerak on the east of the Dead Sea ; they were pursued by Ibrahim and his troops ; and that place too was taken and laid in ruins. These events inflicted a heavy blow on Hebron, from which it had not yet recovered.²

This war removed all obstacles in the way of travellers. My companion was at Hebron in 1835, with other American friends ; and since that time, the city has every year been more or less visited by travellers, with as much facility as any other part of Palestine.—In 1839, Hebron was for a short time in the possession of the rebel Abd er-Rahmân of Dûra.

¹ Stephens' Incidents etc. II. p. 165. Paxton's Letters from Palest. p. 142. Lond.

² See some notices of this war in Mengin's Histoire Sommaire de l'Egypte etc. de ii. 461, 462

l'an 1823 à l'an 1838, Paris 1839. pp. 73-85. The narrative is written in an Egyptian spirit, with several topographical blunders.

SECTION XII.

FROM HEBRON TO WADY MUSA AND BACK.

ON our departure from Jerusalem, we had left a letter to be forwarded to Élias in Hebron, requesting him to send word to the Sheikh of the Jehâlin, and have him waiting for us with camels, when we should arrive on the 23d of May. This letter never reached its destination ; and we were thus subjected to the disappointment and delay already described. Our first care in Hebron was, to despatch a messenger to the camp of the Jehâlin beyond Carmel. This service Elias undertook to perform for us ; and informed us, that he had sent a man the same evening. As the distance was not more than three or four hours, we thought we might reasonably expect the camels, so as to set off the next afternoon, at the latest. But the morrow (Thursday) came and went, without any tidings either from the Jehâlin or of the messenger.

The following morning, Friday, as we were sitting after breakfast in our tent, we were somewhat surprised to see the head Sheikh of the Jehâlin, Defa' Allah, whom we had formerly met at the encampment of the Ta'âmirah, riding up to our tent accompanied by a single man on foot. It turned out, however, that he had come from Dûra, where he had been for several days with the governors of Gaza and Jerusalem. He was merely passing through Hebron on his way home ; and seeing our tent, called to pay us a visit. He had of course seen or heard nothing of our messenger. We now made a bargain with him in the presence of Elias, for five camels to Wady Mûsa and back ; to go by way of the south end of the Dead Sea and Wady el-'Arabah, and return by the more direct route over Semû'a. The price of the camels was to be two hundred and forty piastres, or twelve dollars each. There were to be five men, all armed ; one of whom was to be a responsible person, either the head Sheikh himself or one of his brothers ; and for these we were to furnish provisions. Had we chosen to go and return by the direct route, the price would have been ten dollars for each camel. It seemed

to be a matter of indifference to Defa' Allah, which route we took ; there was not the slightest hint of any more danger on the one than on the other ; nor indeed was danger to be apprehended on either, excepting from casual predatory parties, which might be crossing the Ghôr or 'Arabah. We took the fifth camel for the sake of a supply of water in the Ghôr ; and therefore concluded to take also our second servant, whom we had intended to leave at Hebron till our return.

The Sheikh now left us, expecting on his way home to meet the camels coming to us. But the day again wore off in expectation and in disappointment. It turned out afterwards, that the messenger said to have been sent by Elias, had never reached the encampment ; so that the camels had to be collected from the distant pastures, and all the preparations made, after the return of the Sheikh. This was enough to occupy Arab dilatoriness for the remainder of the day ; and consequently, the camels did not set off for Hebron until the next morning.—There was reason to suppose, that no messenger had ever been sent by Elias, notwithstanding his assurances ; he had perhaps directed his servant to send a man, and given himself no further trouble in the matter. This and other instances of shuffling conduct, prevented all confidence in the man ; and left only a painful impression, in respect to the sole representative of the Christian name in Hebron. Had he performed what he undertook, we should not have lost a day ; or had he frankly said he had not sent or could not send, we should have taken other measures, and have improved our time to visit Beni Na'im, or Sûsieh, or other places in the vicinity. As it was, two days were comparatively lost to us ; and we, during the whole interval, subjected to that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick."

Saturday, May 26th. This morning was the coolest we had long felt ; the thermometer at sunrise standing at 43° F. The camels arrived at 9 o'clock. But we found they had been hastily collected ; were without proper furniture ; and were indeed intended only to transport us to the territory of the tribe, where we were to stop over the Christian Sabbath. Defa' Allah also made his appearance, and assured us, that we should afterwards have dromedaries and better camels ; indeed some delay was occasioned by purchasing saddles and other furniture in Hebron. We deposited with Elias a portmanteau containing our papers and books, and such articles as we did not need upon the journey ; and he afterwards came to bid us adieu. All these particulars, and the loading of the camels, occupied what seemed to our impatience no little time.

At length, at twenty minutes past 11 o'clock, we set off, keeping at first down the valley, which soon bends more to the

S. S. W. where we left it, to cross obliquely the eastern hill Descending afterwards gradually through a rocky tract for nearly half an hour, we passed the great Wady into which that of Hebron enters, and which then bears the name of Wady el-Khūlil. It is here an open valley among the rocky hills.—I had soon found that my camel, which had been assigned to me as having a stuffed saddle, had also a most intolerable gait, the worst indeed I had ever encountered. I immediately exchanged with one of our servants, and thus, after five minutes delay, obtained the easiest camel I had yet mounted.

The way continued over a broken tract, approaching the open plain or basin on the west of Ziph and Carmel. At ten minutes before one we passed a well ; and having now come out upon the open country, we reached at 1 o'clock the foot of Tell Zif, where we had formerly fallen into our present road in travelling from Beni Na'im. The road and country from this point to Carmel, have already been described.¹

We reached Carmel at 2.25, in just three hours from Hebron ; here we stopped for fifteen minutes to water the camels. Proceeding on our way at 2.40, we passed on the west of Ma'in, not far from the foot of the hill ; and began soon to ascend the mountain ridge beyond, along the bed of a small Wady.² Another road equally direct to ez-Zuweirah goes on the left of Ma'in ; we had taken the present one in order to encamp near water. An hour from Carmel brought us to the top of the ridge at 3.40 ; from which looking back, Ma'in bore N. 8° W. and Yutta N. 30° W.

We now began to descend by a similar Wady on the other side ; and a wide prospect soon opened before us, over the country towards the Dead Sea and on the south. An eminence was pointed out near Zuweirah, bearing S. 20° E. The course and chasm of the Dead Sea were distinctly visible ; but not the water, which lies too low. The extensive tract we now over-looked, had much of the general character of that around Beer-sheba ; with which indeed it is connected, stretching off in that direction around the southwestern termination of the long ridge which we were now crossing. This tract has apparently a lower level than the enclosed plain behind us around Carmel ; the descent of the mountain on this side being greater than the ascent from the north. The country in general is not fertile ; though it is in some parts used for tillage, and affords tolerable pasturage. The grass, which earlier in the season had been good, was

¹ See above Vol. I. pp. 492, 493. With camels, our rate of travel by the hour had now of course become again nearest 2 geographical, 2½ English, or 2½ Roman miles.

VOL. II.—9

² For Carmel, Maon, and the country around, see above, Vol. I. pp. 493–498. The mountain ridge is also mentioned, Vol. I. pp. 490, 494.

now dried up ; and very few shrubs or trees appeared throughout the whole region.

This is the country of the Jehâlin, who were now gathering in their scanty wheat harvest. The tract belonged anciently to the south of Judah, lying beyond the mountainous district of that tribe, and extending so as to comprise Beersheba and Kadesh.—The main encampment of the Jehâlin was at this time high up on the southeast side of the mountain, on a small shelf or terrace of cultivated land, overlooking the wide plain. It lay at some distance on the right of our road ; and we first saw it at 4½ o'clock. We passed along on a course about S. S. E. among occasional fields of grain in the shallow Wadys, where the reapers were at work ; and encamped at a quarter before 5 o'clock near a small threshing-floor belonging to the Jehâlin. Not far off was a reservoir of rain water.

Thus far we had only three men, one of whom was Sheikh Sâlim ; but here we were to be fitted out with a new set of camels, with every thing in proper order for the journey. It was not yet so late but that we received many visits ; and found that although encamped in the desert, we were not likely to lack an abundance of company. The encampment of the Jehâlin was in full view on the mountain towards the northwest at the distance of an hour or more, consisting of seventy or eighty black tents arranged in a large circle. There was said to be one other smaller encampment, which we did not see. The whole tribe belongs to the Keis party, and was said to muster about one hundred and fifty men. None of them can read or write ; nor have they any one to lead them in their worship ; nor do they assemble for prayer on Friday, the Muhammedan sabbath. On being told that the Ta'amirah have a Khatib, they said the Ta'amirah were Fellâhin ; implying that of the real Bedawin none learn to read.—The tribe paid last year to the government a tribute (Miry) of thirty purses. They are obliged also often to furnish camels for the public service ; for which they had only in one case been paid. The animals were once taken to Damascus, and the service credited as part of their tribute.

The Jehâlin had at this time twenty-two horses and about two hundred camels. The horses of course belonged to the Sheikhs ; of the camels, the chief Sheikh owned twenty-five or thirty. There is no living water within the territory of the tribe, except at Kurmul. The cistern near which we were encamped, was large, and excavated in a rocky ledge, with a hole above like a well. There had formerly been an opening below on the side ; but this was now stopped with large stones laid in mortar. When the cisterns become exhausted later in summer,

¹ Josh. 15, 21–32 ; comp. vs. 48–60.

they have no resource, but to remove their flocks and other animals to the vicinity of Kurmul ; where they water in common with the Ka'âbineh.¹ At this season of the year, their flocks were watered every two days, and the camels once in three days. As a matter of course, they are exceedingly careful of the supply in their cisterns ; and a man received a sharp rebuke in our presence from the Sheikh, for having suffered some 'Alawin to water a few sheep at that in our neighbourhood.

The Jehâlin have not been disarmed ; they have still their old muskets with match locks ; and make their own gunpowder. The nitre they obtain from the dust of the ruined villages in their country ; and the sulphur from the shores of the Dead Sea.² They mingle these ingredients with pulverized charcoal, and thus obtain a very coarse and inferior powder ; which however costs them nothing. They, as well as the Tiyâhah, are at war with several tribes on the east of the Dead Sea, viz. the Beni Sûkhr, the Bahârât, and the Sûlit ; the latter dwelling around Hesbân. Not many months before, they had made an expedition with the aid of the Tiyâhah against the Sûlit, by way of the south end of the Dead Sea ; and had brought away forty-five camels. We now heard more of the similar expedition which we had met in Bethlehem, and learned the result.³ It was composed of eighty-six horsemen, of whom twenty-two were Jehâlin ; and the main body passed along the same road which we travelled from 'Ain Jidy to the Jordan. Crossing the river opposite Jericho, they fell upon the encampment of their enemies, the Sûlit, by surprise, and brought away a hundred camels. We learned too, that the visit of the Sheikh Defa' Allah at Hebron this morning, had for its object, to bring two of the captured camels as a present to Sheikh Sa'id of Gaza ; whose permission they had obtained before setting off on the expedition.

Sunday, May 27th. We remained all day encamped ; but the number of visitors left us no interval of quiet. In the morning, about one hundred and fifty camels were driven by at once to water. We were afterwards visited by Defa' Allah, by the second Sheikh, Mûsa, and by various others. The former was said to have seven brothers, all of whom bore the title of Sheikh. Indeed, almost every man who passed along, claimed to be a brother of the Sheikh, and owner of the threshing-floor by our tent ; so that at last our servants made it quite a jest, to inquire of every Arab who came by, if he was the Sheikh's brother and owned this floor?—The threshing-floor was very small ; and was watched every night. Round about it were

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 499.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 470.

³ See Vol. I. p. 512.

lying several small heaps of gleaned wheat. The gleaning is done by the poor ; and their little sheaves were deposited here for safe keeping, till they could beat them out.

Opposite to us the mountains of Kerak were in view ; but the city itself was not visible. We heard much to day of 'Abdeh in the desert south of Beersheba ; but the accounts were quite indefinite ; nor could we learn that any one of the tribe had been there.¹ We heard also of several ancient names in this region of the south, some of which we were afterwards able to ascertain more accurately.

Defa' Allah visited us again at evening, and informed us, that there were at his encampment five of the Haweitât from the vicinity of Ma'an, who had been to Hebron to sell a flock of sheep, and were now returning. As their way would lie near Wady Mûsa, the Sheikh advised us to take them into our service for a small pay, in order to increase the strength of our party. This we were willing to do, not so much on this account, as because we might hope to gather information from them respecting their country ; and because too their presence might secure for us a better reception, among the Arabs of that region. We therefore authorized the Sheikh to offer ten piastres for each man for the whole time, without provisions. Some spoke of them as Haweitât, and some as 'Alawin ; the latter are indeed a subdivision of the former ; but these individuals were not 'Alawin of Sheikh Husein's tribe.

Monday, May 28th. We rose before 4 o'clock, hoping to set off early. Very soon the grating sound of the hand-mill was heard from a cave not far off, where an Arab family had taken up their abode during the harvest.² In spite of our hopes, and notwithstanding all our former experience, our patience was this morning not a little tried by the dilatoriness of the Arabs. They had yesterday made the fairest promises, that they would come with the camels at evening and sleep at our tent, in order to be ready for an early start ; yet only one came ; and it was nearly 7 o'clock this morning before they all arrived. Then nothing was ready. The saddles had to be put in order, and some of them re-stuffed with straw. Then one camel had to be shaved ; that is, the hair of its lips and face was regularly shaved off with a sharp knife, being occasionally lathered with spittle ; the head was then anointed, apparently on account of some disease. It seemed also not yet to be fixed, who should go with us. At last it appeared that only four men instead of five were going ; and these mere camel drivers, no one of whom was a Sheikh nor a responsible person. On learning this we declined going in that manner ; and ordered the loading of the camels to be stopped.

¹ See Note XXIII, end of Vol. I.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 485.

At length Sheikh Hussân, who had come to see us off, agreed to take us to the place where Sheikh Sâlim (who had come with us on Saturday) was reaping; and if the latter would not go, he promised to accompany us himself. We consented to the four men the more readily, because the five Haweitât or 'Alawin had accepted our offer and now presented themselves,—a set of thievish-looking ragamuffins as one would wish to see. We accordingly set off at 7½ o'clock, and travelling south for fifteen minutes, came to the field of reapers, where we stopped for another hour. Here it was finally arranged, that Sheikh Hussân should go with us; and leaving his gala dress and his sleek mare, and sending for his long gun, he joined us on foot in the common Arab costume. We thus mustered nine armed men, besides our two servants; who also felt their importance somewhat augmented, by being now regularly intrusted each with a gun and pistol.

From this point three sites of ruins were visible, viz. Jenbeh, at the foot of the mountain and now directly under the encampment of the Jehâlin; el-Kuryetein¹ also at the foot of the mountain; and el-Beyûdh on a low hill more to the left.² All these are only foundations of small villages, or merely caves.³ Another similar site, el-Khuneifit, was spoken of somewhere on the left of our road.

We finally set off at a quarter before 9 o'clock, on a course nearly due south through the rolling plain, along a small shallow Wady. After three quarters of an hour, there was on our right a small site of foundations and walls of round stones, called et-Taiyib, with the remains of a dam in the Wady, apparently for a reservoir. Here too a hill called Tell 'Arâd, which we had seen for some time in the S. S. W. seemed not more than an hour distant; a barren looking eminence rising above the country around. This marks, without much doubt, the site of the ancient city Arad, situated in the south of Judah; whose inhabitants drove back the Israelites as they attempted to penetrate from Kadesh into Palestine; but were afterwards subdued by Joshua.⁴ The Arabs said indeed, that there were now no ruins upon or near it, but only a cavern. We did not visit it, but the name is too decisive to admit of question.⁵

¹ El-Kuryetein, 'the two cities,' seems to suggest the Keriôth (cities) of Josh. 15, 25, in the south of Judah; unless the latter is to be united with the next name and read Keriôth-Hezron, as Reland suggests. Palæst. pp. 700, 708.

² This name would seem to correspond to the 'Al-baid' of Irby and Mangles; Travele, p. 348. But their description refers the latter apparently to Kurmul.

VOL. II.—9*

³ They bore as follows: Jenbeh N. 60° W. el-Kuryetein S. 75° W. el-Beyûdh S. 40° W.

⁴ Judg. 1, 16. Num. 21, 1. Josh. 12, 14, comp. 10, 41. The English version and also Luther in Num. 21, 1, read 'king Arad' incorrectly for 'king of Arad'; comp. Josh. 12, 14.

⁵ Eusebius and Jerome place Arad at 20 Roman miles from Hebron, equal to

ii. 471-473

Proceeding on the same course, we came at 10½ o'clock to another similar site of rude foundations and walls, called Ehdeib, still on the bank of the shallow Wady, which here bears the same name. Fifteen minutes further on, the Wady turns to the east, and runs to the Dead Sea, which it enters under the name of es-Seyâl, between Birket el-Khûlîl and Sebbeh.¹ At 11 o'clock we passed a circular space blackened by fires and the manure of animals, and marking the place of a recent encampment of the Dhüllâm. These Arabs, in the spring, pasture in this tract in common with the Jehâlin; their proper territory lies further west towards Beersheba, where both they and the Tiyâhah water in common.—We were now gradually ascending a broad swell of land. At 11.5 was another small ruin, called el-Museik, similar to those before mentioned. We reached the height of the swell or broad ridge at 11.50, near another site of ruins, and a mound or low Tell on our right, called Rujeim Selâmeh. Here we halted for half an hour for refreshment and to survey the country.

We had here an extensive view of the district through which we had passed, as far back as to the mountain ridge we had crossed on Saturday, which extended far along on our right towards the southwest.² Its furthest point in that direction, a steep low bluff, now bore about west; and seemed almost to close up the plain towards Beersheba. Yet such is not the case; for the Wady es-Seba' has its head on this side of the mountain, in the district around Milh, and passes off around the bluff. The Tell by Milh was pointed out; and also another hill near a place called 'Ar'arah; both of which we visited on our return.³ Before us, the country exhibited the same general features as that in our rear.⁴

Setting off again at 12.20, we passed in ten minutes another small site of foundations, called Sudeid. Our course was now in general about southeast. At 1 o'clock Rujeim Selâmeh bore N. 40° E. and Tell et-Tawâneh, a marked point near Ma'in, N. 5° W. The country continued to bear the same general character as that we had traversed; except that we had found it all day becoming more and more barren, and assuming more the features

about 8 hours with camels; Onomast. art. *Arath* ('*Apaid*'). This accords well with our present distance from Hebron.—From the point where we now were, Beyûdh bore W. Encampment of the Jehâlin N. 27° W. Jenbeh N. 15° W.

¹ See above, Vol. I. pp. 501, 502, 525.

² Lord Lindsay says, the Arabs called this ridge Jebel el-Kuryetein; Letters Vol. II. His Arabs had probably been speaking of el-Kuryetein and therefore named ii. 473, 474

the mountain so. On the north side of it they would very likely have called it in the same way Jebel Ma'in or Jebel Kurmul. We could not find that the ridge had a distinct name.

³ See under June 3d and 4th.

⁴ Here at Rujeim Selâmeh we took bearings: Encampment of the Jehâlin N. 15° W. Tell 'Arâd N. 55° W. el-Milh about W. 'Ar'arah S. 70° W.

of the desert. It was here hilly and intersected by small ravines, but without precipices ; and had been thinly covered with a slight growth of grass, now dry.

At ten minutes past 2 o'clock, we reached the brow of the first descent or offset towards the Dead Sea, a steep declivity of seven or eight hundred feet, leading down to another broad tract still several hundred feet above the level of the sea. Here are a few traces of rude foundations, the site of a former village called ez-Zuweirah el-Fôka, "Upper Zuweirah." Leaving the camels to descend by the usual circuitous pass, we struck off a short distance to the right along a ridge projecting somewhat towards the southeast, on the point of which are the ruins of a square massive tower, once probably a watchtower. Here a wide prospect spread itself out before us, over the southern part of the Dead Sea and the southern Ghôr ; in which we at once recognised all the features that had already become so familiar to us at 'Ain Jidy.¹

Below us, still between us and the sea, lay the broad elevated tract above mentioned, thickly studded with white conical hills and short ridges of limestone and chalk of fantastic shapes, presenting the aspect of a frightful desert. It seemed here but a short distance across this tract ; but from the foot of the first pass we travelled nearly four hours, and encamped without reaching the shore. Beyond lay Usdum, a low dark ridge running off nearly S. S. E. along the shore, and then turning almost southwest. Here the long peninsula with its isthmus was on our left ; and Sebbeh could not have been far distant, though it was not now visible, nor did we at any time get sight of it. The south end of the sea lay before us in perfect distinctness, opposite the southeast angle of Usdum ; and we could now mark the wet and slimy surface of the ground along the Ghôr, which had deceived us at 'Ain Jidy.² Further south, the Ghôr was partially covered with vegetation ; and still further we could perceive a line of whitish cliffs crossing it obliquely, with which we afterwards became better acquainted. Beyond these, the desert tract of the broad sandy valley stretched off in a southerly direction beyond the limit of vision. The eastern mountains were now very distinct ; though Kerak was not visible, being hidden by intervening peaks. Yet the Wady Kerak or ed-Dera'ah could be seen coming down upon the isthmus, and covering the northern side of it with verdure.³ Just north of this we could distinguish a small ravine called Wady Beni Hemâd. South of the isthmus, nearly opposite to us, was

¹ Compare generally the description of this part of the Dead Sea as seen from the cliff over 'Ain Jidy ; Vol. I. p. 501-503.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 502.

³ See above, Vol. I. pp. 519, 520.

Wady el-Kuneiyeh ; while a little beyond the southeast corner of the sea, Wady el-Küráhy issues from the mountains, bearing higher up the name of Wady el-Ahsy ; this also occasions a tract of verdure in the Ghôr. Far in the south, among the eastern mountains, Sheikh Hussân thought he could point out, though somewhat indistinctly, the peak of Mount Hor.¹

We descended by a shorter and steeper route, and met the camels just as they also reached the foot at 3 o'clock. Here we crossed the bed of a torrent running to the right, called Wady el-Jerrah. Further down in the same direction it receives another called Wady el-Fâ'iya coming from the southwest² and then turning eastwards, the united Wady takes the name el-Muhauwat, and finds its way down to the sea at the north end of Usdum. We now kept on southeast across the tract of desolate chalky hills above described, mostly along a winding valley. Nowhere had we seen a more hideous desert. After a long and tedious ride we came out at 5.50 upon the brow of the second descent. Here is another steep rocky declivity, also of not less than seven or eight hundred feet. The path keeps mostly along a ravine in the rock ; and in the lower part is quite steep, though not particularly difficult. The ravine is the head of Wady ez-Zuweirah, which here runs off directly towards the Dead Sea. At the bottom of the pass, the formation of limestone and chalk, through which we had passed, gives way to a soft chalk or whitish indurated marl, in horizontal layers, washed by the rains into pilasters and other fantastic shapes. At the very bottom, which we reached at 6.40, just where the Wady runs off apparently on a level towards the sea, stands a small Saracenic fort, on an isolated cliff of this chalky earth, so soft as to be easily broken off with the hands. It is entirely surrounded and overlooked by other similar chalky cliffs of much greater elevation. The Wady is here narrow ; and in the perpendicular wall nearly overagainst the fort, a chamber with loop holes is excavated in the soft rock at some height above the ground. Near by are two reservoirs built up of stone, and a cistern, all now dry ; but our Arabs said there was rain water in a ravine higher up. This spot is ez-Zuweirah ; in distinction from which the other is called "the Upper."

We now followed down Wady ez-Zuweirah. Through its

¹ From this high point at ez-Zuweirah el-Fôka, the various places visible bore as follows: Encampment of the Jehâlin N. 25° W. Tell et-Tawâneh near Ma'in N. 10° W. North end of the peninsula N. 70° E. Mouth of Wady Beni Hemâd N. 82° E. North side of Isthmus and mouth of Wady Kerak N. 85° E. South end of peninsula and south side of Isthmus S. 78°

E. Peak in mountains of Moab seen from Hebron S. 52° E. Southeast corner of the Dead Sea S. 44° E. Southeast angle of Usdum S. 41° E. Mouth of Wady el-Küráhy S. 40° E. Mount Hor about S. The lower pass of ez-Zuweirah before us bore S. 45° E.

² We passed near the head of Wady el-Fâ'iya on our return ; see under June 3d.

narrow opening we could look out upon the sea and eastern mountains, on which the setting sun just now threw its beams, tinging their naked sides with crimson hues. At length at 6.50 we turned aside into a narrow ravine, called Wady en-Nejd, coming in from the left ; and encamped for the night in one of the wildest spots we had yet visited, shut in on every side by whitish perpendicular cliffs of indurated marl. Our guides sought this retreat, in order that our tent and fire might escape notice, should there be any strangers passing along this way.— We here again encountered the climate of the Ghôr and Dead Sea ; the thermometer which at sunrise had stood at 52°, being now at 80° F.

This double pass of ez-Zuweirah, which we had now descended, was first visited in modern times by Seetzen in A. D. 1806, who ascended it on his way from Kerak around the south end of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem, though he does not name it.¹ In A. D. 1818, Irby and Mangles with their party passed on this route from Hebron to Kerak ; and describe the pass and fort, which they call “el-Zowar.”² Since that time until this year, I am not aware that it had been visited by any traveller. It must of course have been the road, by which Ibrahim Pasha and his troops passed from Hebron to Tûfileh and Kerak in A. D. 1834.

With our guides of the Jehâlin we were better pleased than we had anticipated. From M. de Bertou, who had made the journey with them a few weeks before, we had heard only complaints of their unaccommodating spirit and extortions ; so that, although our previous experience had already taught us to lay the fault chiefly at his own door, yet we had not expected to avoid petty vexations and a general want of fidelity. In all this we were favourably disappointed ; although the strong prejudice which we found among the tribe against that traveller, with whom it seems they had been throughout on ill terms, did not fail at first to operate also to our disadvantage. Finding that my companion was at home in their language and customs, and that we were disposed to treat them as men, and not as slaves, their jealousy and reserve soon wore off in a degree. Yet they were never so active and obliging, nor so communicative, as our good Tawarah ; and Sheikh Hussân was not to be compared with Tuweileb or Beshârah, in point of good sense or general information. One of the men, Muhammed, was a clownish buffoon. Indeed, they seemed both physically and mentally to be a heavier-moulded race than the Tawarah. Their camels were much superior to those of the peninsula.

¹ Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XVIII. pp. 437, 438. Reisen I. p. 429.

² Travels pp. 350, 351. [107.] Legh under May 10th.

Our attendants of the Haweitât proved to be well acquainted with the country south of Wady Mûsa; they were at first reserved; but the kindness and conversation of my companion soon dissipated their jealousy, and in some degree won their confidence. One old man, who seemed to be their leader, was fond of talking, and exhibited more shrewdness of mind than any of our Arab companions.

Tuesday, May 29th. We set off without breakfasting, ten minutes before 5 o'clock; and after returning from the side valley en-Nejd, followed down Wady ez-Zuweirah running south-east, still narrow, rugged, and shut in by perpendicular cliffs of marl, in horizontal layers of unequal hardness. The path lies most of the way along the bed of the Wady; yet at one place the latter makes a circuit towards the south, while the road ascends and crosses the rocky intermediate point. Here was the last descent towards the shore; and just as we reached it at 5½ o'clock, the sun rose over the eastern mountains. As we looked down through the narrow opening of the valley, the calm glassy waters of the lake became liquid gold; and the verdant shrubs upon the shore, tinged with sunny hues, gave for the moment an impression of beauty to a scene in itself stern and desolate as death. Ten minutes later we issued from the mouth of the Wady upon the plain along the shore, here of considerable breadth, full of shrubs with Seyâl and Tûrfa trees, which we also found along the bottom of the valley higher up.¹ Just at the right comes in Wady el-Muhauwat from the southwest along the base of the cliffs, having found its way down through the mountains from the higher tract above; it is here broad and full of the like bushes and trees; and separates the north end of Usdum from the regular cliffs of the coast.²

As we now took leave of ez-Zuweirah, it may be proper to remark, that neither this name, nor the site, has any relation to the ancient Zoar; although a partial resemblance in the name, might at first be supposed. The Hebrew Zoar contains the letter 'Ain, which never falls away from the middle of a word; and accordingly Abulfeda and others write that name repeatedly Zoghar, and speak of it as existing in their day.³ The city of Zoar too lay in sight of Sodom, in or adjacent to the plain, so as to be exposed to the same destruction which overtook the other cities; and so late as the time of Jerome it had a Roman garrison and many inhabitants.⁴ But the present ez-Zuweirah,

¹ Irby and Mangles mention here also the Dôm or Nûbk; p. 351. [107.]

² From the mouth of Wady ez-Zuweirah, the southwest extremity of the peninsula, as here seen, bore N. 30° E. Jebel Jil'ad near es-Salt N. 24° E. Wady el-Kuneiyeh,

ii. 479, 480

across the sea and south of the isthmus, S. 80° E.

³ Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler pp. 8, 9, 11, 12, etc. Ibn el-Wardi *ibid.* p. 178. See above, Vol. I. p. 255, n. 2.

⁴ Gen. 19, 19-21. Hieron. Onom. art

taking even the lower, (for the upper is wholly out of the question,) lies more than half an hour distant from any part of the sea or plain; is entirely shut in by mountains, so as to be nowhere visible from the plain; and exhibits no trace of any dwellings, except the small modern Saracenic fort. Nor is there elsewhere in the Wady, or at its mouth, the slightest vestige of any former site. Further, there is decisive historical testimony, that the ancient Zoar lay on the east of the Dead Sea, in the territories of Moab. I am therefore disposed, with Irby and Mangles, to assign its position to the mouth of the Wady Kerak, where the latter opens upon the isthmus of the long peninsula. In that spot these travellers found the traces of an extensive ancient site.¹

Our course now became about S. by E. and led us across the broad plain, somewhat inclining towards the sea, formed by the Wady el-Muhawwat, and thickly covered with bushes and trees as described above. By looking up this Wady we could perceive that Usdum is only a narrow ridge, like a huge windrow; while the tract lying between it and the western cliffs, from which we had descended, is filled out with conical hills and short ridges of chalky limestone, like those of the higher tract we had traversed yesterday. We reached the northern extremity of Usdum at 5.50; this lies at some distance from the shore of the sea, and the space is covered with shrubs; but the flat shore soon trends towards it, and becomes narrower and wholly desert.² All our present Arab guides gave to the mountain the name of Khashm Usdum; the former word signifying "cartilage of the nose."³ The road continues along the base of the mountain, here running towards the S. S. E. It was in this vicinity that Sheikh Hussân gave us the information, which I have elsewhere related, respecting the appearance of bitumen in the lake, and as to the ford from this part of the western shore to the southern side of the peninsula, by which he himself had once passed.⁴

At 6.10 a heap of stones lay between us and the shore, called Um Zôghal.⁵ Beyond this, the ridge of Usdum begins to exhi-

Bala, "habitoribus quoque propriis frequentatur."

¹ Travels p. 448. [138.] See the historical notices and ancient testimonies respecting Zoar in Note XXXV, end of the volume.

² It is here, on and around the northern end of the mountain, that M. De Saulcy reports the extensive ruins of Sodom; Narrat. I. p. 522 sq. Seetzen, Irby and Mangles and Legh, as well as ourselves, passed over the same ground; but saw nothing of the kind. M. De Saulcy noticed the ruins only on his return from the

east side of the sea; when his antiquarian appetite had become sharpened. Even then he did not closely examine them. And as there are other instances, in which I am sure that M. De Saulcy was mistaken, so here I must prefer to rest upon the negative testimony of the keen-sighted travellers above named, confirmed as it was by our own experience.

³ See more on the name and character of this mountain, Vol. I. p. 502, n. 1.

⁴ See Vol. I. pp. 521, 522.

⁵ This is the Tell el-Msogal of Seetzen; Zach's Mon. Corr. XVII. p. 140; comp.

ii. 480-482

bit more distinctly its peculiar formation ; *the main body of the mountain being a solid mass of rock salt*. The ridge is in general very uneven and rugged, varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height. It is indeed covered with layers of chalky limestone or marl, so as to present chiefly the appearance of common earth or rock ; yet the mass of salt very often breaks out, and appears on the sides in precipices forty or fifty feet high and several hundred feet in length, mere crystallized fossil salt. We could at first hardly believe our eyes ; until we had several times approached the precipices, and broken off pieces to satisfy ourselves, both by the touch and taste. The salt, where thus exposed, is every where more or less furrowed by the rains. As we advanced, large lumps and masses broken off from above, lay like rocks along the shore, or were fallen down as *debris*. The very stones beneath our feet were wholly of salt. This continued to be the character of the mountain, more or less distinctly marked, throughout its whole length ; a distance of two and a half hours or five geographical miles. The Arabs affirmed, that the western side of the ridge exhibits similar appearances. The lumps of salt are not transparent, but present a dark appearance ; precisely similar to that of the large quantities of mineral salt, which we afterwards saw at Varna and in the towns along the lower Danube, the produce of the salt mines of those regions.

The existence here of this immense mass of fossil salt, which, according to the latest geological views, is a frequent accompaniment of volcanic action, accounts sufficiently for the excessive saltiness of the Dead Sea. At this time, the waters of the lake did not indeed wash the base of the mountain, though they appear to do so on some occasions ; but the rains of winter, and the streamlets which we still found running to the sea, would naturally carry into it, in the course of ages, a sufficiency of salt to produce most of the phenomena.¹

XVIII. p. 437. Reisen II. p. 253, 358 ; comp. I. p. 428. This artificial heap of stones (*Steinhaufen* of Seetzen) M. De Sauley at once exalts into "a building which was anciently a part of Sodom ;" Narrat. I. p. 266 sq.

¹ According to an analysis by Prof. Rose of Berlin, the salt of this mountain contains no peculiar ingredients, and especially no Bromium. It would seem, therefore, that the waters of the sea must somewhere come in contact with other mineral masses. See above, Vol. I. pp. 514, 515.— Other analyses of the salt, see in Anderson's Geol. Report, p. 181. Dr Anderson remarks, that only the lower portion of the mountain is composed of rock salt ; and that no

crystallized salt is met with higher than a hundred feet above the adjacent sea. The face of the mountain is curiously furrowed into a great number of tent-shaped or conical knolls ; and sometimes these spurs take the form of detached pillars. During the rainy season the process of formation and destruction is continually going on. One of these pillars is described by Lient. Lynch ; it was forty feet high, and its base was forty to sixty feet above the sea ; while a prop or buttress connected it with the mountain back. It was not visible from the shore. See Geol. Report, pp. 181, 182. Lynch's Narrative p. 807. Comp. De Sauley Narrat. I. p. 521.

The position of this mountain at the south end of the sea, enables us also to ascertain the place of the "Valley of Salt" mentioned in Scripture; where the Hebrews under David, and again under Amaziah, gained decisive victories over Edom. This valley could well have been no other than the Ghôr south of the Dead Sea, adjacent to the mountain of salt; it separates indeed the ancient territories of Judah and Edom.¹ Somewhere in the neighbourhood lay also probably the "City of Salt," enumerated along with En-gedi as in the desert of Judah.²

This very remarkable mountain appears not to be directly mentioned, either in Scripture, nor by Josephus or any other ancient writer. Yet Galen may not improbably allude to it, when in speaking of the salt gathered around the Dead Sea, he remarks, that it is called "Sodom salt," from the mountains named Sodom adjacent to the lake.³ In this ancient appellation, as has been already remarked, lies probably the origin of the present name, Usdum.⁴ So singular a feature did not escape the attention of the crusaders, in their occasional expeditions through this region; and the earliest direct notice of the mountain seems to be that of Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin I. around the south end of the sea in A. D. 1100. He describes the mountain accurately; and holds it to be the source of the saltiness of the sea.⁵ His account has probably been since regarded as a fable; for the mountain, like the whole tract around, was again forgotten, and remained unexplored for many centuries. Seetzen in A. D. 1806 was the first to raise the veil of darkness from the region; he mentions the mountain as being nearly three hours in length, and containing many layers of crystallized rock salt.⁶ Irby and Mangles with their party followed in A. D. 1818; and also speak of the mountain and its strata of salt.⁷

¹ 2 Sam. 8, 13. 1 Chr. 18, 12. 2 K. 14, 7. The first two passages evidently refer to the same event; but that in Samuel reads "Syrians" (סַרְסַרִים), while that in Chronicles reads "Edomites" (עֲדֻמִּים). The latter reading is doubtless the correct one; while the former is easily accounted for, by the similarity of the Hebrew letters ט and ד. The crusaders knew the Ghôr in this part as *Vallis Illustis*; Will. Tyr. 16. 6.

² Josh. 15, 61. 62.

³ Προσαγορεύουσι τὸ αὐτοὺς [τοὺς ἄλεις] Σοδομηνούς ἀπὸ τῶν περιοχόντων τὴν λίμνην δρῶν, ἃ καλεῖται Σόδομα. Galen de Simpl. medic. Facult. IV. 19. Reland Palæst. p. 243.

⁴ See above, Vol. I. p. 502.

Vol. II.—10

⁵ Fulcher Carnot. 23, in *Gesta Dei p.* 405, "Juxta quem lacum, vel Mare illud Mortuum, extat mons unus similiter salsus, non tamen totus sed localiter, constans ut petra, durissimus, et glaciei similissimus; unde sal, quod *salis gemma* vocatur, multotiens vidistis, quod de monte illo comminuitur." Comp. *Gesta Dei* p. 581.

⁶ Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. pp. 436, 437. Reisen I. p. 428.

⁷ Travels p. 352. [107.] So too Legh: "Along the foot of the high mountain-ridge, whose sides were sometimes formed of pure rock-salt, fragments of which had rolled down, or were seen hanging in other places as stalactites from the perpendicular sections of the rock." May 11th. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 625.

From that time to the present year, I am not aware that the region had been visited by any traveller.¹

As we thus travelled along the strand, I took the opportunity of bathing again in the Dead Sea, which detained us for twenty minutes. The bottom was here of sand, and the water so shallow, that although I waded out some twenty rods, it reached little more than half way to the knee. It left behind the same oily feeling as formerly; but no deposit of salt upon the skin.

We came at 7½ o'clock to a cavern in the mountain, of which our Arabs had often spoken. It is on a level with the ground, beneath a precipice of salt. The mouth is of an irregular form, ten or twelve feet high, and about the same in breadth. Here we stopped forty minutes for breakfast, and in order to examine the interior of the cavern. This soon becomes merely a small irregular gallery or fissure in the rock, with a water-course at the bottom, in which water was in some places still trickling. We followed this gallery with lights, and with some difficulty, for three or four hundred feet into the heart of the mountain, to a point where it branches off into two smaller fissures; and then returned. For this whole distance, the sides and roof and floor of the cavern are solid salt; dirty indeed, and the floor covered with dust and earth; but along the water-course it was easy to remark the pure crystallized rock, as worn away by the torrent, which at times evidently rushes violently through the cavern.

As we approached the cave, it had been reported by the scouts, of whom we had always one or more ahead, that a troop of riders was seen coming along the southern end of the sea. As we came out from the interior, the report had become more distinct. All was now alarm and bustle; the guns were primed, and preparation made to meet an enemy. The distance did not allow the scouts at first to distinguish the number of men, nor the animals on which they were riding; but it was concluded, that if they were horsemen, they were certainly a Ghūzu or marauding party of their enemies. It was determined, at any rate, not to abandon our strong position in the mouth of the cavern; and Sheikh Hussân himself went forward to reconnoitre

¹ Nau in 1674 relates, that at Damascus he met Daniel, abbot of St. Saba, who had once made the tour of the whole Dead Sea. Daniel reported, that on the west side of the lake, he found a tree with apples of Sodom like lemons (doubtless the 'Osher); that the south end of the sea is not pointed, but round; that at this end a stream flows into it from the southeast called *Saphia*; that here too and further north are vast plains and salt mountains; that the sea towards the south end is cut in two, so that it can be forded in summer,

ii. 484-486

and the water is only mid-leg deep, at least on the east side; and that here is another small round, or rather oval lake, bounded by the plains and salt mountains just mentioned. Now all this is founded more or less in truth; but when the abbot (or Nau) goes on to say, that along the eastern side of the lake there are rich plains with villages and churches and some Christians, it is plain that he or his reporter is speaking at random. Indeed, the whole account is too indefinite, ever to have gained credit. See Nau's Voyage p. 580

and hold a parley. But he soon ascertained, that the dreaded troop of marauders consisted of a flock of sheep, with two or three men on donkeys. All alarm now vanished, and we set forward at 8.10, still proceeding along the strand.

As we advanced, the approaching party had turned the corner of the sea, and we met them on the western shore. They proved to be a Gaza merchant, who had been buying sheep and butter at Kerak, and was now returning home with his purchases, accompanied by two or three men from Kerak.¹ The tables were now turned. Our Arabs thus finding themselves to be the stronger party, were willing to make a show of their power, and requite upon the poor strangers a little of the alarm they had themselves at first felt. They therefore, while we were somewhat in advance, drew up in a line, and approached the strangers with menacing gestures; and even Komeh was unwise enough to put himself at their head, and assume a similar mien. But it turned out, that what the rest had intended as a jest, our five Haweitât had meant in earnest. Their tribe, it seems, being at open war with the people of Kerak, they ran forward with all speed, and before we could believe our own eyes, they were actually robbing the other party! One seized a lamb, another a pistol, a third a cloak, and a fourth two small skins of Kerak butter. The injured party of course appealed to us for restitution; but we could only threaten the miscreants to dismiss them immediately without paying them a para for their services, unless they gave back the articles. The old man, who had taken the pistol, now appealed to us with all the eloquence of conscious integrity; he said, the men of Kerak were his enemies, and he was acting lawfully, and doing to them only what they would do to him in like circumstances. My companion, not professing to be a judge of Bedawin law, replied, that while he was in our service he must be governed by our laws; when he was in the desert, he might act as a Bedawy. With much difficulty, and after great exertion on the part of our resolute Komeh, (who seemed desirous to make good his oversight,) they were constrained to restore, as we supposed, every thing. Yet it turned out afterwards, that they had contrived to retain a skin of butter. Thus instead of being robbed, we ourselves might be said to have turned robbers.

We reached the southwest corner of the sea at 8½ o'clock; the shore being all the way strewed with blocks of salt, the debris of the mountain above. At the same point is also the south-east end or angle of Usdum, as seen from 'Ain Jidy; here the

¹ Kerak was formerly celebrated for its butter, which was made and consumed in great quantities. Burckhardt relates, that in his day it was considered disgraceful to sell it. Travels p. 385.

ridge trends off southwest, extending in that direction for a considerable distance further. The breadth of the sea and Ghôr, at this point, is probably less than two thirds of its width at 'Ain Jidy, perhaps five or six geographical miles.¹

The south end of the sea is everywhere very shallow ; and many little shoals and sand banks run out into it from the shores. From the line of water southwards, a large tract of low naked flats, in some parts a mere salt marsh, extends up for several miles, over which the sea rises and covers it when full. Traces of the high-water line, marked with drift wood, are found at a great distance further south. This naked tract of flats lies chiefly in the middle of the Ghôr and further west ; indeed all the western part, quite to the base of Usdum, is wholly without vegetation. Through the midst of it, in various places, large sluggish drains were seen winding their way towards the sea.²

The eastern side of the Ghôr presented a different appearance. Here, not far south of the corner of the sea, comes in the Wady el-Kürâhy, which higher up in the mountains is called Wady el-Ahsy.³ Further south is also Wady et-Tüfileh ; and still beyond is another, called Wady Ghüründel. The two former, like Wady Kerak, have in them never failing streams.

The tract watered by the Kürâhy, where it issues from the mountains, is called Ghôr es-Sâfieh ; and is cultivated for wheat, barley, Dhurah, and tobacco, by the Ghawârineh. These people at Sâfieh, like the inhabitants of modern Jericho, are a feeble race, who alone can live here on account of the fevers which prevail. Our Arabs said of them, that they are not to be reckoned either as Bedu, nor as Hûdr, nor as 'Abid (slaves). They live in cabins of reeds or canes ; and are much oppressed by the extortions of the Bedawin of the mountains. They were said to number about fifty men. The Wady et-Tüfileh in like manner waters a tract at its mouth, called Feifeh ; which is also cultivated by the Ghawârineh of Sâfieh.

The Fellâhin do not here come down from the mountains, as at Jericho, to plough and sow in the valley. The tract on the

¹ From this spot at the southwest corner of the sea, I took the following bearings : Southern shore of the sea runs due E. Râs el-Mersed at 'Ain Jidy N. 8° E. Râs el-Feshkhah N. 13° E. Western extremity of the peninsula, as here seen, N. 16° E.

² Irby and Mangles, in travelling along the south end of the sea, passed six drains before coming to the stream of the Kürâhy some wet, others dry. These had a strong marshy smell, similar to what is perceivable on muddy flats in salt-water harbours. Travels p. 354. [108.]

ii. 487-489

³ This is the Wady el-Ahsa of Burckhardt, south of Khanzireh, separating the district of Kerak from Jebâl ; Travels pp. 400, 401. Seetzen writes it incorrectly Wady al-Hösan ; Zach's Monatl. Corresp. XVIII. p. 436. Irby and Mangles have in like manner at first el-Husan, Travels pp. 355, 373, 374 ; but on their return they write only el-Ahsa, p. 444. Legh writes el-Hossan ; though in the mountains he speaks of the same Wady under the name Ellasar ; May 10th and 19th.—We inquired often and very particularly, but could hear only the name el-Ahsy.

peninsula at the mouth of Wady Kerak called Ghôr el-Mezra'ah, with the village of Ghawârineh who till it, has already been described.¹ They were said to be fewer than those of Sâfieh. Many of them, having fled from the oppressions of the Arabs around Kerak, were now dwelling in the Ghôr of the 'Adwân opposite Jericho, around Nimrin and Râmeh in Wady Hesbân.

The eastern side of the Ghôr, as thus described and seen from the spot where we now stood, is covered with shrubs and verdure like the plain of Jericho; forming a striking contrast with the middle and western side. Except the tracts above mentioned, the rest of the Ghôr is wholly unsuceptible of cultivation.²

But for us, at the moment, the view of the Ghôr which here opened to us towards the south, had a still higher interest. At the distance of nearly three hours, this view was now bounded by the line of whitish cliffs, which we had seen from upper Zuweirah, running off obliquely quite across the broad valley, and apparently barring all further progress. From ez-Zuweirah, however, we had been able to distinguish, that above and beyond these cliffs, the wide plain of the great valley continued to run on towards the south as far as the eye could reach; and that the cliffs themselves were indeed nothing more than an *offset* or step, between the lower Ghôr on the north and the higher level of the more southern valley.³ Along the foot of the cliffs, beyond the naked flats, we could everywhere perceive a broad tract of verdure; which we afterwards found to be mostly cane brake, growing on marshes formed by many brackish springs.—We now for the first time learned the exact point of division, between the portions of the great valley called el-Ghôr and el-'Arabah. It consists in this line of cliffs; all the valley on the north as far as to the lake of Tiberias forming the Ghôr, while el-'Arabah on the south extends quite to 'Akabah. Such was the testimony of all our Arabs, both of the Jehâlin and Haweitât.⁴

Thus far we had followed the route of the few former travellers, who had passed between Hebron and Kerak around the

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 520.

² Compare generally the account of Burckhardt, pp. 390, 391. Also that of Irby and Mangles, which is more full and definite, pp. 353–357. [107–109.]

³ See above, p. 103.—Irby and Mangles saw and mention these cliffs, as they passed along the south end of the sea: "The plain opens considerably to the south, and is bounded at the distance of about eight miles, by a sandy cliff, from sixty to eighty feet in height, which runs directly across

and closes the valley of el-Ghôr.—We were told that the plain on the top of this range of cliffs, continues the whole way to Mecca ['Akabah?'] without any interruption of mountains;" Travels p. 353. [107.] This is the only mention of these cliffs previous to our visit.

⁴ I speak here advisedly; because some have chosen to give to the southern part of the great valley the name of Wady el-'Akabah. This name is not known among the Arabs.

south end of the Dead Sea.¹ But from this point we were about to enter a new region, and follow along a portion of the great valley, (no very extensive one indeed,) into which until a few weeks before, the foot of no Frank traveller had ever penetrated. The former attractive hypothesis, which had been adopted after Burckhardt's discovery of this valley, viz. that the Jordan anciently flowed through its whole length quite to the Dead Sea, we knew to be no longer tenable.² The sagacious doubts of Letronne upon this point, founded chiefly on the direction of the side valleys from the adjacent mountains, as laid down upon Laborde's map, had been speedily followed by the discovery of the depressed level of the Dead Sea; a fact in itself necessarily fatal to the hypothesis in question.³ All this was known to me before I left Europe.

We had further learned from Lord Prudhoe in Jerusalem, who had just before travelled from Suez direct to Wady Mûsa and thence to Hebron, that in crossing the 'Arabah, his guides of the Jehâlin had repeatedly assured him, that its waters in the rainy season all flowed towards the north. Such too was the subsequent testimony of M. Bertou; and our own Arabs, both Jehâlin and Haweitât, had already confirmed the report. The main fact therefore of a descent of the valley towards the Dead Sea, was already established; but of the character of this descent we as yet knew nothing. There were besides various questions respecting the topography of the region, as connected with the approach of the Israelites to Palestine, which we were desirous to investigate; to say nothing of the wonders of Wady Mûsa, which ever since the first report of them by Burckhardt, had taken a strong hold of my imagination. It was therefore with a feeling of excited interest, that we now set our faces towards the south and bent our way along the Ghôr.

From this spot at the southwest corner of the sea, our Arabs pointed out a Wady called el-Jeib in the distant range of cliffs, along which they said our road would pass. We however could make out only a slight line of verdure; marking as we supposed a small Wady, by which we were to ascend to the higher level of the great valley further south. This point now bore about S. 15° W. somewhat east of the middle of the Ghôr;

¹ Seetzen, and also Irby and Mangles and their party.

² This hypothesis seems first to have been suggested by Col. Leake, in his Preface to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria etc. Lond. 1822. 4. Letronne erroneously ascribes it to Ritter; for although the latter speaks of the valley, he says nothing of the Jordan; Erdkunde Th. II. pp. 217, 218. Berl. 1818. Letronne in Journal ii. 490-492

des Savans, Oct. 1835. p. 596 sq. Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 1839, Tom III. p. 264.

³ See Letronne's paper in the Journal des Savans Oct. 1835, pp. 596-602. Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, ibid. p. 257 sq.—The observations of Moore and Beke, and of Schubert, by which the depression of the Dead Sea was first detected, were made in March and April 1837.

but as the intervening tract of marshy land was impassable for the camels, we were compelled to keep along the western side of the Ghôr, and thus make a large circuit.

Leaving the corner of the sea, at 8½ o'clock, we proceeded along the base of Usdum on a course at first southwest. The ground all along was moist and slippery, sticking to our shoes as we walked ; and the naked tract on our left was full of salt drains, sluggish and dead.¹ The mountain continued all the way to exhibit the same formation ; but the salt is here less exposed than along the sea. Lumps of nitre were scattered along the base ; of which we picked up several, one as large as the fist. We reached the southern end of the ridge at 9.25. Here and still further south, we saw drift wood lying in lines as thrown up by the sea ; showing that the level of the lake must sometimes be not less than ten or fifteen feet higher than at present. In a few minutes we passed a purling rill of beautifully limpid water, coming down from near the base of the mountain ; it proved to be salt as the saltiest brine, though without any bitter taste. Another similar rill occurred shortly after.

Where the ridge of Usdum thus terminates, the low cliffs and conical hills of marl, which we had seen behind it from the mouth of Wady ez-Zuweirah, come out again and skirt the western side of the Ghôr ; the regular limestone mountains lying still an hour or two further back. This trending off of Usdum of course again increases the breadth of the Ghôr, which is contracted at the extremity of the sea ; although exclusive of the marl cliffs, it is here not so wide as at 'Ain Jidy. We now kept along at the side of these hills, on a general course nearly S. S. W. Ten minutes from the end of Usdum, a scattered vegetation again commences on this side of the Ghôr ; of which there had been no trace along the whole extent of the mountain. The tract towards the middle still continued naked. Small Wadys now came in from among the low hills. At 9.40 a path was pointed out, leading up the western mountains at some distance south of Zuweirah ; it is called Nûkb el-Em'az, from the Wady of the same name further on. Two other roads still further south were said to come down into the Ghôr, called el-Buweib and es-Suleisil ; but they are merely Arab paths, not used by caravans. By them the Arabs Dhüllâm and Sa'idiyeh descend from the west, to winter in the Ghôr and el-'Arabah.

A brackish fountain was on our right at 9.55, called 'Ain el-Beida, with a few stunted palm trees and many canes. The stream which flowed from it was too salt for the camels to drink. At 10½ o'clock the bed of a torrent, Wady el-Em'az, crossed our path, coming down from the western mountains ; and beyond

¹ Comp. Anderson's Report, p. 182.

it, water was springing up in several places, all included under the name el-Beida. Round about these wet spots are cane brakes. Indeed the tract watered by all these fountains, is covered with shrubs and bushes; but it exhibits nowhere arable soil, and was now in many places white with salt. The shrubs were chiefly the Retem, Tamarisk, Ghürküd, and the like. The Ghürküd was growing in abundance, as around other brackish fountains; its red berries were now just ripe, sweetish and yet slightly acidulous to the taste, very juicy and pleasant, and quite refreshing to the heated traveller.¹

Opposite to this part, the naked portion of the Ghôr seemed to end; and was succeeded by a broad tract of shrubs along the foot of the southern line of cliffs. Two or three large drains, apparently coming from Wadys, extended further up; one of which was on our left and nearly parallel to our course.

We were now approaching the southwest corner of the Ghôr, where the chalky hills on our right sweep round to meet the line of cliffs on the south, which separate the Ghôr and 'Arabah. These latter, as here seen, appear indeed merely as an extension of the former towards the southeast. As we advanced, the drain upon our left proved to be the continuation of a broad valley entering the Ghôr at its southwest corner, named Wady el-Fikreh. It comes from the southwest near a pass of the mountains called es-Süfah; and its wide bed, strewn with stones and furrowed with channels, shows that it occasionally brings down large masses of water. In this Wady, some hours above and not far north of the pass es-Süfah, there was said to be a fountain of the same name, with palm trees.² Crossing the bed of the Wady, we came at 11 o'clock to the precipitous cliff on its eastern side, which here forms the commencement of the line of cliffs running obliquely across the great valley.³

We now turned in a general direction S. S. E. along the foot of the cliffs. They are of chalky earth, or indurated marl, of the same general character as the sides of the valley ez-Zuweirah, and the conical hills back of Usdum and along the western side of the Ghôr. They vary in height, in different parts, from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet. The face of the cliffs, though very steep, is not perpendicular; and they are much furrowed by the rains; so that the upper part presents a jagged appearance. All along their base are fountains of brackish water, oozing out and forming a tract of marshy land, overgrown with canes intermingled with shrubs and trees. Tamarisks and the

¹ See a description of the Ghürküd, Vol. I. p. 66.

² We saw this Wady higher up on our return, June 2d.

ii. 493-495

³ From this point the eastern angle of the ridge Usdum, at the southwestern corner of the sea, bore N. 38° E.

Nûbk were frequent ; and occasionally there was a stunted palm. With the exception of a few naked strips along brackish drains, the whole breadth of the Ghôr was here occupied with this species of verdure. Around these and all the other fountains we passed in the Ghôr, were many tracks of wild swine ; they were said to abound in the region, though we saw none.

Our path lay along the very base of the cliffs, between them and the jungle, above the fountains, in order to avoid the marshy ground. One of the fountains, to which we came at 11½ o'clock, sends forth a fine gushing stream of limpid water, very nearly pure, or at least only slightly brackish. A broad tract of jungle lies below. It is called 'Ain el-'Arûs, "the Bride's Fountain," and gives its name to all the others. Here we halted for nearly two hours, for rest, and in order to fill the water-skins for the day and night. We sought the shade of the bushes ; but found the heat very oppressive ; the thermometer standing at 92° F. Indeed we were now exposed to the full influence of the scorching climate of the Ghôr.¹

Here we could see the Wady Ghûrûndel already mentioned, which comes down from the eastern mountains, and enters the Ghôr just at its southeast corner. It takes its name, according to our Arabs, from a ruined place called Ghûrûndel near its head. This was doubtless the ancient Arindela, an episcopal city of the Third Palestine, mentioned along with Areopolis and Charak Moab. The names of its bishops appear in the signatures of councils ; and it is found still marked as a bishop's see in the latest *Notitiæ* before the time of the crusades.² Both the site and the valley escaped the notice of Burckhardt, as he passed through the mountains. Irby and Mangles visited the site, but do not mention the valley. The ruins are situated on the slope of a hill near a spring of water, and are of considerable extent.³

While we rested at 'Ain el-'Arûs, our Haweitât took the opportunity of preparing a warm breakfast. They had brought along some flour, or rather meal, of wheat and barley filled with chaff ; of which they now kneaded a round flat cake of some

¹ The following bearings are from the fountain 'Ain el-'Arûs : Southeast angle of Usdum N. 20° E. Peak of the mountains of Moab near Khanzireh, N. 75° E. Wady et-Tâf leh, mouth, S. 60° E. Wady Ghûrûndel, mouth, S. 35° E.

² Reland *Palæst.* p. 581. Compare *ibid.* pp. 215, 217, 223, 226, 533. Le Quien *Oriens Christ.* III. p. 727.

³ Irby and Mangles p. 376 [115], "Towards the centre of the ruins are the remains of two parallel rows of columns, of which three are standing in one row and

two in the other ; their diameter is two feet ; none have capitals. There are also near to this spot, fragments of columns of three feet diameter ; the capitals appear to be bad Doric."—Burckhardt found only the southern Wady Ghûrûndel, beyond Wady Mûsa ; but was the first to suggest the identity of this name with Arindela ; *Travels* p. 441. The northern Ghûrûndel was inserted on the map accompanying his work, from the information of Irby and Mangles.

thickness. This they threw into the ashes and coals of a fire they had kindled ; and after due time, brought out a loaf of bread, as black on the outside as the coals themselves, and not much whiter within. After breaking it up small in a dish while still warm, they mixed with it some of the butter they had stolen, and thus made their meal. Such is the manner of life among these sons of the desert ; though the butter was a luxury by no means common. On their journeys, coarse black unleavened bread is the Bedawy's usual fare.¹

At 1.35, we were again upon the way, keeping still along the base of the cliffs on a general course S. S. E. but with many curves. At 2.10 there was a sort of angle in the line of cliffs ; where they trend in general more towards the southeast, but yet with a hollow sweep towards the south. Their tops continued serrated and jagged, from the beds of little torrents coming down from the 'Arabah above. We crossed at 2.20 a Wady of this kind, of some size, called el-Kuseib.

At length at 2.50, we reached the opening of the long expected Wady el-Jeib, through which we were to ascend. To our surprise, it turned out to be, not the mere bed of a torrent descending from the higher plain of the 'Arabah, but a deep broad Wady issuing from the south upon the Ghôr, and coming down as far as the eye could reach between high precipitous cliffs, like those along which we had passed. It is indeed the vast drain of all the 'Arabah ; which has thus worn for itself in the course of ages a huge channel, through the upper plain and the offset of cliffs, to the level of the Ghôr below.²

We found here the peculiarity, that the eastern bank of this great Wady el-Jeib terminates nearly an hour further south ; from which point the offset, or line of cliffs, then runs north of east to the eastern mountains at the mouth of Wady Ghüründel, leaving before us a wide open tract belonging to the Ghôr. The water-courses from the Wady come down across this tract, and pass on through a space without shrubs and trees to the marshy flats nearer the sea.

We now turned up along the western bank on a course S. S. W. and at 3½ o'clock, were opposite the angle of the eastern

¹ Burekhardt travelled from beyond Wady Musa across the western desert, with Haweitit apparently from the same tribe as ours. "The frugality of these Bedawin," he says, "is without example ; my companions, who walked at least five hours every day, supported themselves for four and twenty hours with a piece of dry black bread, of about a pound and a half weight, without any other kind of nourishment." Travels p. 439.

ii. 496-498

² From the point where we now stood, viz. the western angle of the cliffs at the entrance of Wady el-Jeib, we took the following bearings : 'Ain el-'Arâs about N. 30° W. Southwest end of Usdum N. 15° W. Southeastern angle of Usdum at the corner of the sea, N. 15° E. Peak in the mountains of Moab N. 65° E. Wady et-Tûfileh, mouth, N. 85° E. Mouth of Wady Ghüründel and southeast corner of the Ghôr S. 40° E.

bank ; whence the line of cliffs runs nearly east by north to the foot of the mountains, about an hour distant. Here we entered the Wady itself, in this part not far from half a mile broad, shut in between perpendicular walls of the same chalky earth or marl, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet high, which exclude all view of the country and of every object around. The banks indeed are so entirely perpendicular, that it would be next to impossible to ascend out of the valley on either side. The broad bed of the Wady is very level, and has to the eye but a slight ascent towards the south ; yet it bears traces of an immense volume of water, rushing along with violence and covering the whole breadth of the valley. At its mouth and below, the bed is covered with Tamarisks (*Türfa*), and another shrub resembling the Retem, but larger, called *el-Ghüdäh*.¹ These bushes soon become fewer, and gradually disappear.

We travelled on along this remarkable chasm ; which was now heated both by the direct and reflected rays of the sun, to the temperature of 88° F. The direct rays were scorching ; but we avoided them by keeping within the shadow of the high western bank. At 4.40 the course of the valley became south ; and looking up it, we could distinguish the lone peak of Mount Hor in the distance, bearing also south. At 5 o'clock a branch Wady came in from the west, similar in its character to el-Jeib, though much smaller. The Arabs called it Wady Hasb ; and said it had its head in the plain of the 'Arabah, at a place where there is a natural pool filled with sweet living water, surrounded by much verdure, and, as the Arabs said, with some traces of ruins. Beyond this point, we began to find stones and blocks of porphyry scattered along the water-course of the Jeib, brought down by the torrents from the mountains further south. Till now the cliffs on each side had been so high and unbroken, that we had seen nothing whatever of the features of the country round about ; but here those on our left became occasionally lower, and we could perceive the eastern mountains, and in them the large Wady el-Ghuweir described by Burckhardt.² At 6 o'clock we halted, still in the shade of the high western bank. Here Mount Hor bore south, and the high peak we had before noted in the mountains of Moab, N. 54° E.

The heat in the Wady was so great, and the prospect of the country so very limited, that we concluded to travel during a part of the night ; stopping now to dine and rest, and intending to set off again at midnight. The evening was warm and still ;

¹ "Nomen arboris. *Kam*. Aptissimi ad ignem et prunas ligni ; in arenis præcipue provenit. *Gol.*" Freyt. Lex. III. p. 281.

² Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, pp. 409, 410.

we therefore did not pitch our tent, but spread our carpets on the sand, and lay down, not indeed at first to sleep, but to enjoy the scene and the associations which thronged upon our minds. It was truly one of the most romantic desert scenes we had yet met with ; and I hardly remember another in all our wanderings, of which I retain a more lively impression. Here was the deep broad valley in the midst of the 'Arabah, unknown to all the civilized world, shut in by high and singular cliffs ; overagainst us were the mountains of Edom ; in the distance rose Mount Hor in its lone majesty, the spot where the aged prophet-brothers took of each other their last farewell ; while above our heads was the deep azure of an oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm. Near at hand were the flashing fires of our party ; the Arabs themselves in their wild attire, all nine at supper around one bowl ; our Egyptian servants looking on ; one after another rising and gliding through the glow of the fires ; the Sheikh approaching and saluting us ; the serving of coffee ; and beyond all this circle, the patient camels lying at their ease, and lazily chewing the cud.

The great feature of our journey to day, was the Wady el-Jeib. The mountain of salt, however remarkable and important, had in part been known before. But this deep Wady was wholly new to us and unknown to the world ; the great water-course of all the valley or plain of the 'Arabah ; a Wady within a Wady. Our Arabs of the Haweitât were acquainted with it throughout its whole length ; and assured us, that it has its commencement far south of Wady Mûsa ; and that in the rainy season, the waters of the southern Wady Ghûrûndel flow off northwards through the Jeib to the Dead Sea. Further north, they said, it receives the great Wady el-Jerâfeh from the western desert.

Another remarkable feature of the region is the line of cliffs crossing the whole Ghôr, and constituting merely the ascent to the higher plain of the 'Arabah. From the southwest corner of the Ghôr to the mouth of Wady el-Jeib we travelled two hours, and from thence to the southeast corner is an hour or more further. The cliffs thus form an irregular curve, sweeping across the Ghôr in something like a segment of a circle, the chord of which would be about six or seven geographical miles in length, extending obliquely nearly from northwest to southeast.—This remarkable line of cliffs, in the absence of any better suggestion, I am inclined to regard as the "Ascent of Akrabbim ;" to which the southeastern border of Judah was to be drawn from the Dead Sea, "from the bay that looketh southward," and was thence to pass on to Zin and Kadesh-Barnea.¹

¹ Num. 34, 3. 4. Josh. 15, 2. 3.

Wednesday, May 30th. Ten minutes after midnight we were again upon our camels. The moon had set, and all was dark; the night-breeze cool and refreshing. All was still as the grave; nor did the noiseless tread of the camels in the sand, break in at all upon the silence. As we advanced, the banks of the Wady became gradually lower; and at two o'clock the country apparently opened around. I watched with interest the dawning of the morning star; at length about 3 o'clock it burst at once over the eastern mountains, radiant with brightness. We now seemed to be leaving the bed of Wady el-Jeib; and fearing to lose some important observation, we halted and waited for daybreak. Lying down upon the sand, we slept sweetly for an hour; and at 4.20 proceeded on our way.

The bed of the Jeib, where we thus left it, was still large; but the banks were of moderate height; the eastern indeed had nearly disappeared. The Wady here came down from the south-west while our course was now nearly S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. Mount Hor bore at first due south, and then gradually S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. We were now upon the plain, or rather the rolling desert of the 'Arabah; the surface was in general loose gravel and stones, everywhere furrowed and torn with the beds of torrents. A more frightful desert it had hardly been our lot to behold. Now and then a lone shrub of the Ghüdâh was almost the only trace of vegetation. Looking across the 'Arabah towards the west, the prospect was not more cheering, except the small spots of verdure around two fountains; one el-Weibeh¹ at the foot of the western mountains; and the other, el-Hufeiry more in the plain further north. The mountains beyond presented a most uninviting and hideous aspect; precipices and naked conical peaks of chalky and gravelly formation; rising one above another without a sign of life or vegetation.

On our left, as we proceeded, a long low range of reddish rocks, called Hūmra Fedân, ran parallel to the eastern mountains in front of the Wady el-Ghuweir. These rocks are at some distance from the mountains, and a large tract of the plain lies behind them. We could look over them, and see the break formed by the Ghuweir. The waters of this Wady issuing upon the plain behind the Hūmra Fedân, do not run to the Jeib; but were said to form another similar channel nearer to the mountain, called el-Būtâhy, which enters the Ghôr near its southeast corner.

As the sun rose over the eastern mountains, the two Arabs (Jehâlin) who were walking by our side, repeated a few words of prayer, consisting of little more than the ordinary Muhammedan confession: "God is most Great, and Muhammed is his pro-

¹ This fountain is on the direct road between Wady Mûsa and Hebron. We visited it on our return, June 2d.

phet!" They admitted that they did not usually pray, except when in company with some one who could lead them. In their tribe only some ten or fifteen, they said, could pray of themselves. Our Sheikh Hussân had never known a Bedawy who could read; he had only heard that there are some far in the east.

After crossing many water-courses and gullies in the plain, we struck at 7 o'clock and followed up a large shallow Wady, coming down before us in the direction of our course, called Wady el-Buweirideh, from a fountain in it higher up. Several ridges of low hills, composed of sand, or rather of gravel, run occasionally from east to west in the plain. At 7.30 there was a larger range of such hills extending quite across the 'Arabah; some of which are not less than one hundred feet in height. Wady el-Jeib, as we found later, passes down at the west end of this ridge. The valley in which we were now travelling finds its way through them near the eastern end; our course in it verging more southeasterly towards the mountains. Here a shrub was now and then to be seen, and a few large Seyâl trees. The Wady conducted us at length to a region of several springs, at one of which we stopped at 8.40, for breakfast and rest. All these springs are called 'Ain el-Buweirideh; they are surrounded by cane brakes; among which are mingled tamarisks, willows, a few stunted palms, an abundance of the Ghûrkûd, with other shrubs of the desert.

The fountain by which we halted was not large; yet a rivulet flowed out from the thicket and ran for some distance down the valley. The water was sweet; but like all desert fountains had a sickly hue, as if it could bless nothing with fertility. Finding here no convenient shade, we set up the top of our tent, to shield us from the intolerable heat of the sun. The south wind, which at early dawn was cool and pleasant, had already become a burning Sirocco; the thermometer, as we stopped, stood in the shade at 96° F. The violence and glow of the wind increased; so that at 12 o'clock the thermometer had risen to 102° F. It being difficult in such circumstances either to write or sleep, and our Arabs wishing to go on, we concluded to proceed; and found ourselves actually less uncomfortable in travelling, than we had been in lying still.

The usual road to Wady Mûsa from this quarter, passes up from the 'Arabah through Wady er-Rûbâ'y, and so around Mount Hor, entering Wady Mûsa from the southwest. But our wish and plan had ever been, if possible, to approach the place from the east, so as to enter by the celebrated chasm in the mountain on that side. On proposing this to our guides, they made no objections; but said it would be necessary to as-

ceed the mountains by a pass further north, which they called Nemela. They said too this route would bring us more in contact with the Arabs of the mountains, and our arrival would be more generally known ; but as their tribe was now on good terms with the latter, and we moreover had with us several of the Haweitât belonging to a kindred clan, there seemed to be no cause for apprehension in this circumstance. We indeed proposed to them, to take a still more northern route and carry us to Shôbek ; but this they declined, saying the people of that place and of the country further north were at war with the Jehâlin, so that the latter could not venture into their territory. We therefore decided to ascend by the pass of Nemela.

Leaving 'Ain el-Buweirideh at 12.50, we proceeded up the same Wady on a course S. S. E. having a line of sand hills on our right. The wind continued to increase in violence and heat, and the atmosphere was now full of dust and sand ; the glow of the air was like the mouth of a furnace. Except in the bed of the Wady, the surface was everywhere loose sand. At half past two, after passing a high sand hill on our left, we reached the foot of the gentle slope, which in this part skirts the base of the line of mountains. This is covered with debris, chiefly blocks of porphyry, among which the camels picked their way with difficulty. I at first supposed these to have been brought down from the Wady and the pass before us ; but as the air cleared a little, we could see that the same gentle slope extends regularly along the base of the mountain, for a great distance north and south, covered in like manner with stones. The Sirocco was now at the height of its fury ; the atmosphere was thick, so that the sun was no longer visible ; nor could we see the mountains close before us.

We gradually ascended this slope S. E. by S. and at 3½ o'clock reached the first low hills forming the outskirts of the mountain. These are of loose limestone, or rather a yellowish argillaceous rock, low cones and ridges lying in front of the steep mass of the mountain, which is of dark porphyry. Passing up through these by a ravine, of which the Wady we had ascended forms the continuation, we came at 4 o'clock to the masses of porphyry, with high pointed cliffs. Here the Wady turns south and ascends between the porphyry and limestone formations. Half an hour afterwards, we began to get more among the porphyry cliffs ; a lofty one on the left was capped with sandstone. At 4.50 a short turn of the ravine towards the left brought us into the body of the mountain ; and at a quarter past 5 o'clock we reached the foot of the long, wild, romantic pass of Nemela.

The path led at first along ravines, and then up the face of steep rocks and promontories ; the main ascent being along a

projecting point of the mountain, between two vast chasms. The porphyry here runs up into slender ragged needles, some of them lofty and sharp. The sides of the ravines and cliffs are dotted to their tops with shrubs and herbs, many of them fragrant; so that the air was filled with odours. The appearance of the region indicated, that there had been an abundance of rain. Indeed, the whole aspect of these mountains is much less rude and desert, than those west of the 'Arabah. In the valleys were various trees and shrubs, the Seyál, Butm, and the like, and also the Retem in great quantity, all very large. On the rocks above, we found the juniper tree, Arabic '*Ar'ar*';¹ its berries have the appearance and taste of the common juniper, except that there is more of the aroma of the pine. These trees were ten or fifteen feet in height; and hung upon the rocks even to the summits of the cliffs and needles.

This pass is longer than that of 'Ain Jidy; but not in itself difficult. After a slow and toilsome ascent of an hour and a quarter, we reached the top; and came out upon a small spot of table land, or little basin, a tract of yellow sandstone capping the porphyry, and sprinkled with odoriferous herbs, affording fine pasturage for the camels. Here at 6½ o'clock we encamped for the night, after a very long day's journey, excessively fatigued, and glad to have escaped the scorching blasts of the 'Arabah. The tempest had abated, and the air became gradually clear; by sunset the thermometer had fallen to 76° F. and a pleasant breeze came from the northwest. From the plain of the 'Arabah we supposed we had not ascended less than two thousand feet; the height of the pass alone being about fifteen hundred feet.

Thursday, May 31st. Not having before us a long day's journey, we rested for a time this morning, in order to write up our journals. The air had become clear; and from a hillock on the very brow of the precipice, we enjoyed a magnificent view of the 'Arabah and of the western desert and mountains. All before us was indeed a perfect desert; but beyond el-'Arabah we recognised with delight our old acquaintances of that region, the great Wady el-Jeráfah and the bluff el-Mükráh.² We could distinctly see the Jeráfah as it enters el-'Arabah from the southwest and also for some distance up its course; a broad valley or plain, apparently a mile in width, the middle of its mouth bearing S. 80° W. In this part and further south, the ascent from the 'Arabah to the western desert seemed comparatively not great; the banks of the Jeráfah, as seen from this point, did not

¹ This is doubtless the Hebrew יְרֵמֶן *Retem*; see above, Vol. I. p. 203. Celsus *Azor*, Jer. 48, 6, where both the English version and Luther read incorrectly *heath*. The 'juniper' of the same translation is the

ii. 506, 507

² See Vol. I. pp. 177, 179, 180, 199, etc.

appear very high. We had now learned enough of the region, to understand why the Jeráfeh and all the Wadys which drain the western desert, should run towards the north; a fact which at first had appeared very singular.¹

Directly beyond the mouth of the Jeráfeh, and somewhat back from the brow of the 'Arabah, the bluff el-Mükráh was seen, forming the southeast angle of the mountainous region further north, and bearing also about S. 80° W. In the north-western quarter all was a tract of desert mountains, lower than those on which we stood, and seeming to have only a gradual descent into the 'Arabah; though, as we afterwards found, this was a deception, the descent being by ledges or offsets, with comparatively level tracts between. A pass into these mountains, north of el-Mükráh, was pointed out, called el-Mirzaba; but none of our guides had ever been in that region, and knew little more of it than ourselves.

Towards the south, the direction of a small fountain, 'Ain Melihy, was pointed out, at the mouth of a short Wady south of the Jeráfeh. In the same quarter, we could distinctly perceive Wady el-Jeib winding along the middle of the 'Arabah from the south, and at length sweeping off northwest as if to meet the Jeráfeh; and having received this Wady, it again winds northeast and afterwards northwesterly, so as to pass el-Weibeh at the foot of the western mountains. Here our guides of the Haweitât again assured us, that the waters of the southern Wady Ghüründel flow northwards through el-Jeib; and we had no reason to distrust the accuracy of their information; for the whole appearance of the 'Arabah and of the Jeib winding through it far south of the Jeráfeh, led very naturally to the same conclusion.

On our left, Mount Hor was seen standing out alone among the front cliffs of the eastern mountains. Its form is a cone irregularly truncated, having three ragged points or peaks; of which that on the northeast is the highest, and has upon it the Muhammedan Wely or tomb of Aaron. This is called among the Arabs Neby Hârûn; and gives name to the mountain. It now bore about S. 10° W.

We set off from the head of the pass of Nemela at 8½ o'clock; and leaving the little basin where we had encamped, descended for a time to cross a deep Wady, and then ascended gradually along other ravines. On our left, at some distance, was a high fantastic cliff of sandstone based on porphyry; and before us in the east, a long high ridge of table land. Our general course was now southeast. The shrubs, studding the mountains to their very top, continued green; and large trees

¹ See Vol. I. p. 180.

of the juniper became quite common in the Wadys and on the rocks. All was here rugged and wild ; the air clear and cool ; and the whole scene romantic and exhilarating. For all the Wadys and the ridges between, we could learn no other name than Nemela ; which our Arabs applied promiscuously to the whole district. As we continued gradually to ascend, the tops of the cliffs and ridges became sandstone, while the body of the mountain remained still of porphyry.

In crossing a broad low ridge, we came suddenly at 9.25 upon a deep chasm in the sandstone rock, which proved to be the head of a narrow Wady running off S. S. W. shut in by almost perpendicular walls. Looking down into it, we perceived its bed full of the Difeh or oleander¹ in full bloom, forming with its myriads of large red blossoms a striking contrast to the desert rocks around. We saw this plant here for the first time. It is very abundant in these mountains ; but we met with it nowhere else, until we reached the shores of the lake of Tiberias and the coast of Tyre and Sidon.

Descending into the Wady, we followed it with difficulty, and found rain water in two places standing in the rocks. This valley bore also in the mouths of our Arabs the name of Nemela. After nearly half an hour (at 9.50) it went off more southwest through a narrow gorge ; and, as I suppose, finds its way down to the foot of the pass by which we had ascended. We here turned up a side valley southeast still called Nemela ; the oleanders and junipers continuing all the way. The country became more open ; and as we got higher, traces of ancient terraces and former cultivation began to appear, though the soil was slight and poor. At 10½ o'clock we were fully among the sandstone formation ; the porphyry entirely disappeared ; and the Wadys became of less rapid descent. Half an hour later, we came out upon the rocky ridge at the head of this Wady Nemela ; and found ourselves upon a circular plateau or basin, once partially tilled, surrounded by low weather-worn cliffs of sandstone.

After crossing this tract, we entered from it at 11.20 a chasm in the eastern range of cliffs, called es-Sik ; though it has little resemblance to the Sik of Wady Mûsa. The breadth is irregular, varying from fifty to some two hundred feet ; the rocks upon the sides are perpendicular, and perhaps a hundred feet in height. Its course is about S. E. by S. The bed of a torrent comes down through it ; and along with some slight traces of tillage, it was crowded with a luxuriant growth of oleanders, juniper, oak, Retem, and also of Zaknâm, a shrub similar in size and appearance to the oleander. Five minutes before reaching the further end, there was on the right a niche, or rather a large

¹ *Nerium Oleander*, Sprengel Hist. Rei Herbar. I. p. 252.

tablet, hewn high up in the rock, exhibiting a pedestal in relief, with two slender pyramids or obelisks upon it. There is no inscription ; except a Greek scrawl in red paint, now illegible, apparently the work of some casual visitor in by-gone times. The tablet may not improbably have been intended as a sepulchral monument.¹

We emerged from the Sik at 11½ o'clock into a new region, called Suttā Beida, "White Plains," a broad uneven open tract or valley running south by west, having on the right the naked sandstone ridge through which we had passed, and on the left, a high sloping mountain ridge without precipices, sprinkled with herbage to the top. On this declivity are traces of tillage and also olive trees, around the little village of Dibdiba, not far up the side ; we were opposite to it at 12 o'clock. More towards the south, isolated groups of sandstone rocks and cliffs are scattered in the open tract ; and beyond them is Wady Mûsa. The waters of the northern part of the plain flow off through the Sik behind us ; while those further south find their way to Wady Mûsa, which there crosses the tract from east to west. The soil of the plain seemed poor ; and there was only a scanty tillage. A few people were reaping and gleaning a miserable crop of wheat sown among the shrubs ; the stalks were hardly a foot high, few and far between. Near by was a threshing-floor ; but the crop seemed hardly to merit so much trouble. A few Bedawin were also pasturing their flocks. We halted at 12.10 and purchased a sheep ; offering for it forty piastres, which at first was refused, but afterwards taken. We wished to provide a good supper for our Arabs this evening in Wady Mûsa ; in order to part with our Haweitāt on good terms on the morrow.

The poor people whom we here found, were at the least possible remove from savage life. In one party, consisting mostly of females, there was a man entirely naked, except a rag around his loins ; and most of the children had only a like covering for their nakedness. This man was armed with a gun and knife, and looked fierce and savage. In this quarter we saw two or three small tombs in the sandstone rocks.

From this spot we sent off our servants and luggage direct to Wady Mûsa ; their course was south by west, crossing obliquely several narrow Wadys which run into Wady Mûsa at points further west ; and then following down another, to enter near the eastern quarter. We in the mean time took a route more to the left, in order to approach from the east through the magnificent Sik or chasm. Setting off at 12¾ o'clock, our course was about south, along the base of the mountain on our left, and so

¹ This tablet is mentioned by Lord Lindsay, who passed by this route after leaving Wady Mûsa.

around its southwestern end; thus passing above or across the heads of several Wadys running southwest to Wady Mûsa. At 2 o'clock we saw the ruined structure in Wady Mûsa, bearing southwest about three quarters of an hour distant; while at the same time the village of Eljy bore S. S. E. distant rather more than an hour. The body of the regular mountain on our left, appeared to be limestone; a formation still higher and further back than the sandstone;¹ though the base in this part, and the Wadys on our right, were of the latter. This appears to be the mountain, on which Irby and Mangles and their companions encamped for several days, before they could enter Wady Mûsa; from it they could see that place in the south, and the village of Dibdiba below them towards the west.²

We were now higher than Wady Mûsa, and were indeed traversing the top of the broad sandstone ridge, which extends from below this end of the mountain of Dibdiba southwards, forming the eastern barrier through which the ravine of the Sik leads to the former place. We soon had upon our right a similar narrow chasm, sunk deep in the rocky surface over which we were passing, and not more than twenty or thirty feet in breadth; this I suppose to be the ravine marked on the plan of Wady Mûsa, as entering at the northeast corner. At 2.20 we came opposite a ruined fortress on the other side of this chasm, situated just on the brink, and looking down into the depths below. It is of considerable extent, with pointed arches and imperfect masonry, apparently of Saracenic construction. From our position near it, Mount Hor bore S. 72° W. and Eljy S. 35° E. The particular object of this castle we could not perceive; as it seems to guard no approach to Wady Mûsa, nor to any other place of importance. Perhaps it was an outpost of the former fortress of Shôbek towards the south. I am not aware that it has yet been noticed by travellers.³

Eljy was now before us, and appeared like a good sized village on the western declivity of another long limestone mountain; it lies on a point or promontory between two Wadys which unite at the foot. According to Burckhardt, it "contains between two and three hundred houses, and is enclosed by a stone wall with three regular gates; a few large hewn stones dispersed over the present town, indicate the existence of an ancient city on the spot."⁴ The slopes around are terraced and

¹ Burckhardt says that "the rocks above Eljy are calcareous, and the sandstone does not begin until the point where the first tombs are excavated" in the valley further west. Travels in Syria, p. 432.

² Travels pp. 386, 388. [118.]

³ Unless perhaps it be the Beit el-Karm ii. 512, 513

mentioned by Irby and Mangles, as seen from their camp above Dibdiba; but in what direction they do not say. Travels p. 425. [130.]

⁴ The same traveller saw here also "some large pieces of saline marble." Travels pp. 420, 421.—Irby and Mangles

cultivated. In the northern Wady, about twenty minutes above the village, is a copious spring issuing from under the rock. This is 'Ain Mûsa. The brook which runs from it, receives further down a rivulet from the southern Wady and also some other springs; and flowing down the valley westward, forms the stream of Wady Mûsa.—From 'Ain Mûsa, according to Burckhardt, a broad valley winds upwards in a southern direction for two hours and a quarter; at the extremity of which, on high ground, are the ruins of an ancient city, now called Bûtâhy.¹

We came to the valley with the brook at 2½ o'clock, at some distance below Eljy, and just at the point where it becomes narrower by entering among sandstone rocks, connected with the broad ridge which we had just traversed. Above this point the Wady is wide and fertile, and was now covered with grain. Just before descending into it, we had in a group of low whitish rocks, on our right, the first important tomb in this quarter, mentioned also by Irby and Mangles.² It consists of a square court cut in the rock, with its eastern front built up in masonry; on the inner wall of the rock is a façade and a door leading to a chamber with niches, behind which is a smaller room. On each side of the court are low porticos with Doric columns. In a small group of rocks near by, I noticed steps leading to the top; and mounting them, I found a tomb sunk in the rock, with apparently no entrance except from above.

Descending into the valley, we followed it westwards along the fine little brook, skirted with an abundance of oleanders now in full blossom. The valley becomes shut in by sandstone cliffs, at first forty or fifty feet high, leaving between them a space of about fifty yards for the breadth of the ravine. Here is the commencement of this wonderful necropolis. The tombs begin immediately on the right; on the left there are none for some distance further down. After passing the façades of several sepulchres, which anywhere else would be objects of great curiosity, my attention was arrested by three tombs on the right, which at once transported me back to the valley of Jehoshaphat. They are isolated masses of rock, about fifteen or twenty feet square, which have been cut away from the adjacent cliffs of reddish sandstone, leaving a passage of several feet between. In one of them, at the bottom, is a small sepulchra chamber with a low door. Another is ornamented with columns too much defaced to distinguish the order; but has apparently no entrance unless from above, like the tomb above de-

estimate the houses at "not more than forty or fifty;" p. 404. [124.] Burckhardt seems to me to be nearer the truth; though we did not enter the village.

¹ Travels pp. 420, 433, 434.

² Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 405 [124.]

scribed. These monuments differ from those of Absalom and Zechariah chiefly in the upper part or roof, which is here flat ; and in the fact, that the sides are drawn in slightly from the perpendicular, in the Egyptian style, so that the top is somewhat narrower than the base. These three tombs are mentioned only by Burckhardt ; who also speaks of two others somewhat similar, on the road leading from Wady Mûsa to Mount Hor.¹

A little further down upon the left, in the face of the cliffs, is a tomb with a front of six Ionic columns. Directly over this is another sepulchre, the front of which, above the door, bears as an ornament four slender pyramids sculptured in the same rock, producing a singular effect. This appears to be the only instance of the kind among all this vast variety of tombs. The tablet we had seen in the Sik of Nemela bears a resemblance to it ;² and pyramids, we are told, surmounted in like manner the sepulchres of Helena at Jerusalem, and of the Maccabees at Modin.³ Here then appears to be another link, connecting the later sepulchral architecture of Palestine with that of the adjacent Arabia Petræa.

The valley contracts more and more, and the cliffs become higher, presenting on each side a street of tombs. The rocks are of red sandstone. After fifteen minutes (at 3 o'clock) we came to a spot where the ravine opens out into a small area, apparently wholly shut in by rocky walls about eighty feet high, except on the side by which we entered. Here an Arab boy was watching his flock of sheep. The brook bends a little to the right, and, approaching the opposite wall of rocks, disappears in a narrow cleft, hardly perceptible at first to the eye of a casual observer ; being concealed in part by a projection of the cliffs. Here is the opening of the terrific chasm, which anciently formed the only avenue to the city on this side. This is the Sik of Wady Mûsa.

A few steps beyond the entrance, a noble arch is thrown across high up from one precipice to the other, with niches sculptured in the rock beneath each end, ornamented with pilasters and probably intended for statues. It was constructed doubtless as an ornament over the entrance of this singular gallery ; it may, or may not, have been an arch of triumph. Just below this spot we measured the width of the Sik, twelve feet. This is the narrowest part ; though it hardly becomes in any place more than three, or at the most four times this width. The rocks are all of reddish sandstone, perpendicular on both sides ; and in some places they overhang the passage, so as almost to shut out the light of the sky. In other parts they have

¹ Pages 452, 429.

² See above, pp. 126, 127.

ii. 515, 516

³ See above, p. 6. Also Vol. I. pp. 362, 363.

apparently been cut away by hand. Indeed, the whole vast mass of rock seems as if originally rent asunder by some great convulsion of nature, leaving behind this long, narrow, winding, magnificent chasm.

The height of the rocks at first is eighty or a hundred feet ; the bottom has a rapid descent, and the sides become higher towards the west, varying from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, or perhaps two hundred and fifty feet. I doubt whether any part of these or the adjacent cliffs rises to the height of three hundred feet. We gave particular attention to this point, and repeated our observations the next day ; because the elevation of the sides of the Sik and of the surrounding cliffs, appears to have been greatly exaggerated in the reports of travellers.¹

The limpid brook flowed at this time along the whole distance, watering a thicket of oleanders in full bloom, and so abundant as almost to block up the passage. Wild figs also and tamarisks grow out of the rocks here and there ; and the vines of creeping plants hung in festoons along the walls. The great body of the water, especially in the rainy season, was perhaps anciently carried off by some different way ; at other times it was distributed in aqueducts, the remains of which are still to be seen. A channel for the water, cut in the rock, runs upon the left near the level of the ground ; and a conduit of earthen pipes four or five inches in diameter, let into the rock and cemented, is carried along high up on the right hand precipice. Both of these are now in ruins.

The bottom of the passage was anciently paved with squared stones, which still remain in various places. Along the sides are seen, here and there, niches, and also tablets hewn smooth in the rock, where once perhaps stood busts or statues, or the words of an inscription. The Sik winds much ; running at first west, then southwest, then northwest, and so continuing to vary between southwest and northwest until near the end, where its course is again west. At some of these turns, similar chasms come in from the sides ; showing that the whole mass of rock is rent to the bottom by like clefts in all directions. It is the same broad sandstone ridge, the top of which we had traversed in approaching Eljy.

The character of this wonderful spot, and the impression which it makes, are utterly indescribable ; and I know of nothing which can present even a faint idea of them. I had visited

¹ Mr Legh gives the height from 200 to 500 feet ; May 26th. Irby and Mangles from 400 to 700 feet ; p. 414. Mr Stephens from 500 to 1000 feet ; Vol. II. p.

70. Burckhardt alone seems to have kept his right mind, and estimates the rocks at the beginning of the Sik at about 80 feet in height ; pp. 422, 423.

the strange sandstone lanes and streets of Adersbach, and wandered with delight through the romantic dells of the Saxon Switzerland ; both of which scenes might be supposed to afford the nearest parallel ; yet they exhibit few points of comparison. All here is on a vaster scale of wild and savage grandeur. We lingered along this superb approach, proceeding slowly and stopping often, forgetful of every thing else, and taking for the moment no note of time. The length is a large mile ; we were forty minutes in passing through in this desultory manner. As we drew near the western end, the sunlight began to break in upon the rugged crags before us. Here the Sik terminates, opening nearly at right angles into a similar though broader Wady or chasm, coming down from the south and passing off northwest.

All at once the beautiful façade of the Khūzneh, in the western precipice, opposite the mouth of the Sik, burst upon our view, in all the delicacy of its first chiselling, and in all the freshness and beauty of its soft colouring. I had seen various engravings of it, and read all the descriptions ; but this was one of the rare instances, where the truth of the reality surpassed the ideal anticipation. It is indeed most exquisitely beautiful ; and nothing I had seen of architectural effect in Rome, or Thebes, or even Athens, comes up to it in the first impression. It does not bear criticism as to its architecture ; though this at least is symmetrical. The broken pediment and other ornaments are not all in a pure style ; and if seen in a different land, or without the accompaniments by which it is surrounded, it would perhaps excite little admiration. But here, its position as a portion of the lofty mass of coloured rock overagainst the imposing avenue ; its wonderful state of preservation ; the glow and tint of the stone ; and the wild scenery around ; all are unique, and combine into a power of association and impression, which takes complete possession of the mind. One column of the portico alone is broken away ; yet such is the symmetrical effect of the whole, that this deficiency does not at first strike the eye.

I was perfectly fascinated with this splendid work of ancient art in this wild spot ; and the idea of it was uppermost in my mind during the day and all the night. In the morning, I returned and beheld it again with increased admiration. There it stands, as it has stood for ages, in beauty and loneliness ; the generations which admired and rejoiced over it of old, have passed away ; the wild Arab, as he wanders by, regards it with stupid indifference or scorn ; and none are left, but strangers from far distant lands, to do it reverence. Its rich roseate tints, as I bade it farewell, were lighted up and gilded by the mellow beams of the morning sun ; and I turned away from it at length with an impression, which will be effaced only at death.

The name el-Kūzneh given by the Arabs to this edifice, signifies 'the treasure;' which they ascribe to Pharaoh, and suppose to be contained in the urn crowning the summit of its ornamented front, a hundred feet or more above the ground. Their only interest indeed in all these monuments, is to search for hidden treasures; and as they find nothing elsewhere, they imagine them to be deposited in this urn, which to them is inaccessible. It bears the marks of many musket balls, which they have fired at it, in the hope of breaking it in pieces, and thus obtaining the imagined treasure.

The interior of the structure by no means corresponds to its imposing exterior. From the vestibule, the door leads into a plain lofty room excavated from the rock, the sides smooth, but without ornament. Behind this is another room of less size; and small lateral chambers are found on each side, opening from the large room and from the vestibule. Was this a temple, or merely a dwelling for the dead? There is nothing in the monument itself to determine this question; but if any of the wonderful structures of this place may be considered as temples, I should regard this as one.—Here, as the central point of interest in Wady Mûsa, we inscribed our names upon the inner wall, in company with those of the few Europeans and the single American who had preceded us; as we had done before in the tombs of Thebes, and on the summit of the great pyramid.

The brook now flows along the somewhat broader Wady towards the northwest. The cliffs continue on both sides lofty and perpendicular. They are filled with innumerable tombs; in which the chambers are usually small; while the façades exhibit great variety, and are sometimes large and magnificent. Burckhardt justly remarks, that there are probably "no two sepulchres in Wady Mûsa perfectly alike; on the contrary they vary greatly in size, shape, and embellishments. In some places three sepulchres are excavated one over the other; and the side of the mountain is so perpendicular, that it seems impossible to approach the uppermost."¹ The most common form of the façades, in this part, is perhaps a truncated pyramid, with a pilaster on each side, and an ornamented portal in the middle. Some fronts are plain; others again are ornamented with columns and friezes and pediments; all sculptured in relief upon the face of the rock.

One ornament, apparently peculiar to the architecture of this place, struck us by its singularity. In the upper part of some of the façades, instead of a pediment, two flights of steps, from four to six, diverging from the centre, are carried up to each

¹ Page 427.

corner ; and then a horizontal line or cornice runs between the upper steps. In this part of the valley is the tomb described by Laborde, as having on its architrave a Greek inscription. I sought for this next day ; but under the circumstances in which we were then placed, was not able to find it.

The valley now makes a slight bend towards the north, and opens to a wider breadth ; while the cliffs on each side are lower and less abrupt. Here, on the left, is the theatre, wholly hewn out of the rock ; the diameter of the bottom is one hundred and twenty feet ;¹ with thirty-three rows of seats, rising one above another in the side of the cliff behind. Above the seats a row of small chambers is excavated in the circle of the rock, looking down upon the scene below. Burckhardt estimates it as capable of containing three thousand persons. This seems to me too low a number ; for each row of seats would probably contain on an average more than one hundred persons. The theatre fronts towards the E. N. E. The cliffs on each side are full of tombs ; while in front, along the face of the eastern cliffs, the eye of the spectator rests on a multitude of the largest and most splendid sepulchres. Strange contrast ! where a taste for the frivolities of the day was at the same time gratified by the magnificence of tombs ; amusement in a cemetery ; a theatre in the midst of sepulchres.

From the upper or southern front of the theatre, is obtained perhaps the most striking view in all the valley ; and this Laborde has given with a good general effect, though not with great exactness. The opposite or eastern cliff, as it here skirts the brook, is low ; while above it, further back, is another higher precipice extending far to the north, in which are the most conspicuous tombs of the city. These with the theatre and the more distant cliffs, are comprised in Laborde's view. But the site of the city itself is not seen from this point ; it lay more to the left, along the brook, after the latter turns west around the extremity of the left-hand cliff.

We now proceeded down the valley ; and found our tent pitched on the right bank of the brook, between it and the end of the low eastern cliff. It stood directly before a large tomb broken away in front, which thus answered the double purpose of a shelter and kitchen for our servants and Arabs. Here the valley, as enclosed by the cliffs, terminates ; and the brook, turning westwards, flows, when full, through the open tract of ground extending to the similar range of sandstone rocks, which at the distance of twenty minutes bounds the site of the ancient city on the west. At this time the water of the brook continued

¹ Irby and Mangles, p. 428. [131.]

to run only to the end of the Sik near the Khūzneh ; further down, its bed was dry.

Our object in coming to Wady Mûsa was not to make a minute examination of the place in detail ; but rather to obtain a general impression of the whole, and to look more particularly at some of the principal monuments. We had never thought of remaining more than one night, and at most a part of the following day. We were now greatly fatigued ; and our minds much excited by the novelty and strangeness of the scene around us. Yet, however glad we might have been to rest for a time beneath our tent, we thought it better to improve the remainder of the day in visiting the other principal objects ; and we were the more stimulated to this course, because we had some foreboding of being interrupted.

We now followed down the left side of the bed of the brook, as it runs nearly westward through the open tract. It is everywhere skirted on both sides by a strip of level land ; on the north and south of which, again, the ground rises into low irregular mounds and eminences ; while back of these, a quarter of a mile from the brook in both directions, is a steeper and longer ascent leading up to higher plains on the north and south. It is this lower tract, about half a mile square, which formed the actual circuit of the ancient city ; being shut in on the east and west by high perpendicular walls of sandstone rock. "It is an area in the bosom of a mountain, swelling into mounds and intersected with gullies ; but the whole ground is of such a nature as may be conveniently built upon, and has neither ascent nor descent inconveniently steep."¹

Keeping near the bed of the brook, we soon came to the fallen columns of a large temple. Each column had been formed of several stones, and the joints now lay in their order along the ground. Nearly opposite this spot, a Wady joins the brook from the north, over which are the remains of a bridge. Further west, the banks of the brook itself have once been built up with strong walls, and the stream apparently covered over for some distance ; thus connecting the level tracts upon the sides.

We now passed along the remains of the paved way, through the ruins of the arch of triumph, which stands near the brook, fronting towards the east. The architecture is florid and corrupt. It seems to have formed the approach to the palace or pile of building beyond, which the Arabs call Kûsr Far'ôn, "Pharaoh's castle." This mass of walls is the only structure of mason work now standing in Wady Mûsa. It is of very inferior architecture and workmanship, and apparently of a late age. Joists

¹ Irby and Mangles p. 424. [130.]

of wood are in different parts let in between the courses of stone; intended doubtless to receive the fastenings for ornaments of wood or stucco. The walls are mostly entire; but the columns of the northern front, which were composed of separate pieces, are nearly gone. The distribution of the interior into several chambers and stories, seems to show conclusively, that it was not a temple; it would appear rather to have been a public edifice of a different character.

On the rising ground south of the Kûsr and triumphal arch, stands the lone column called by the Arabs Zub Far'ôn; on ascending to it we found it composed of several pieces, and connected with the foundations of a temple; the fragments of several other columns were strewed around.

These are the chief remains of particular structures, which strike the eye of the wanderer upon the site occupied by the city itself; and they have been noticed and described by all travellers, as well as by the pencil of Laborde. But these writers have omitted to mention one circumstance, or at least all have not given to it that prominence which it deserves, viz. that all these are but single objects amidst a vast tract of similar ruins. Indeed the whole area above described, was once obviously occupied by a large city of houses. Along the banks of the stream, the violence of the water has apparently swept away the traces of dwellings; but elsewhere, the whole body of the area, on both sides of the torrent, and especially on the north, is covered with the foundations and stones of an extensive town. The stones are hewn; and the houses erected with them, must have been solid and well built. On looking at the extent of these ruins, it struck us as surprising, that they should hitherto have been passed over so slightly; although this may readily be accounted for, by the surpassing interest of the surrounding sepulchres. These foundations and ruins cover an area of not much less than two miles in circumference; affording room enough, in an oriental city, for the accommodation of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants.¹

We were now near the western wall of cliffs, which are also of red sandstone and higher than those on the east; rising in some parts to an elevation of three or four hundred feet. This wall too is full of tombs, some of them high up in the rock; but in general less numerous and splendid than those in the eastern cliffs. One of the most conspicuous is the unfinished tomb of

¹ Burckhardt is here the most explicit: "The ground is covered with heaps of hewn stones, foundations of buildings, fragments of columns, and vestiges of paved streets; all clearly indicating that a large city once existed here. On the left side

of the river is a rising ground, extending westwards for nearly a quarter of an hour, entirely covered with similar remains. On the right bank, where the ground is more elevated, ruins of the same description are also seen." *Travels* p. 427.

ii. 524, 525

which a drawing is given by Laborde; showing that in sculpturing the façades of the sepulchres, the workmen, (as was natural,) after smoothing the face of the rock, began at the top and wrought downwards. We entered several of these tombs, which presented nothing worthy of particular notice. The great multitude of them are small and plain, mere excavations in the face of the rock.¹

In the channel of the brook, which was dry below the Khūzneh quite across the open space, we now found, near the western cliff, water again springing up in several places, in small quantity indeed, but of excellent quality; much purer indeed than that in the brook above. It ran in a small stream along the bed of the Wady, which here enters the front of the western cliffs by a chasm similar to the eastern Sik; but broader and less regular. We entered and proceeded for some distance down the ravine, which is full of oleanders and other shrubs and trees, so that we could scarcely pass. The walls within the mouth are full of tombs, all small and without ornament. The high rock upon the left, which is isolated by a very narrow chasm behind it, is conjectured by Laborde to have been the acropolis of the ancient city; but we received the impression at the time, that there was no special ground to justify this supposition.²

We followed the ravine considerably below this point; and endeavoured to find the lateral chasm, marked on Laborde's plan as leading up towards the right quite to the Deir. There are short chasms enough in that direction; but none extending to the Deir, which indeed seems to be inaccessible from this quarter; as we found by our own experience, and from the testimony of Arab shepherds on the spot.

Further towards the west the ravine has never been explored; and no one could tell in what direction the waters, when swollen, find their way through the cliffs. This only is certain, that the Wady does not, as Wady Mûsa, extend down to the 'Arabah; and the course so marked upon Laborde's map has as little actual existence, as the Wady Mûsa by which Schubert supposed himself to have ascended from the 'Arabah towards Mount Hor.³

It was now sunset; and we returned to our tent, fatigued, and our eyes for the present 'satisfied with seeing.' We had obtained, so far as we desired, a general idea of the valley and

¹ Very many of those plain sepulchres differ little from the multitudes of similar ones around Jerusalem; except in their position and the nature of the rock.

² We did not indeed ascend the rock; nor does Laborde appear to have done so. Irby and Mangles are silent as to it.—I have since learned from Mr. Roberts, the

distinguished artist, who visited Wady Mûsa in 1839, that he remarked traces of buildings, or at least of mason work, upon the summit of this cliff.

³ Reise II. pp. 414, 418. The road from 'Akabah ascends through the Wady Abu Kusheibeh mentioned further on.

its wonders ; and we left for the morrow a visit to the Deir, a closer examination of the tombs in the eastern cliffs back of our tent, and a renewal of the impressions received from the Khūzneh and the region around the theatre. Our further plan was to ascend Mount Hor, and then take the usual road back to Hebron.

The pencil of Laborde has spread before the world the details of the strange remains, which give interest and celebrity to this valley ; but his work presents no correct general idea of the whole. The best written descriptions are still those of the earliest visitors ; first Burckhardt, and then Irby and Mangles. The account of the former is the most exact and simple ; that of the latter is more full, but also more coloured and somewhat confused. Burckhardt was here but a part of a day, an object of jealous suspicion to his Arab guide ; yet it struck me with astonishment, to remark, upon the spot, the exactness and extent of his observations during that short interval.

A single glance had been sufficient to correct a false impression, which I had received from previous accounts, viz. that the site of the ancient city was shut in *on all sides* by perpendicular cliffs, and that the entrance by the Sik was the only feasible one from any quarter. This, as has been seen, is not the case. The area of the city is bounded only on the east and west by walls of rock ; that on the east being the broad sandstone ridge extending south below the southern end of the mountain of Dibdiba ; while that on the west is the similar ridge, which further north runs parallel to the same mountain, and is penetrated by the Sik of Nemela. The brook of 'Ain Mûsa, rising above Eljy, flows down its valley and breaks through the midst of the eastern ridge, thus forming the Sik ; then, crossing the open area near the middle, it passes off in like manner through the western ridge. Towards the north and south the view is open. Towards the northeast is seen the high southern end of the mountain of Dibdiba, resting on white sandstone at its base ; and more to the left the plain Sutûh Beida, through which we had approached. From the eastern part of the area of the valley, the summit of Mount Hor is seen over the western line of cliffs, bearing about W. by S.

On each side of the brook, the ground rises towards the north and south, as already described ; at first gradually by irregular hillocks and eminences strowed with the scattered remains of former houses ; and then, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, more rapidly. Towards the north, this latter ascent is cut up by several Wadys, and leads up through groups of sandstone rocks to the plain Sutûh Beida. Two of these torrent beds, coming from the end of the mountain of Dibdiba,

unite in the northeast part of the area, having between them a promontory of red sandstone, in which are tombs. Further west are other small Wadys. Here, at the northeast corner, the road from near Dibdiba comes in, by which our servants entered; and here, or somewhere in this quarter, must be the tomb described by Irby and Mangles, as having an inscription in the unknown Sinaitic character;¹ and also that with a Latin inscription, discovered by Laborde.

Towards the south, the ascent from the area of the city is steeper, and somewhat greater, perhaps a hundred feet. It leads up to a high plain of table land, extending westward around the end of the western cliff (which here terminates) to Mount Hor or Jebel Neby Hârûn. This plain bears the name of Sutûh Hârûn, "Aaron's Plains," corresponding to the Sutûh Beida, "White Plains," on the north of Wady Mûsa. At the southwest corner of the area of the city, a path passes out, ascending a long narrow Wady lined with tombs, to this terrace. It then leads along the southern foot of Mount Hor, and dividing further on, one branch descends to the 'Arabah towards the left through Wady Abu Kusheibeh,² and so to 'Akabah; while the other goes more towards the right, and descends through Wady er-Rûbâ'y on the way to Hebron. At the foot of this latter pass, according to our Arabs, there is a small spring of good water, called et-Taïyibeh.

In looking at the wonders of this ancient city, one is at a loss, whether most to admire the wildness of the position and natural scenery, or the taste and skill with which it was fashioned into a secure retreat, and adorned with splendid structures, chiefly for the dead. The most striking feature of the place consists, not in the fact that there are occasional excavations and sculptures like those above described; but in the innumerable multitude of such excavations, along the whole extent of perpendicular rocks adjacent to the main area, and in all the lateral valleys and chasms; the entrances of very many of which are variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated, with every imaginable order and style of architecture. The cliffs upon the east and west present the largest and most continuous surfaces; and here the tombs are most numerous. But the spur from the eastern cliffs formed by the Wady below the Khûzneh, as well as other smaller spurs and promontories and single groups of rocks, both in the north and south, are also occupied in like manner. All these sepulchres of course looked down upon the city of the living; but others, again, are found in retired dells and secret

¹ See at the end of Note XIX, end of Vol. I.

² This name is not quite certain. La-

borde writes it strangely enough "Pabouchèbe;" although the sound of *p* does not exist in the Arabic language.

chasms, or sometimes among the heights on either side, to which flights of steps cut in the rock lead up in several places. Thus the Deir lies high up among the cliffs of the western ridge, more than half an hour distant from the area of the city.

The most conspicuous of all the monuments, next to the Khūzneh and Deir, are those along the eastern cliffs north of the theatre. Here towards the north is the immense façade with three rows of columns one above another; then the Corinthian tomb depicted by Laborde; and further south, it would seem, the large tomb described by Irby and Mangles, with Doric porticos and ornaments, and arched substructions in front. The interior of this last, according to the same travellers, consists of one large and lofty chamber, which in later ages was converted into a Christian church; having three recesses for altars at the further end; while an inscription in red paint, near an angle, records the date of the consecration.¹

The rock in which all these monuments are sculptured, is the soft reddish sandstone of this whole district; a formation which has been already described as resting upon lower masses of porphyry, and which appears to extend to a great distance both north and south. The forms of the cliffs are often exceedingly irregular and grotesque. The highest, and indeed the only high point, of all the sandstone tract, is Mount Hor. The softness of the stone afforded great facilities for excavating the sepulchres and sculpturing their ornamental parts; but the same cause has operated against their preservation, except where sheltered from exposure. The Khūzneh itself has been thus wonderfully preserved, only by the overhanging vault of rock which shields it.

Not the least remarkable circumstance in the peculiarities of this singular spot, is the colour of the rocks. They present not a dead mass of dull monotonous red; but an endless variety of bright and living hues, from the deepest crimson to the softest pink, verging also sometimes to orange and yellow. These varying shades are often distinctly marked by waving lines, imparting to the surface of the rock a succession of brilliant and changing tints, like the hues of watered silk, and adding greatly to the imposing effect of the sculptured monuments. Indeed it would be impossible "to give to the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks, tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form; whilst their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pediments,

¹ Irby and Mangles' *Travels* p. 429-431. [132.] To my great regret I was not able to visit and examine this tomb.

ii. 530, 531

and ranges of corridors adhering to their perpendicular surface."¹ This play of colours is strikingly exhibited, along the paths leading to the Deir, and to Mount Hor.

In the midst of the variety of architecture, which here astonishes the spectator, two styles are obviously predominant, the Egyptian and the Roman-Greek ; or rather, it is the mixture and union of these two, which here constitutes the prevailing style. The former is principally seen in the body or masses of the façades ; where the truncated pyramidal forms, and the slightly tapering fronts and sides, remind one continually of the majestic portals and propyla of the Theban temples. The more classic orders of Greece and Rome are conspicuous in the columns and other ornaments ; and prevail also throughout in some of the more important monuments. But even here all is florid and overloaded, indicating a later age and a degenerate taste ; when a feeling of the beautiful still remained, but without the simplicity of nature. This amalgamation of styles may be accounted for, by the prevalence, first of the Roman influence and then of the Roman dominion, which penetrated hither both by way of Asia Minor and Syria, and also from Egypt. This took place, as we know, about the Christian era ; and to that period and the subsequent centuries, are probably to be ascribed the architectural skill and monuments, on which strangers now gaze with surprise and wonder.

An interesting question, which occupied much of our attention on the spot, was, How far these excavations are to be regarded merely as sepulchres ? and whether any of them were probably intended as abodes for the living ? I had formerly received the impression, that very many of them were to be so considered ; and indeed, that a great portion of the ancient city had been composed of such dwellings "in the clefts of the rocks."² But after attentive observation, we could perceive no traces of any such design. The smaller and unornamented excavations, are entirely similar to the numerous sepulchres around Jerusalem ; and the one have no more the appearance of having been intended as dwellings than the other. Those with ornamental façades have in general a like character within ; many of them have niches for dead bodies ; and even such as have not this decisive mark, exhibit nevertheless no trace of having been constructed for habitations. At a later period, indeed, they may not improbably have been thus used ; just as the tombs at Thebes and those in the village of Siloam, are now converted into dwellings.³

¹ Irby and Mangles p. 423. [129 sq.]

² Jer. 49, 16.

³ The interior of all these tombs is com-

paratively very small. The caverns in the country towards Damascus, which were never tombs, but always dwellings, are ii. 531-533

The elegance of their exterior decoration, affords no ground for supposing the most of these monuments to have been other than tombs. The abodes of the dead were regarded in Egypt, and also in Palestine, with profound veneration; and were constructed with even greater pomp and splendour than the habitations of the living. Witness the tomb of Helena at Jerusalem, and the still more magnificent ones at Thebes; to say nothing of the mighty pyramids, erected apparently each as the sepulchre of a single monarch.¹—Nor is there any necessity for the supposition, that these excavations were intended in part as dwellings for the inhabitants of the place. The widely spread ruins which are visible, attest, as we have seen, that a large and extensive city of houses built of stone once occupied this spot; and the sepulchres round about are comparatively less numerous, than those which in like manner skirt the sites of ancient Thebes and Memphis. The city which stood here, was of itself built “in the clefts of the rocks;” without the necessity of our looking for single dwellings in such a situation.

Yet not all these structures, I think, were sepulchral; some of the larger and more splendid were more probably temples of the gods. The facility and beauty with which the ornamented façades of monuments could be sculptured in the rock, might easily suggest the idea of constructing fanes for the gods in like manner; and such excavated temples were not unknown in Egypt.² Hence the site of the beautiful Khūzneh was selected, directly opposite to the grand entrance from the east; the character of its front is decidedly that of a temple. To the same class probably belong some of the larger and more conspicuous excavations in the eastern cliffs; especially the one described by Irby and Mangles, as having arched substructions built up in front, and afterwards used as a Christian church. The Deir too, as we shall see, has similar features, and appears also to have been transformed into a church. Nothing would be more natural, under the circumstances, than to convert heathen temples of this kind into Christian sanctuaries; but had they been originally sepulchres, such a transition would have been less natural and probable.

Such were the impressions with which we spent the evening beneath our tent in Wady Mûsa. Around us were the desolations of ages; the dwellings and edifices of the ancient city

very capacious, affording shelter to both the inhabitants and their flocks. See See-tzen in Zach's *Monatl. Corr.* XVIII. pp. 356. 418.

¹ So too Diodorus Siculus says, in speaking of the Egyptians, l. 51 : *Διόπερ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευὴν ἔττον* ii. 533, 534

φροντίζουσι, περὶ δὲ τὰς ταφὰς ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι φιλοτιμίας. Comp. Gesenius *Comm. zu Jessa.* 14, 18—20. 22, 16.

² E. g. the temples of Abu Simbel; Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt*, II. p. 327 sq. Burckhardt's *Nubia*, p. 88. Irby and Mangles, pp. 29, 37 sq. [10, 12 sq.]

crumbled and strewed in the dust ; the mausolea of the dead in all their pristine beauty and freshness, but long since rifled, and the ashes of their tenants scattered to the winds. Well might there be the stillness of death ; for it was the grave itself, a city of the dead, by which we were surrounded.

Yet this impressive silence was not uninterrupted. Our Arabs had slaughtered the sheep we had bought, and made themselves a feast. They were in high glee ; and the voice of singing, story-telling, and mirth, sounded strangely amid these sepulchres. Our Haweitât companions had given us to-day another specimen of their thievish propensities. As we entered the Sik, they contrived to throw into confusion the flock of sheep which was there feeding, watched by an Arab boy ; and separating a lamb, drove it into the Sik along with the one which the Jehâlin were leading. We were in advance at the time ; and as the worthies came up, they pretended that the lamb had strayed away and was following us of its own accord. It was not till we appealed very decidedly to Sheikh Hussân, that he sent one of his men to take the animal back.

Friday, June 1st. On entering the high table land of the mountains yesterday, we heard that many of the Ma'âz, an Arab tribe from the sandy region of the Hismeh,¹ east of 'Akabâh, having been driven out of their own country by the drought, had spread themselves here among these mountains, where the rains had been more abundant. Our Arabs of the Jehâlin felt some alarm on learning the presence of these strangers ; for although they stood towards them in no relations either of alliance or hostility, yet the character of all these lawless hordes of the desert is such, that when away from home, where no responsibility would fall on their own tribe, they would not hesitate to rob a passing traveller or caravan. A large encampment of them, it was said, lay near the way out from Wady Mûsa by Mount Hor to the 'Arabah.

On awaking this morning, our first information was, that the Sheikh of the Bedûn, a clan of the Haweitât who pasture in and around Wady Mûsa, had arrived in the night with several armed men, in order to claim from us a Ghûfr, that is, a tax, tribute, present, or whatever else it may be called, for the privilege of visiting the place. On looking out, we saw him sleeping by his dromedary near the tent. Supposing the matter would be arranged without difficulty, we left the Sheikh to finish his nap ; while we went out before breakfast to improve our time and visit the Deir, the only remaining distant point which we now wished to examine.

We took as a guide a shepherd of the valley, who happened

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 174.

to be present ; and passing again along the brook through the open area to the western cliffs, we turned north along their front for some minutes, and then entered a narrow rent coming down from the W. N. W. at the northwest corner of the area. This passage resembles the Sik in narrowness, and in the perpendicular walls of rock on the sides ; but instead of being nearly level, it runs up very rapidly into the heart of the mountain. The ravine is exceedingly irregular and rugged ; and in its natural state must have been utterly impassable in many places. At such points a path five or six feet in breadth, with steps, has been hewn in and along the walls of rock ; this continued for a great part of the way, and still remains in tolerable preservation. After many windings and intricacies, which no stranger would readily find out without a guide, we reached the Deir, situated high up among the topmost crags of the mountain, a good half hour's walk from the mouth of the ravine.

The Deir is hewn out in the perpendicular face of a cliff, one of the groups which here jut up out of the high table land. It faces W. S. W. and Mount Hor towers in lone majesty over-against it, bearing S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.¹ This monument is of larger dimensions than the Khüzneh ; its façades covering a much broader surface, though it is probably not higher. The upper part exhibits a broken pediment, and has three compartments ; in each of which is a niche apparently intended for a statue. The architecture is florid and not in good taste ; and the whole is overloaded with ornament. Yet the general effect, though less striking and beautiful than that of the Khüzneh, is rich and highly imposing in this wild solitude. Before it is a large square area levelled off and obviously artificial ; since it is in part built up with walls like a terrace. In the adjacent cliffs, in various parts, flights of steps are hewn, leading to the top ; and a few plain tombs are seen round about. The high rock overagainst this monument, is described by Laborde as having on its top a level platform, with a line of columns, reached in like manner by an artificial ascent, and commanding a wide prospect. We did not visit it.

As in the Khüzneh, so in the Deir, the interior by no means corresponds to the splendour of the exterior. There is here but one excavated chamber, a large square room perfectly plain, with walls smooth and unbroken ; except on the inner part, where is a broad arched niche a little above the floor, with two or three steps leading to it on each side ; resembling very much the niche or alcove for the altar in a Greek church. The arch of this alcove was apparently once ornamented by a border of some sort, fastened into a groove cut around it, and supporting

¹ Mount Hor, however, is visible only from the top of the Deir.

perhaps a curtain. Over the niche, the traces of a cross are still discernible.¹

The whole exterior aspect of the Deir is decidedly that of a heathen temple. With this view also accord the broad esplanade in front, and the road leading up to the place, hewn out of the rock with immense labour. Indeed, it would be difficult to account for such a road to a mere private tomb; and this of itself seems to mark it as a public structure. In a later age it became apparently a Christian church, and the niche may perhaps have been then first excavated.

We now returned to our tent and breakfasted. After the general survey which we had thus taken, I wished to go once more to the Khūzneh, and then return by the upper range of tombs along the eastern cliff above our tent. We fixed upon 9 o'clock as the hour for setting off. Meantime Sheikh Hussân came in, and said the Sheikh of Wady Mûsa was there, desiring from us a Ghūfr. We told him through Hussân, that we were travelling with the Firmân of Muhammed 'Aly, who had abolished all such exactions throughout his dominions; and we therefore felt under no obligation to comply with this demand. Our reply was perhaps more decided than it would otherwise have been, in consequence of the report of our servants, that during our absence the Sheikh and his attendants had conducted themselves arrogantly, ordering coffee and demanding of them a breakfast. To this last, the servants had without much ceremony demurred.

Leaving my companion and Sheikh Hussân to arrange the matter, and taking with me two of our Arabs, I now repaired to the amphitheatre and the Khūzneh, observing everything leisurely by the way, and looking particularly for the tomb with the Greek inscription, though without finding it. While examining the Khūzneh, I heard several guns fired at our tent; but as this is not unusual among the Arabs, it did not further excite my attention. I had taken my last admiring look of this beautiful structure from a point opposite, near the mouth of the Sik; and was just about to return, when I saw seven ragged wild-looking Arabs with guns coming up the valley. They entered the Khūzneh, to look at it, as I supposed; but soon came out; and seeing me with my two attendants at some distance, advanced towards us in a quiet manner, until within a few steps, when they broke out into the most violent gestures and exclamations, ordering us to return forthwith to the tent. As I knew not what it all meant, and could not ask them, I kept along down the valley, still searching for the Greek tomb and followed by the seven ragamuffins.

¹ This cross was noticed by Mr Roberts.

At the amphitheatre I met Mr Smith, who informed me, that the two Sheikhs had broken on the point of the tribute. After my departure the Sheikh of the Bedûn had through Hussân repeated his demand for the Ghûfr; in which he was now backed by the advice and solicitation of our own Arabs. He asserted that he had authority from the Pasha to collect such a toll, in return for his being held responsible to the government for the safety of travellers; and further, that all former travellers had paid his demand, and he hoped we would do so as well as they. To these barefaced falsehoods the reply was, that if he had authority from the Pasha, let him produce it, and he should have all that it allowed; that if he had formerly shown favours to travellers and they had paid him for it, let him also first show us some kindness and civility, and he would not find us slow to make him a present in return. All this intercourse was had in like manner through Sheikh Hussân.

On receiving this last answer, the old man rose in a great passion, saying that if we had orders from Muhammed 'Aly he would obey them; but that our Arabs had no right to take us away, and they should go. He accordingly ordered them to depart; and talked of sending for other camels to Eljy. A great quarrel and tumult now arose between our Arabs and the eighteen or twenty armed men of the other party; swords were drawn and guns fired; and one would have thought that blood would have been immediately shed. My friend left them in the midst of the tumult, and went first to the tombs in the eastern precipice and thence to the theatre, where I now met him. The adverse Sheikh, it appeared, had also declared, that if we would not pay, we should see nothing of Wady Mûsa; and had sent his men to find us and conduct us back.

We now together looked at various tombs in the vicinity of the theatre; our new "protectors" endeavouring to prevent us, and once even taking hold of our arms. We civilly shook them off, taking care not to strike nor to give any occasion for personal violence; which they too seemed quite as equally anxious to avoid. My companion endeavoured to proceed higher up the valley, but was stopped by force. He now held a long talk with them, while I sat by; using both argument and expostulation, and depicting the danger of thus exposing themselves to the vengeance of the Pasha. They of course could make no reply; but his words also made no impression; and he might as well have spoken to the wind. We thought it better to return to the tent and there await the result.

Here the Sheikh of Wady Mûsa now presented himself in due form; and to my no little astonishment, turned out to be the identical old Mukeibil Abu Zeitûn, "the Father of Olives,"

who had caused all the trouble to Messrs Bankes, Legh, and Irby and Mangles in 1818; pushing his obstinacy at that time so far, as almost to kindle a war among the Arab tribes, in order to prevent the approach of the party to Wady Mûsa.¹ I had supposed him long dead; as no traveller since that time has spoken of him or appears to have seen him. But he now revived before us in all the obstinacy and tenacity of purpose, which had marked his former character; and we knew henceforth whom we had to deal with. He was at present an old man of nearly eighty years; and had put on a new Arab cloak, and a new glaring yellow Kefiyeh, bound around his head with an unusual quantity of new woollen yarn—in short his gala-dress,—to do us honour. His demeanour was calm; and he now went over his arguments to us in a mild tone, and we ours to him in return.

He enumerated one and another who (he said) had paid him the Ghûfr, or, as he called it, made him a present; and he presumed we were more noble and generous than any who had gone before, and would give liberally. When told that as bearing the Pasha's Firmân, we were free from all such exactions, and that moreover he was held responsible for our safety while within his limits; his reply was, that he knew all this, and on account of this very responsibility he claimed a present; if the government would relieve him from this obligation, he would ask nothing of visitors. We told him, we had been travelling through the provinces of Gaza and Hebron, where the Sheikhs of the villages, of their own accord, had always given us a guard around our tent, and had never thought of claiming or of hinting a wish for pay; and that his best way would have been in like manner to have done us some favour, before he claimed any return. But nothing made any impression upon the stubborn old Bedawy; there he sat, tall, gaunt, with thin and time-worn visage and gray beard, not violent in gesture and manner, but cold, determined, and tenacious of his supposed hold upon us as a bloodhound.

His reiterated demand was for one thousand piastres, equal to fifty Spanish dollars, from ourselves; and for five hundred piastres in addition from our Arabs. On this last he seemed to lay less stress, as they were neighbours and might come again; but as to us, he evidently regarded us as a windfall already in his power, which he was bent upon turning to the utmost advantage.

He had made the same demand of Bertou when here a few

¹ Irby and Mangles' Travels pp. 383—his name Magabel; see his work: Cairo, 400. [117–122.] Legh under May 23—Petra, etc. p. 131, etc.
26th.—Mr. Kinneir in A. D. 1839, writes

weeks before. Lord Prudhoe, about the same time, he had not caught; as he came from the west, remained only for a night, and was off again before the old man had time to pay his respects. Such indeed appears to have been the case with all those travellers, who of late years have taken this place in their way from 'Akabah to Hebron; their visits have been short; and entering by way of Mount Hor, they have been able to leave again before information of their arrival could reach the Sheikh. This advantage we had lost by ascending the mountains further north, where our visit became known at once to the Arabs around Dibdiba.—Bertou, as he himself told us, had got off by giving the Sheikh all the money he had with him, less than one hundred piastres, with a quantity of powder, soap, tobacco, and the like.

The old man appears not to have been satisfied with this result; and had now, on the first intelligence of our arrival, come down upon us by night with some twenty armed men, who already had increased to thirty; determined to have the matter this time in his own hands, and not to let the opportunity slip away so easily. Against this array, we could number in all only thirteen men, including our Haweitât, on whom we could place no dependence whatever. Our Jehâlin too, although their interest was the same as ours, proved to be men of no nerve; Sheikh Hussân, an easy good-natured man, had neither decision nor energy. We were thus really and truly in the power of Abu Zeitûn; and his men, the worst looking set of miscreants we had yet seen, seemed not unwilling to exercise this power, and waited apparently only for a signal to plunder us outright. But the old Sheikh was more politic, and obviously kept them in check.

After long and loud talking, the upshot of the whole matter on the part of Abu Zeitûn was, that unless we paid his demand we should see nothing more, and should return the way we came. There was also again some talk of camels coming from Eljy to take us back; but this seemed not to be much insisted on, and was rather a feint.¹ We now told the old man plainly, that in

¹ This story of other camels rested on a strict interpretation of Bedawin common law, which secures to every tribe the right and profit of carrying all travellers and freight within its own territories. Strictly speaking, perhaps neither the Jehâlin nor 'Alawin have a right, according to this law, to bring travellers to Wady Mûsa, any more than to the convent at Sinai; and the Tawarah cannot do it, because they would have to pass through the country of the 'Alawin, and thus invade their

rights. Yet these claims are relaxed in practice, especially among leagued tribes; so that the Tawarah cross the territories of the Haiwât and Tiyaḥah without question, to take travellers to Gaza and Hebron. So too both the Alawin and Jehâlin carry travellers to Wady Mûsa; but they endeavour to avoid the notice of the neighbouring Arabs, and make their visits as short as possible; feeling that they are doing that for which they may perhaps be called to account.

the shape of Ghüfr we should give nothing. If he was in rebellion against the government, we only wanted to know it, that we might make our report accordingly ; at any rate we should make a report of his conduct to the English and American consuls in Cairo, who would lay the affair before the Pasha, and take measures that future travellers should not be thus exposed to exactions. After all, we were now in his power, and if he chose to rob or kill us outright, we were ready ; but he must abide the consequences. Here the matter rested for some time.

It was already past 10 o'clock, and we began to be impatient at this delay. Rather than give up the ascent of Mount Hor, (although we had now seen it fully from below,) we thought it best to tender to the old man through Sheikh Hussân, at first, what the chief Sheikh of the Jehâlin had told us would be enough, viz. forty piastres. It was returned ; and also afterwards eighty, which we offered. I would have gone up to one hundred piastres ; but the tenacious Sheikh was now so certain of his prey, that he would hear of nothing short of the full thousand. We therefore concluded, that it would be better on the whole, as we could not carry the matter through by force, to take him at his word, and return the way we came. The followers of Abu Zeitûn had gradually increased to nearly forty armed men, including some of the 'Ammârin, and a brother of Sheikh Husein the 'Alawy. Keeping our own counsel, we ordered the camels to be loaded, which was done without hindrance from any one ; and we mounted.

Not wishing however to give up the point except from actual compulsion, we now attempted to set off on the way to Mount Hor, Sheikh Hussân leading the forward camel ; but the hostile party at a signal from Abu Zeitûn instantly closed around, and swords were drawn and brandished ; which however, among these Arabs, as we had now learned, means nothing more than to make a flourish. The heads of our camels were seized and turned in the opposite direction, with orders to go by the way we came. Not a step, my companion replied, except by force ; and dismounting he stood up before them and told them : We now knew them to be robbers, and were ready for them ; let them rob and kill us if they chose, but not a para more of money should they get, than we had offered them. They replied, that not for a para less than a thousand piastres should we go to Mount Hor. Our resolute Komeh next seized the halter of the head camel and tried to go on as before ; but with no better success. He then in great wrath, threw down his gun and pistol and pipe on the ground before them, (the pipe was shattered in pieces,) declaring them to be thieves and robbers, and calling on them to take possession of his arms and all that he had.—All this however was

of no avail ; and we accordingly, about 11 o'clock, turned the heads of our camels the other way, and proceeded on the path which issues from the northeast corner of the area, leading close along under the tombs in the eastern cliffs.

Our departure in this manner seemed, after all, to be wholly unexpected to the adverse party. The old Sheikh had reckoned upon us so surely, that this movement took him by surprise and threatened to thwart his plans. He detained our Arabs long in consultation ; and when Sheikh Hussân at length came up, he brought an offer that we might return and stay as long as we pleased on paying five hundred piastres. To this of course we paid no regard ; being determined not to renew the negotiation. At this time our five Haweitât, whom we were desirous to retain at least for the present, thinking it a favourable moment to profit by our necessities, demanded their wages, and refused to accompany us any further, except at an extravagant price. We paid them off, and let them go. There now remained with us only our four Jehâlin, in these mountains teeming with such ruffians. But we put our trust in God, and went forward ; not knowing but that at any moment we might be overtaken and plundered.

After we had proceeded for nearly an hour, a man from Abu Zeitûn overtook us, inviting us to return ; the Sheikh did not wish us to depart thus ; our good will was worth more to him than money ; and we might come back and finish our observations without paying any thing. We sent word to the effect, that we had seen all we desired in the valley ; that he had driven us away, and we should not return ; but should make our report to Cairo. After another hour came a second messenger, begging us at least to wait until the Sheikh himself could come up and "get our good will ;" which means, being interpreted, to part with words of peace, but get a bakhshish if possible. We were now on the plain of Sutûh Beida, nearly opposite Dibdiba ; and turning aside under the shade of the western precipice, we waited accordingly.

The old man came at length on his dromedary, and most of his company with him. Dismounting, he seated himself near us, repeated coldly the assurance, that our good will was dearer to him than money ; said we might return if we chose, and whatever we might please to give him would be acceptable ; or, if we chose to go on, we might go in peace. We told him, he was now too late, and we should go on ; and left him coldly, without his present.—I proposed indeed to my companion, that we should so far put his good will to the test, as to let him give us a guide to conduct us to Mount Hor by some other route, not leading through Wady Mûsa. But to this my friend was averse ; thinking it better when once out of the old man's

clutches, not to place ourselves again in his power. We therefore reluctantly gave up Mount Hor, and proceeded on our way, after having been thus delayed for about an hour.

The head Sheikh of the Jehâlin afterwards assured us, that such an exaction had never been attempted nor such a claim set up by Abu Zeitûn, before the present year; but this has probably been owing, as already suggested, to the shortness of the visits made by travellers, whose arrival did not become known to the Sheikh. The peasants, it was said, had sometimes come around, and asked for bakhshish; and a few piastres had occasionally been given them. At any rate, we were probably the first, on whom the old miscreant had once laid his grasp, who ever escaped from it without yielding to his demand; and we received many compliments from the Sheikhs of the Jehâlin and others at Hebron for the boldness and address, with which we had extricated ourselves from his power. We owed our escape, no doubt, to the awe in which he stood of the strong arm of Muhammed 'Aly; a circumstance of which we did not discover the full extent until after we had left him. Hussân remained behind; and him he charged, that the Jehâlin should bring no more Christians to Wady Mûsa, without an express paper with the seal of the government; such a paper he would obey. This means, of course, nothing more than a Tezkirah from the governor of Gaza, under whose jurisdiction this region belongs; or probably one from Jerusalem or Hebron would answer just as well.

We had committed the oversight of leaving our Firmân among our other papers at Hebron; not dreaming that it could be necessary to us in these mountains. But I am since persuaded, that had we had the Firmân to flourish in the old man's face, and more especially the Tezkirah of Sheikh Sa'id, which had been offered to us in Gaza,¹ we should have carried our point without much difficulty. As it was, this could be done only by submitting to his demand, or by force. To the former we were not disposed, either for our own sakes or for the sake of those travellers who should come after us; and the latter was all on the adverse side. We suppose it was the same awe of Muhammed 'Aly, which alone prevented them from plundering us outright; helping themselves to that which we refused them.²

¹ See p. 37, above.

² We afterwards presented a written report of this whole affair to the American consul at Cairo, whom we met at Alexandria; but nothing appears to have been done in the matter. Mr Roberts, the English artist, and his party, who went to Wady Mûsa in 1839, were met by the Sheikh before they reached the spot; but got off with paying three hun-

dred piastres instead of one thousand. Kinneer's Cairo, Petra, etc. p. 137.—In 1840, a large party of sixteen individuals, English, Americans, and Germans, making up a caravan of some fifty camels, visited Wady Mûsa together; and paid to the Arabs of the place, (as I am informed by one of the party,) not less than seventy-five piastres for each, or twelve hundred piastres in all

Thus ended our visit to Wady Mûsa, after we had seen and accomplished all which lay within our original plan, except ascending Mount Hor. Although we might have gladly spent several days in searching out and studying the wonders of the place, yet our plans and the advance of the season called us elsewhere; and there was nothing for which I could have wished to return to the valley itself, except to look at the few inscriptions and seek for others. I had indeed a strong desire to ascend Mount Hor, for the sake of the wide prospect, and in order to take its bearings from other known points; but chiefly perhaps because it is one of the most definitely marked spots, on which the great Hebrew lawgiver actually stood,—where took place the closing scene between the prophet brothers, when the elder yielded up the ghost in the presence of the younger and of his own son, “and died there in the top of the mount.”¹ The Wely Neby Hârûn upon the summit, is in nothing different from other Arab tombs of saints, which are so common upon the mountains and hills of Palestine. There is an inscription in Arabic and another in Hebrew, the work of casual visitors, and of no importance whatever. These had been copied by Lord Prudhoe during his recent visit; and we had already seen and read them in Jerusalem.²

We had set off from Wady Mûsa at 11 o'clock; the way passing along beneath the eastern cliff and up the side of one of the Wadys which enter from the N. N. E. Then crossing one or two similar Wadys, we reached the plain Sutûh Beida, and came to the place where we had yesterday bought the sheep and sent forward our baggage. Here it was that we waited for Abu Zeitûn; and here we left him at 2 o'clock. Our way was now the same we had come the preceding day. A long and tedious ride brought us at 5 o'clock to the top of the pass of Nemela; where we stopped for a moment to enjoy the wide prospect and verify our former observations. The air was now serene and clearer than before, and the view finer. The junction of the Jerâfeh with el-Jeib in the 'Arabah, and the cliff el-Mûkrâh beyond, were perfectly distinct; as was also the winding course of the Jeib further south. We descended the pass in forty-five minutes; and following down the valleys below, reached the lower edge of the porphyry formation, where the Wady turns down though the lower limestone cliffs. Here at 6½ o'clock we halted for rest and refreshment.

for permission to examine the ruins. All such payments, of course, serve to increase the difficulties of subsequent travellers.

¹ Num. 20, 22–29.

² The first Frank travellers to ascend Mount Hor and visit the Wely Neby Hârûn,

ii. 548, 549

were Irby and Mangles and their party in 1818. It has been several times described within the last five years; but the account of Irby and Mangles remains as yet the most definite and exact. The reader will find it in Note XXXVI, end of the volume.

As there would be moonlight until an hour after midnight, our Arabs were desirous to push forward during that interval across the plain. They represented, and with justice, that it would be prudent to get away as soon as possible from the vicinity of these mountains thus teeming with ruffians; since although we had nothing to fear from Abu Zeitûn himself, it was yet very possible that some of his tribe, not satisfied with our having thus slipped from their grasp, might still pursue and plunder us by night; or that some of the Ma'âz, hearing of our departure in this manner with only four men, might also think it a good occasion to follow and rob us, and throw the responsibility upon the Bedûn. We assented therefore to the proposal of our guides; and that the more readily, because we wished, before Sunday, to escape from the burning desert of the 'Arabah.

Accordingly at ten minutes past 9 o'clock we again mounted; and aided by the bright moonlight, descended the stony slope which skirts the western base of the mountains. All was still; no one was allowed to talk or smoke; even the tread of the camels seemed more noiseless. A man on foot led the way; but he sometimes missed the path among the rocks, which the more sagacious camels readily recovered. Our object was to strike obliquely across the 'Arabah to the fountain el-Weibeh. Here was no path; the usual route from the pass er-Rûbâ'y to Hebron leads by el-Weibeh; but that from Nemela crosses to the fountain el-Khûrâr further north. Our guides took the present course partly in accordance with our wish to visit el-Weibeh; and partly as a blind in case we should be pursued. Our general course was now about N. W. by W. After an hour we left the stones, and struck out upon the gravelly desert plain, intersected by sandy Wadys with shrubs.

We were in doubt at the time whether we did not pass to the northward of 'Ain el-Buweirideh; but a bearing which we took next morning served to show the contrary. After crossing several deep gullies running in a westerly direction, we struck at 12½ o'clock a large and deep Wady called es-Sikâkin, and descending into its bed followed it for some time. It runs north-west obviously to join Wady el-Jeib; and breaks through a range of gravel hills one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height, extending from east to west across the 'Arabah. Having passed these hills, we left the Wady and kept along their northern base until 1½ o'clock. The moon had now gone down; we therefore stopped, and spreading our canvass and carpets on the sand, lay down to rest, and slept for three hours peacefully and sweetly.

MOUNTAINS OF EDMOM.

WE had thus left behind us the mountains of Edom, which we had seen in part ; and we should have been glad, had time and circumstances permitted us to have seen more. The structure of the chain where we saw it has already been described ; at the base low hills of limestone or argillaceous rock ; then the lofty masses of porphyry constituting the body of the mountain ; above these, sandstone broken up into irregular ridges and grotesque groups or cliffs ; and again further back and higher than all, long elevated ridges of limestone without precipices. East of all these, stretches off indefinitely the high plateau of the great eastern desert. We estimated the height of the porphyry cliffs at about 2000 feet above the 'Arabah ; the elevation of Wady Mûsa above the same is perhaps 2000 or 2200 feet ; while the limestone ridges further back probably do not fall short of 3000 feet. The whole breadth of the mountainous tract between the 'Arabah and the eastern desert above, does not exceed fifteen or twenty geographical miles.

The character of these mountains is quite different from those on the west of the 'Arabah. The latter, which seemed to be not more than two thirds as high, are wholly desert and sterile ; while these on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The Wadys too are full of trees and shrubs and flowers ; while the eastern and higher parts are extensively cultivated and yield good crops. The general appearance of the soil is not unlike that around Hebron ; though the face of the country is very different. It is indeed the region of which Isaac said to his son Esau : " Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above."¹

This tract of mountains, south of the district of Kerak (the ancient country of Moab), and separated from the latter by the Wady el-Ahsy, is at the present day spoken of as divided into two districts ; though we did not learn that this arises from any regulation of the government. The northern bears the name of Jebâl, " Mountains ;" beginning at Wady el-Ahsy and terminating towards the south, according to Burckhardt, at Wady el-Ghuweir.² Yet the southern boundary would seem not to be very definitely assigned ; for esh-Shôbek, although it lies south of that Wady, was sometimes spoken of to us, as belonging to Jebâl. The largest place in Jebâl is Tûfileh.

¹ Gen. 27, 39 ; comp. vs. 27, 28.

² Travels p. 410.—This name corresponds to the ancient Hebrew *Gebal* (גבול) and the Roman *Gabalene*, which Eusebius ii. 551, 552

and Jerome describe as a part of Idumea, and sometimes put for Idumea itself. Pa 83, 8. Onomast. arts. *Idumea*, *Allus*, *Gethaim*, etc. Reland Palest. p. 82–84.

South of Wady el-Ghuweir follows the district esh-Shérâh; extending, so far as we could learn, indefinitely towards 'Akabah on the south, and including properly Shôbek, Wady Mûsa, Ma'an, el-Humeiyimeh, and other places.¹

The region el-Hismeh, the country of the Ma'âz mentioned above, was here also described as a sandy tract with mountains around it on the east of 'Akabah; but not itself a mountain nor a separate district, as reported by Burckhardt. Yet the Arabs would be very likely in pointing out the adjacent mountains to speak of them as Jebel Hismeh or Tûr Hismeh; although all our guides, both of the 'Amrân from 'Akabah and of the Haweitât from near Ma'an, uniformly denied the existence of any such name as applied to a mountain.²

The chief tribe of Bedawin in the district of Jebâl are the Hejâya. Besides these, there is also a branch of the Ka'âbineh, who dwell in the region of Wady el-Ahsy, and sow near a well called el-Malh. They were now at enmity with the Jehâlin; although their relatives west of the Dead Sea are the allies of the latter tribe, and intermarry with them.

In the district esh-Sherah, the Bedawin are all Haweitât, with a few allies. This is an extensive tribe, broken up into several subdivisions, and dwelling in various and distant parts of the country. Those found in these mountains are divided into the clans Abu Rashid, el-Jâzy, el-Bedûn, and el-'Alawin. The last properly occupy the region towards 'Akabah; the Bedûn, as we have seen, pasture around Wady Mûsa. The Sheikh Abu Jâzy of Laborde,³ appears to have been the head of the division el-Jâzy; we did not learn the limits where they pasture.

The proper country of the Haweitât Abu Rashid, is around Shôbek; but they were said to be now in the region of Kerak. The spirited Sheikh Muhammed Abu Rashid, to whose fidelity and perseverance Irby and Mangles and their companions were indebted for their visit to Wady Mûsa, was the head of this division.⁴ He was now dead, and his clan were governed by his sons.—Closely allied with these are the 'Ammârin, who are not themselves Haweitât, but a respectable independent tribe;

¹ The form esh-Sherah has no relation to the Hebrew Seir (שֵׁיר) the ancient name of this district. The Hebrew word means 'hairy' and is written with 'Ain, which never falls away; while the Arabic name signifies 'a tract, region.' Compare Gesenius, Notes on Burckhardt, p. 1067.—Both Edrisi and Abulfeda apply the name esh-Sherah to all the mountains south of Kerak as far as to Ailah; Edrisi par Jaubert I. pp. 337, 338. Abulfed.

Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 13. Tab. Arab. ed. Hudson p. 20.

² Burckhardt pp. 433, 440, 444. Laborde Voyage p. 63. [218.] Comp. above. Vol. I. p. 174.

³ The Ebn Jarzee of Irby and Mangles, p. 391. [119.]

⁴ Travels p. 383 sq. [117 sq.] Legh May 23d. Burckhardt writes the name incorrectly Ibn Rashid, p. 417. So too Mr Legh.

although they acknowledge the Sheikh of the Abu Rashid as their head. They live in the northern part of esh-Sherah, and to them belongs 'Ain el-Buweirideh in the 'Arabah.

The Haweitât live not only among these mountains, and along the adjacent eastern desert ; but also around Muweilih and in Egypt ; and some are found near Gaza. The head Sheikh over them all is Mansûr Ibn Shedid, who resides at Cairo, and has been already mentioned.¹ Even the Haweitât who dwell here and at Muweilih, are registered among the Arabs of Egypt.—The Bedawin throughout these districts, and also further north, were said to be now in a state of subjection to the Egyptian government and pay an annual tribute. That of the Beni Sûkhr, the preceding year, was one camel for every two tents.

In both Jebâl and esh-Sherah, the Fellâhin also are half Bedawin ; inhabiting the few villages, but dwelling likewise partly in tents, like the Ta'âmirah near Bethlehem. Such are in esh-Sherah, the Refâi'a living in and around Dibdiba ; the Liyâthineh in and around Eljy ; the Rawâjifeh at a ruined place of the same name ; and also the Hebâhibeh and Beni Na'im dwelling wholly in tents. Besides these Burckhardt mentions also the Sa'ûdiyeh and the Ja'ilât.² The Fellâhin of the Sherah are in subjection to the government, pay tribute, and furnish supplies of grain.—In Jebâl the Fellâhin are in like manner divided into several tribes ; but we did not succeed in obtaining their names. Burckhardt mentions the Jawâbireh, as living in Tûfileh, the Beni Hamideh in el-Busaireh, and the Melâhin at Shôbek.³ The Fellâhs of Jebâl were at this time still in rebellion against the government ; and during the last year, Sheikh Sa'id of Gaza, with the Jehâlin and Ti'yâhah, had spent two or three months in trying to subdue them. They easily got possession of the villages ; but the inhabitants betook themselves to the fastnesses of the mountains, where they could not be approached.—It was for this reason that our Jehâlin guides would not venture to take us to Shôbek.⁴

Such are the races who now hold in possession the ancient territory of Edom. This is not the occasion to dwell upon the course of events during the many intervening centuries ; yet a few notices of the leading changes which have here taken place, will serve to throw light upon the history and character of that ancient city, whose remains now constitute the chief attraction for the traveller among these mountains.

In the times of Scripture history, the mountains east of the

¹ See the account of his being appealed to as a peace-maker, Vol. I. p. 140.

² Travels, pp. 419, 434.

ii. 554 555

³ Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. pp. 405, 407, 416.

⁴ See p. 123, above.

Dead Sea were comprised in the territory of Moab ; the northern border of which, towards the Amorites, was ultimately the brook Arnon, now Wady el-Môjib.¹ The southern border of Moab appears to have been the brook Zered ; at least this is described as the limit of the wanderings of the children of Israel in the desert, and the point where they passed over into the territory of Moab, a kindred people.² The features of the country seem to show, that this was probably the Wady el-Ahsey, which now separates the district of Kerak from Jebâl, and indeed forms a natural division between the country on the north and on the south. Taking its rise near the castle el-Ahsey on the route of the Syrian Haj, upon the high eastern desert,³ it breaks down through the whole chain of mountains to near the southeast corner of the Dead Sea, forming for a part of the way a deep chasm. On the north the mountains of Moab are high, and terminate here in a bluff near Khanzireh, which has several times been mentioned as one of our landmarks. Further south the mountains are much lower, until they again become high beyond Wady el-Ghuweir.—The Israelites doubtless passed Wady el-Ahsey (Zered) near its upper end, where it would present no difficulty.

On the south of Moab, Mount Seir, or the territory of Edom, extended to Elath on the Red Sea.⁴ To this region Esau retired from the face of his brother Jacob ; and his descendants are said to have succeeded the Horites in Mount Seir, “when they had destroyed them and dwelt in their stead.”⁵ The rivalry of the patriarchs Esau and Jacob, was transmitted to their posterity. When the Israelites, after many years of wandering, arrived a second time at Kadesh, they asked leave of the Edomites to pass through their country by the “King’s highway,” (probably Wady el-Ghuweir,) in order to reach Palestine from the east. Leave was refused ; and the Israelites were thus compelled to return through the ‘Arabah to Elath (Ailah, ‘Akabah), and thence pass up through the mountains to the eastern desert, so as to make the circuit of the land of Edom.⁶

In later times Saul made war upon the Edomites ; David subdued the whole country ; and Solomon made Ezion-geber a naval station, whence he despatched fleets to Ophir.⁷ After various struggles, this people succeeded in the time of king Joram in making themselves again independent of Judah ;⁸ for

¹ Num. 21, 13. 26. Judg. 11, 18.

² Deut. 2, 13. 14. 18. Num. 21, 12.

³ Burckhardt pp. 400, 401.

⁴ Deut. 2, 1-8. The Israelites were compelled to proceed quite to Elath, in order to pass around the land of Edom.

⁵ Gen. 36, 6-8. Deut. 2, 12. 22.

⁶ Num. 20, 14-21. 21, 4. Deut. 2, 1-8.

⁷ 1 Sam. 14, 47.—2 Sam. 8, 14. 1 Chr. 18, 11-13. 1 K. 11, 15.—1 K. 9, 26. 2 Chr. 8, 17, 18.

⁸ 2 K. 8, 20-22. 2 Chr. 21, 8-10.

although Amaziah made war upon them and captured one of their chief cities, Sela (Rock, Petra), changing its name to Joktheel; and although Uzziah his successor "built Elath and restored it to Judah;"¹ yet these appear to have been only temporary conquests. Under Ahaz, the Edomites made inroads upon Judea and carried away captives; and about the same time Rezin king of Syria "drove the Jews from Elath," of which the Edomites now took permanent possession.² All this time their metropolis appears to have been Bozrah.³

From the prophetic books of the Old Testament we also know, that while the kingdom of Judah was fast verging to ruin, that of Edom became prosperous; and joining apparently the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, aided in the overthrow of the Jewish state. In a like degree, the national hatred of the Jews against Edom became still more inflamed; and the prophets uttered the strongest denunciations against that land.⁴ During the Jewish exile, as it would appear, the Edomites pressed forward into the south of Palestine, of which they took possession as far as to Hebron; here, as we have already seen, they were subsequently attacked and subdued by the Maccabees, and compelled to adopt the laws and customs of the Jews.⁵ Idumea, which name now included also the southern part of Judea, was henceforth governed by a succession of Jewish prefects. One of these, Antipater, an Idumean by birth, by the favour of Cæsar, was made procurator of all Judea; and his son, Herod the Great, became king over the Jews, including Idumea.⁶ Just before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, bands of Idumeans threw themselves into the city, which they aided to fill with robbery and violence.⁷ From this time onward the Edomites, as a people, vanish from the pages of history; and in the next century Ptolemy limits their territory to the region west of the Dead Sea.⁸

But while the Edomites had thus been extending their limits in the northwest, they had in turn been driven out from the southern portion of their own territory, and from their chief city itself, by the Nabatheans, an Arabian tribe, the descendants of Nabaioth the eldest son of Ishmael.⁹ This nomadic people had

¹ 2 K. 14, 7. 2 Chr. 25, 11. 12. 14. 2 Chr. 26, 2.

² 2 Chr. 28, 17.—2 K. 16, 6 Keri. Here the Keri עֲדוֹמִי Edomites is to be read instead of *Syrians*. The change doubtless arose out of the close resemblance of the Hebrew ע and נ.

³ Is. 34, 6. 63, 1. Jer. 49, 13. 22. Am. 1, 12.

⁴ Ps. 137, 7. Obad. 1 sq. Jer. 49, 7 sq. Ezek. 25, 12-14. 32, 29. 35, 3-15.

ii. 557, 558

⁵ See above, p. 69.

⁶ Joseph. Ant. 14. 1. 3. ib. 14. 8. 5. ib. 15. 7. 9. ib. 17. 11. 4.—Hence Roman writers often speak of the whole of Palestine under the name of Idumea; see *Reland Palæst.* pp. 48, 49.

⁷ Jos. B. J. 4. 4. 1, 5. ib. 7. 8. 1.

⁸ Ptolem. 5. 16, Ἰδουμαία, ἥτις ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀπὸ δόσεως τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. *Reland Palæst.* p. 462.

⁹ Gen. 25, 13. Is. 60, 7.

spread themselves over the whole of desert Arabia, from the Euphrates to the borders of Palestine, and finally to the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea.¹ At what period they thus supplanted the Edomites, in their ancient possessions, is unknown; but so early as the time of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, who died 301 B. C., that prince, after having seized upon Syria and Palestine, sent two expeditions against the Nabatheans in Petra; the first commanded by Athenæus, and the second by his own son, Demetrius.² At this time they were still essentially nomadic, and had apparently no king; but they had already begun to engage in commerce, and seem gradually to have become more fixed in their habits. In this way, during the following centuries, they grew up into the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, occupying very nearly the same territory which was comprised within the limits of ancient Edom. It probably took this appellation from the name of its metropolis Petra. A king of this country, Aretas, is mentioned as contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, just before the time of the Maccabees, about 166 B. C.³

From this time onward to the destruction of Jerusalem, the sovereigns of Arabia Petræa, who usually bore the name of Aretas or Obodas, came into frequent contact with the Jews and Romans both in war and peace. The country and people are often mentioned by Josephus.⁴ Their sovereigns appear to have been in a measure dependent on the Roman emperors, though not directly subject to the Roman power. Obodas, six or eight years before the Christian era, was a man of indolent habits, and left the whole management of affairs to a favourite named Syllæus.⁵ This latter demanded of Herod the Great the hand of his sister Salome; but his suit not being successful, he appears to have become inimical towards Herod, and accused him some years afterwards before Augustus at Rome of hostilities and murders in Arabia. Herod however was able to turn the scale in his own favour, and Syllæus was condemned to fine and

¹ Joseph. Ant. 1. 12. 4, *Οἱ τοὶ παῖδες Ἰσμαήλου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι, Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες. εἰς δὲ οὗτοι οἱ τῶν Ἀράβων ἕδρας κτλ.* Hieron. Quest. in Gen. 25, 13. Diod. Sic. 19. 94. See more on the Nabatheans, in Reland Pal. p. 90 sq.

² Diod. Sic. 19. 94–98.

³ 2 Macc. 5, 8.

⁴ Alexander Jannæus was defeated by an Obodas about 93 B. C. Antiq. 13. 13. 5. B. J. 1. 4. 4. Antiochus Dionysius of Syria was killed in a battle in Arabia, and Aretas (apparently the victor) became

king in Damascus; Ant. 13. 15. 1, 2. B. J. 1. 4. 7, 8. In the year 63 B. C. Scaurus, a general of Pompey, overran Arabia as far as to Petra, and then made peace with Aretas; Ant. 14. 5. 1. Dio Cass. 37. 15. Two years later, about 61 B. C. Antipater induced Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannæus, to take refuge with Aretas in Petra; Ant. 14. 1. 4. B. J. 1. 6. 2. In the early part of Herod's reign, the kingdom of Arabia was held by Malchus; Ant. 15. 6. 2.

⁵ Jos. Ant. 16. 7. 6. Strabo 16. 4. 23, 24.

punishment.¹ Meantime Obodas was dead, and had been succeeded by Æneas, who took the name of Aretas, and was at length confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus; although the latter had at first intended to bestow Arabia on Herod.²

It was during the reign of the same Obodas, three or four years before the Christian era, that the celebrated expedition was sent by Augustus from Egypt into Arabia under Ælius Gallus, the friend of Strabo and then governor of Egypt. After various hindrances, Gallus arrived with his forces by water at Leuke Kome,³ the emporium of the Nabatheans. Here he was kindly received by order of king Obodas and his favourite Syllæus, as allies of the Romans; and remained a summer and winter to refresh his troops, who were suffering from disease. He afterwards marched into the interior, but without visiting Petra; and after great delay and difficulty, arising from the bad faith and treachery of Syllæus, he returned through Arabia Felix.⁴

The next Arabian king of whom we have any notice, is the Aretas mentioned by Paul as lord of Damascus, which he then governed by an ethnarch, about A. D. 38 or 39.⁵ Josephus gives of him the further account, that Herod Antipas having espoused his daughter, repudiated her in order to marry Herodias; a step for which he was reproved by John the Baptist.⁶ Upon this, Aretas made war against Herod and totally destroyed his army; a judgment upon Herod, as many of the serious-minded Jews regarded it, for his murder of John. Vitellius, then proconsul of Syria, received orders to chastise Aretas; but while he was preparing for this expedition, and had sent forward some of his troops, news came of the death of Tiberius; upon which he recalled his troops, and placing them in winter quarters, left the province. It was probably at this period, under the weak reign of Caligula, that Aretas, taking advantage of this supineness, made an incursion and seized the city of Damascus, which he held for a time in the manner related by Paul. It could have been, however, only a temporary possession; and the fact is not mentioned by any other writer.⁷

The nominal independence of the kingdom of Arabia, con-

¹ Jos. Ant. 16. 7. 6. ib. 16. 9. 2-4. ib. 16. 10. 8, 9. B. J. 1. 28. 6. ib. 1. 29. 3.

² Jos. Ant. 16. 9. 4. ib. 16. 10. 9. ib. 17. 3. 2.

³ *Λευκή Κώμη, Albus Pagus*, Strabo 16. 4. 24. Arrian. *Periplus Mariæ Erythr.* ed. Hudson p. 11. Probably at or near Muweilih, near the mouth of the gulf of Akabah, on the eastern coast. This place was already known to the Romans of the fifth and sixth centuries as Mohaila; see Notit. Dignitat. ed. Panciroli p. 216. Reland *Palæst.* p. 230. See in general

ii. 560 561

Vincent's *Commerce and Navig. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. pp 258, 259, 295 Lond. 1807. 4.

⁴ Strabo 16. 4. 22-24. Dio *Cass.* 53. 29.

⁵ 2 Cor. 11, 32. *Comp. Acts* 9, 24. 25.

⁶ Matt. 14, 3. 4. Mark 6, 17. 18. Luke 8, 19.

⁷ For a list of the sovereigns of Arabia Petrea, collected from Josephus, see Vincent's *Commerce and Navig. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. p. 272 sq.

tinued for some thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Under the reign of Trajan, about A. D. 105, it was overrun and conquered by Cornelius Palma, then governor of Syria, and formally annexed to the Roman empire.¹

The inhabitants of this region had early become extensively engaged in commerce, as the carriers of the rich products of the east between the Red Sea and the ports of the Phenicians. In the first expedition sent by Antigonos, the men of Petra were absent at a mart, and Athenæus found in Petra a large quantity of frankincense and myrrh, and five hundred talents of silver.² Strabo relates, that the merchandise of India and Arabia was transported on camels from Leuke Kome to Petra, and thence to Rhinocolura (el-'Arish), and other places.³ Under the Romans, this trade appears to have become still more prosperous. The country was rendered more accessible, and the passage of merchants and caravans facilitated, by military ways, and by the establishment of military posts to keep in check the predatory hordes of the neighbouring deserts. One great road, of which traces still remain, had its direction northwards from Ailah to Petra, and thence to Damascus; from Petra a branch went off on the west of the Dead Sea, to Jerusalem, Askelon, and other parts of the Mediterranean.⁴ A line of military stations was established along this road, which served to protect it against incursions from the eastern desert; and some of these became the sites of towns.⁵

Early in the fourth century, the name of Palestine was occasionally extended so as to include this whole region;⁶ and in the beginning of the fifth century, we find introduced a new division of Judea and the adjacent countries, into *Palæstina Prima, Secunda, et Tertia*. The first comprised Jerusalem and the whole of Judea on the south, and as far north as to Samaria; the second included Scythopolis and the north of Palestine; while the third comprehended the countries on the east and

¹ Dio Cass. 68. 14, Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον (A. U. C. 858,) καὶ Πάλαμας τῆς Συρίας ἔρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποίησατο. Amm. Marcell. 14. 8. Eutropius 8. 2, 9.

² Diod. Sic. 19. 95. See above, p. 159.

³ Strabo 16. 4. 18, 23, 24.

⁴ See the Peutinger Tables; and compare Rennell's Compar. Geogr. of Western Asia I. p. 89 sq. Ritter Gesch. des Petr. Arabiens, in Abhandl. der Berl. Acad. 1824. Hist. phil. Kl. p. 204. Traces of this ancient road were found by Laborde south of Wady Mûsa; Voyage p. 62. [213.] North of Wady Mûsa its remains are in

many places visible; see Burckhardt pp. 374, 419. Irby and Mangles pp. 371, 377, 460. [113, 115, 142.] The latter travellers saw several mile-stones of the time of Trajan, and one of Marcus Aurelius; p. 461. [142.]

⁵ Thus in the "Notitiæ Dignitatum" in the fifth or sixth century, we find "equites" stationed at Mohila, Aila, Hauana, Zodo-catha, Arindela, Areopolis, etc. The Peutinger Tables have Hauana and Zadagatta on the great road between Aila and Petra. See Notitiæ Dignitat. ed. Panciroli pp. 215, 216, 219, 220. Reland Palæst. pp. 230, 231. Ritter l. c.

⁶ Onomast. arta. Ailah, Arcem, Cades, etc.

south of the Dead Sea, formerly belonging to Arabia Petræa, and extended also across the 'Arabah to the west, so as to take in Beersheba and Elusa.¹ This appears to have been at the same time an ecclesiastical division; the three Palestines had each a metropolitan see, at first Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and Petrá; and when, at the council of Chalcedon, Jerusalem was erected into a patriarchate, these three provinces were assigned as its territory.² Long before this time, therefore, the Christian religion had extended itself throughout the region; and it is indeed to the acts and records of councils in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, and to the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* of the same or a later age, that we are indebted for our chief knowledge of this country during those periods, and for the preservation of the names of many episcopal cities from the oblivion, in which they must otherwise have been engulfed.

How far Christianity had spread among the nomadic tribes of the eastern deserts, or whether like those around Sinai, they still retained the worship of the heavenly bodies, we have no means of ascertaining. But before the middle of the seventh century, the religion of the false prophet began to be propagated by the sword; and soon united all the Arab hordes, however distinct in other respects, into one great community of religious zealots. In A. D. 630 the prophet himself pressed forwards against the Roman border as far as to Tebûk; and this was the signal for several of the Christian communities of Arabia Petræa, to purchase from the conqueror the enjoyment of their privileges by the payment of tribute. Among these was Ailah.³ This example appears to have been generally followed; for four years later (A. D. 634), as the tide of conquest continued to roll on, the see of Bozrah in the north made peace in the same manner with Abu Bekr, after the battle of Yarmûk.⁴ In A. D. 636, as we have seen, Jerusalem itself submitted to the Muhammedan sway.

¹ This division is first found in a law promulgated in A. D. 409. Leg. III. Cod. Theodos. de erog. milit. Annon. "Limitanei milites et possessorum utilitate conspecta per primam, secundam, et tertiam Palestinam hujuscemodi norma processit." Reland Palest. p. 205 sq.—Palestina Tertia was sometimes also called *Salutaria*; Reland ib. p. 206.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 380. This division of Palestine runs through all the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ*; Reland Pal. pp. 214–226. The name Arabia was applied, at this period, to the country north of the third Palestine, including Medaba, Heshbon, Rabbath-Ammon or Philadelphia, Gerasa, Bostra, etc. Reland ib. pp. 217,

219, 223, 226. Yet the usage was not constant; and some writers speak of the cities of the third Palestine as still belonging to Arabia; so Sozomen Hist. Ecc. 7. 15. Reland ib. p. 613.

³ Abulfed. Ann. Muselmit. ed. Alder, 1789. Tom. I. p. 171. See above, Vol. I. p. 170. Abulfeda mentions Ailah and two other places now unknown. There exists a pretended *Diploma Securitatis Ailensibus*, professing to be a patent of Muhammed himself in favour of the Christians; see Gibbon Chap. L. Note under A. D. 630.

⁴ Abulfedæ Annal. ib. pp. 223, 243, 245. Ritter Gesch. des Petr. Arab. I. c. p. 219.

With this conquest, the commercial importance and prosperity of the former Arabia Petræa, fell into decay. Muhammedan empires arose and flourished in southern Arabia, Syria and Egypt. Lying between all these, this country retained no independent existence; the course of trade became diverted into other channels; the great roads of former communication were abandoned; and the whole region was at length given up to the nomadic hordes of the adjacent deserts, whose descendants still hold it in possession.¹ From the Muhammedan conquest to the time of the crusades, not one ray of historical light falls upon this forgotten land!²

The invasion of the crusaders let in, for the moment, a few faint gleams upon the otherwise total darkness. During the twelfth century they penetrated at different times into the regions east and south of the Dead Sea, and held portions of them for a season in possession. At this time the whole land east of the Jordan was known to the crusaders as Arabia; the northern part around Bozrah they called Arabia Prima; the region around Kerak, Arabia Secunda; and that further south, Arabia Tertia or Syria Sobal.³

The first expedition took place under Baldwin I, in A. D. 1100.⁴ Marching from Hebron around the south end of the Dead Sea and by Segor (Zoar), the forces of the crusaders came in five days through the mountains with great difficulty to Wady Mûsa, to which they already gave the name "Vallis Moysi."⁵ It does not argue highly for their skill in biblical geography, that they took the adjacent mountain with the tomb of Aaron for Mount Sinai; and the brook which flows down the valley, for the water which came forth when Moses smote the rock.⁶ From this valley, Albert of Aix relates, that they marched still one day further to a city called Susum; but as neither Fulcher of Chartres who was present, nor any other historian, mentions this further expedition, and the name of such

¹ Ritter Gesch. des Petr. Arab. l. c. p. 209.

² Unless it be in the two Latin ecclesiastical Notitiæ, which refer apparently to the centuries before the crusades, and in which the name of Petra, the former metropolitan see, is no longer found; Reland Pal. pp. 223, 226.

³ See Jac. de Vit. c. 96. Also for Arabia Prima, *ibid.* c. 47; for Arabia Secunda, Will. Tyr. 11. 26. *ib.* 15. 21; for Arabia Tertia and Syria Sobal, Will. Tyr. 11. 26. *ib.* 16. 6. Jac. de Vit. 28. See generally Marin. Sanut. p. 244. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuz. II. p. 616. III. i. p. 210.

⁴ See generally in the Gesta Dei: Alb. Aq. 7. 41, 42. Fulcher Carn. 23. p. 405.

Guibert 7. 36. p. 555. Anon. p. 518. Will. Tyr. 10. 8. Wilken *ib.* II. p. 88, 89.

⁵ Gesta Dei p. 581. Will. Tyr. 16. 6.

⁶ Guibert and Fulcher l. c. Guibert however gives his own opinion, that the mountain is Mount Hor. Fulcher prides himself that at this brook "equos adaquavi meos." The same error however goes back to the time of Eusebius and Jerome; see Onomast. art. *Or.* Being once adopted by the crusaders, it led them afterwards to take Ailah for Elim with the twelve fountains and seventy palm trees (Will. Tyr. 11. 29); and also compelled them to look for and find the ancient Petra further towards the north, at Kerak.

a city is elsewhere unknown, the testimony of this writer, who was not an eyewitness, seems to be of doubtful authority. Fulcher relates, that after three days spent at Wady Mûsa, they returned by way of Hebron to Jerusalem.

In the second expedition, which took place under the same king in A. D. 1115, Baldwin appears to have crossed the Jordan and marched through the whole length of Arabia Secunda. He was accompanied only by two hundred knights and four hundred footmen; and with this small force he built up in Arabia Tertia, in eighteen days, a former strong castle upon a steep isolated hill, in the midst of a region fertile in corn, oil, and wine. To this fortress, the first erected by the Latins east of the Jordan, he gave the name of Mons Regalis (Mount Royal). Arabian writers speak of it as Shôbek, which name it bears to the present day.¹—In the very next year, A. D. 1116, king Baldwin revisited his fortress with two hundred followers; and advanced afterwards as far as to Ailah on the Red Sea; of which place he appears to have taken possession. He would have proceeded to the convent of Mount Sinai; but was dissuaded at the entreaty of the monks.²

For the space of twenty years, Shôbek continued to be the chief, if not the only fortress of the Latins in this quarter. The lands east of the Dead Sea, around Kerak, had been granted as a fief to the knight Romanus of Puy; who was however again dispossessed of them, as well as his son Rudolph, in consequence of a supposed conspiracy against king Fulco, about A. D. 1132.³ They were now bestowed upon Paganus (Payen), a nobleman who had been the king's cupbearer. Three or four years afterwards, he erected the strong fortress of Kerak, on the site of a former city which was held to be the ancient Petra.⁴ This castle and that of Shôbek continued for many years greatly to harass the Saracens; their possessors plundered the rich caravans which passed on the neighbouring route between Damascus and Egypt or Arabia; and were able to cut off all military communication through the region. They were therefore exposed to repeated assaults from the Saracen armies, both on the side of Syria and that of Egypt.⁵

¹ Alb. Aq. 12. 21. Fulch. Carn. 42. p. 426. Gesta Dei p. 611. Will. Tyr. 11. 26. Jac. de Vit. 28. Wilken ib. II. p. 402. See too Bohaeddin Vit. Salad. pp. 38, 54. Abulfed. Annal. Musl. ad A. H. 567. Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 88. Schulten's Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Sjaw-bachun*.

² Alb. Aq. 12. 21. Fulch. Carn. 43. p. 426. Gesta Dei p. 611. Will. Tyr. 11. 29. Wilken ib. p. 403. See also above, Vol. I. pp. 127, 171.—Albert of

Aix seems to confound these two expeditions of Baldwin; and makes him visit the Red Sea with only a company of sixty knights.

³ Will. Tyr. 14. 15, 21. Wilken ib. II. pp. 608, 609, 616.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 14. 21. ib. 22. 28. Wilken ib. p. 616.

⁵ Bohaedd. Vit. Saladin pp. 58, 59. One or both of these fortresses were fiercely assaulted in the years 1172, 1182, 1183, 1184, etc. See generally Wilken ib. II. p. 616. III. ii. pp. 150, 206, 236, 246, etc.

About A. D. 1144, in the first year of his reign, king Baldwin III, being yet a minor, made an expedition by way of Hebron to Wady Mûsa, in order to recover a certain castle bearing the name of "Vallis Moysi," which had been seized by the Saracens with the aid of the inhabitants of the region. On the approach of the king, the latter betook themselves into the castle, which was in a strong position. The Franks assailed it with stones and arrows for several days without success. They then began to destroy the numerous olive trees, which constituted the chief produce of the region; to save which the inhabitants immediately surrendered the fortress. I know not what castle this can have been, unless perhaps the one we saw upon the ledge of rocks northeast of Wady Mûsa.¹

In A. D. 1182, Rainald of Chatillon, then lord of Kerak, made his unsuccessful expedition against Ailah; and in both the following years, (1183, 1184,) sustained the terrific assaults of Saladin against Kerak itself.² Yet that Sultan, the year after his recapture of Jerusalem, became also master (in 1188) both of Kerak and of Shôbek, each after a long siege.³ Thus terminated the dominion of the Franks over this territory. The fortress of Kerak continued to be a stronghold of the Saracens; and fifty years later its Emir David was able to seize for a time upon Jerusalem.⁴

From that time onward until the present century, thick darkness again rests upon the land of Edom. Volney seems first to have had his attention drawn towards it, by the reports of the Arabs around Gaza, that on the southeast of the Dead Sea, within a space of three days' journey, there were upwards of thirty ruined towns absolutely deserted; in some of which were large edifices with columns.⁵ In A. D. 1806, Seetzen penetrated from Damascus as far as to Kerak, and thence travelled around the south end of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem; but he did not enter Edom.⁶ In March 1807 the same traveller went from Hebron on the road to Wady Mûsa as far as to the hill Madûrah not far north of el-Weibeh; and while here, an Arab from esh-Sherah described to him Wady Mûsa and its remains, and gave

¹ Will. Tyr. 16. §. Wilken ib. III. i. 208. See above, p. 128.

² See above, Vol. I. pp. 161, 171.—Will. Tyr. 22. 28–30. Bohaedd. pp. 58, 59. Abulf. Ann. Musl. ad A. H. 580. Wilken ib. III. ii. pp. 236, 246.

³ Gauf. Vinisauf l. 15. Bohaedd. pp. 88, 90. Abulf. Annal. ad A. H. 584. Wilken ibid. IV. pp. 244, 245, 247.

⁴ See above, Vol. I. p. 317.

⁵ Volney Voyage en Syr. c. 31. Tom. II. p. 317. Par. 1787.

⁶ Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 433 sq. Seetzen heard at Kerak the name *Bedra* as of a place a day's journey further south; ib. p. 434. But he admits, that this was told him only in reply to a direct inquiry on his part after Petru; and in the absence of all further testimony, no weight can be laid upon this information. See the remarks on employing leading questions in obtaining information from the Arabs, Vol. I. p. 112.

him an extensive list of the various towns and ruins in that region.¹ But it was reserved for Burckhardt, first to traverse the country in 1812 from Kerak to the southern Wady Ghüründel, and to explore the wonders of Wady Mûsa. He was followed in the same direction in 1818, by Messrs Bankes, Legh, Irby and Mangles. Ten years later, Laborde and Linant first penetrated in 1828 from 'Akabah to Wady Mûsa; returning by a more easterly route through the mountains.

A few words respecting the ancient towns whose sites have been found in this region, may not be out of place here, preparatory to a more particular notice of the metropolis Petra.

Of *Machærus*, a fortress of Herod, and the possible identification of it by Seetzen with Mkauer, a ruin on the south side of Zerka Ma'in, I have already spoken.²

South of Wady el-Môjib, and six or eight miles north of Kerak, are the now unimportant ruins called Rabba, about half an hour in circuit, exhibiting the remains of a temple and several Corinthian columns.³ This unquestionably was the site of the *Rabbath Moab* of the early centuries, the *Areopolis* of the Greeks, an episcopal see of the Third Palestine; which after the destruction of Petra became the metropolitan city of that region. In still earlier times it was the *Ar* of Moab, mentioned in the Old Testament.⁴

In Kerak itself we have the ancient *Kir Moab* of the Old Testament; which already in the Chaldee version and the Greek of the Apocrypha, appears in the form *Kerakka Moab* and *Characa*.⁵ Under this latter name, more or less corrupted, it is mentioned by Ptolemy and other writers both ecclesiastical and profane, down to the centuries before the crusades.⁶ The crusaders found the name extant, and erected the fortress still known as Kerak. But their knowledge of ancient geography was here also at fault; and as in the west they found the site of Beer-

¹ Zach's *Monatl. Corr.* XVII. pp. 133-139.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 570. n. 2.

³ Seetzen *ibid.* XVIII. p. 433. Burckhardt p. 377. Irby and Mangles p. 456 sq. [141.] According to Burckhardt, the distance from Kerak is three hours or more. Irby and Mangles give it at about two hours.

⁴ Is. 15, 1. Num. 21, 28. Hieron. Comm. in Jes. xv. 1, "Hujus metropolis civitas Ar, quæ hodie ex Hebræo et Græco sermone composita *Areopolis* nuncupatur," etc. Onomast. art. *Moab*: "Porro ipsa civitas (*Areopolis*), quasi proprium vocabulum possidet *Rabbath Moab*, id est, grandis Moab." So too Steph. Byzant. See Reland *Palæst.* pp. 577, 587. Gesenius Comm. zu Jesa. xv. 1.—For its episcopal

character, see the ecclesiastical Notitia, Reland pp. 215, 217, compared with pp. 223, 226. Le Quien *Oriens Christ.* III. p. 734.

⁵ Isa. 15, 1. Heb. קִיר מוֹאָב; Chald. כִּיר מוֹאָב; both signifying *wall* or *fortress*.—2 Macc. 12, 17, *Χαράκα*.

⁶ Ptol. 4. 17. Reland *Pal.* pp. 463, 705. Gesenius Comm. zu Jes. xv. 1.—For the ecclesiastical Notitia, see Reland pp. 215, 217. Of the two later Latin Notitia, one has *Karach* and the other *Kara*; *ib.* pp. 223, 226. Burckhardt mistook this last, *Kara*, for a different name and a distinct place; which he then finds in el-Kerr, a site with ruins south of Wady el-Ahsy; *Travels* p. 401.

sheba at Beit Jibrin, so here they held Kerak to have been once the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa, and gave it therefore the name of Petra Deserti.¹ They established here in A. D. 1167 a Latin bishopric of Petra, which continued for some years; and the name and title remain in the Greek church until the present day.²

In Tüfileh we may probably recognise the ancient Tophel, once mentioned in the Old Testament in connection with the 'Arabah. The radical letters and the signification are the same both in Hebrew and Arabic.³

The place el-Busaireh, two hours and three quarters south of Tüfileh, seems to bear in its name decisive tokens of antiquity. It is now a village of about fifty houses situated on a hill, on the top of which is a small castle.⁴ The Arabic form Busaireh is a diminutive of Busrah, the present Arabic name of Bozrah in Hauran, the Bostra of the Greeks and Romans; which latter has been regarded as a city of the Edomites, though lying far beyond the limits of their territory.⁵ But the name el-Busaireh affords reason to suppose, that another Bozrah lay here within the proper limits of Edom; and was for a time the capital of the country. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact, that in Scripture, Bozrah is so often coupled with the land of Edom itself; while the prophet Amos speaks of it expressly in connection with the land of Teman or the south.⁶ Further, both Eusebius and Jerome mention a Bozrah as existing in their day in the mountains of Idumea, distinct from the northern Bozrah.⁷ In this way, as it seems to me, we are relieved from the incongruity, of supposing the chief city of the Edomites to have lain at the distance of several days' journey away from their territories.⁸

¹ Will. Tyr. 11. 26. ib. 15. 21. Jac. de Vit. c. 96. Comp. above, p. 163, n. 6. This form of the name the crusaders took from the Vulgate, which in Is. 16, 1 reads "Petra deserti," instead of Sela.

² Will. Tyr. 20. 3. Jac. de Vit. c. 56. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 1305. Burckhardt's Trav. p. 387. See above, Vol. I. p. 424 sq.

³ Deut. 1, 1. The identity of Tophel and Tüfileh affords an easy explanation of this very difficult passage, to which I shall again recur. I am indebted for the suggestion to Prof. Hengstenberg of Berlin.

⁴ Burckhardt's Travels p. 407. Irby and Maugles p. 443. [136.]

⁵ So Gesenius Comm. zu Jes. xxxiv. 6. Lex. Hebr. art. בִּזְרָה. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. II. ii. p. 23 sq. See Reland Pal. p. 665 sq. Burckhardt p. 226.

⁶ Isa. 34, 6. 63, 1. Jer. 49, 13. 22. Am. 1, 12, "But I will send a fire upon Teman, which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah."

⁷ Onomast. art. *Bozor*.—The conjecture of Burckhardt, that el-Busaireh is the ancient Psora, an episcopal see of the Third Palestine, rests on an error in one of the ecclesiastical Notitiae, which reads "Mamo, Psora," in two words, where all the others read Mamopsora or Mamapson; Reland p. 217, comp. pp. 215, 223, 226. See Burckhardt p. 407.

⁸ A Bozrah is once mentioned among the cities of Moab; Jer. 48, 24. This was not improbably the same; since the possession of particular cities often passed from one hand to another in the wars of adjacent tribes. See 2 Chr. 20, 23. Am. 2, 1. So too Sela, Is. 16, 1; comp. 2 K. 14, 7. See Gesenius l. c.

Proceeding further south, we find Ghüründel, the ancient Arindela, as already described.¹—In Dhâna, a village visited by Burckhardt, on the declivity of a mountain north of Wady el-Ghuweir, we probably have the site of the ancient Thana or Thoana, assigned by Ptolemy to Arabia Petræa, and marked also apparently in the Peutinger Tables.²—Shôbek corresponds to no known ancient place; though we find in the Old Testament both Shobach and Shobek as the names of persons.³—Ma'ân, the well known town on the route of the Syrian Haj, nearly east of Wady Mûsa, is with good reason assumed as the probable seat of the Maonites mentioned in the Scriptures.⁴ Abulfeda describes Ma'ân (from Ibn Haukal) as inhabited by the Ommiades and their vassals.⁵—About six hours south of Ma'ân and Wady Mûsa, lies Ūsdakah, a fine fountain, near which is a hill with extensive ruins of an ancient town, consisting of heaps of hewn stones. Both the name and situation correspond to the Zodocatha of the fifth century; which is also marked in the Peutinger Tables, under the form Zadagatta, at eighteen Roman miles south of Petra.⁶

One other town in this region, el-Humeiyimeh, is described by Abulfeda (quoting from Ibn Sa'id) as the native place of the Abbassides. Its ruins still remain, and were visited by Laborde, on the plain east of the mountains, considerably south of the southern Wady Ghüründel, and north of the head of Wady el-Ithm. The ruins are very considerable; but without any traces of architectural splendour. There was an aqueduct leading to it for a long distance from the north; and the place itself is full of cisterns, now broken and abandoned in the midst of a desert.⁷

PETRA.

We come now to the celebrated capital of this region in ancient times, called from its remarkable position, The Rock; in

¹ See p. 117, above.

² Ptol. 5. 17. Reland p. 463. The Peutinger Tables have Thorma, probably a corruption. See Burckhardt p. 410.

³ Shobach שׁוֹבַח 2 Sam. 10, 16. 18. Shobek שׁוֹבֵק Neh. 10, 24.—Burckhardt suggests, that Shôbek may have been the castle Carcaria of Eusebius and Jerome, one day's journey from Petra. But this notice is too indefinite to bear out the supposition. Onomast. art. *Carcar*. Burckhardt p. 416.

⁴ Judg. 10, 12 שׁוֹנִי Maonites. 1 Chr. 4, 41 and 2 Chr. 26, 7 מְהוּנִים *Mehunims*. They are spoken of in connection with the Amalekites and Arabians. The form

ii. 571–573

Ma'ân has no relation to the name Teman. See Seetzen in Zach. ib. XVIII. p. 381. Burckhardt's Travels p. 437. Gesenius Lex. Heb. art. שׁוֹבֵק. and Notes on Burckh. p. 1069. Rosenmüller's Bibl. Geogr. III. p. 83.

⁵ Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 14.

⁶ Notit. Dignitat. ed. Pancirol. p. 216. Reland Pal. p. 230. See Burckhardt's Travels p. 435.

⁷ Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 14. Laborde writes the name Ameimé; Voyage en Arab. Petr. p. 62. [217.]—The Macbert el-Abid of Laborde is probably the Klûr-bet (ruins) el-'Abid of our lists; ibid. p. 63. [218.]

Hebrew Sela, in Greek Petra.¹ In the Old Testament we find it recorded of king Amaziah, that "he slew of Edom in the valley of salt, ten thousand, and took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day."² The prophet Isaiah also exhorts Moab to "send the lamb to the ruler of the land from Sela to (through) the wilderness unto the mount of the daughter of Zion;" alluding apparently to the tribute in sheep formerly paid to Israel.³ At this time, therefore, Sela would seem to have been in the possession of the Moabites; or at least they pastured their flocks as far south as to that region, much in the manner of the adjacent tribes at the present day.⁴—These are the only certain notices of this city found in Scripture; and the last of them cannot be later than about 700 B. C.⁵

About four centuries afterwards, as we have seen, the city was already known to the Greeks as Petra; it had passed into the hands of the Nabatheans, and had become a place of trade. The two expeditions sent against it by Antigonos before 301 B. C. have been already alluded to.⁶ In the first, Athenæus took the city by surprise, while the men were absent at a neighbouring mart or fair; and carried off a large booty of silver and merchandise. But the Nabatheans quickly pursued him, to the number of eight thousand men; and falling upon his camp by night, destroyed the greater part of his army.⁷ Of the second expedition, under the command of Demetrius, the Nabatheans had previous intelligence; and prepared themselves for an attack, by driving their flocks into the deserts, and placing their wealth under the protection of a strong garrison in Petra; to which, according to Diodorus, there was but a single approach, and that made by hand.⁸ In this way they succeeded in baffling the whole design of Demetrius.

Strabo, speaking of the Nabatheans during the reign of Augustus, describes the capital as follows: "The metropolis of the Nabatheans is Petra, so called; for it lies in a place in other respects plain and level, but shut in by rocks round about, precipitous indeed on the outside, but within having copious fountains for a supply of water and the irrigation of gardens. Beyond the enclosure, the region is mostly a desert, and espe-

¹ Heb. סֵלָא Sela; Greek ἡ Πέτρα Petra, and also in the plur. αἱ Πέτραι in the later ecclesiastical notices; Reland pp. 215, 217, 533. Comp. the similar case of Πέλλα and Πέλλαι.

² 2 Kings 14, 7.

³ Is 16, 1, and Gesenius Comm. in loc. Comp. 2 K. 3, 4.

⁴ So the Ma'az, see above, p. 143. Compare also p. 167. n. 8.

Vol. II.—15

⁵ The expression "the rock," in Judg. 1, 36 and Is. 42, 11, has sometimes been referred to the city of Petra; but is too indefinite, both in itself and in relation to the context, to be taken into the account.

⁶ Page 159.

⁷ Diod. Sic. 19. 59.

⁸ Ib. 19. 97, οὐσης μὲν ἀναβάσεως χειροποιήτου.

cially towards Judea.”¹ At this time the city had become the great place of transit for the products of the east, and was often resorted to by foreigners.² The philosopher Athenadorus, Strabo’s friend, spent some time in Petra; and related with admiration, that he found many Romans and other strangers residing there; that these often had lawsuits with one another and with the inhabitants; while the latter lived in peace among themselves, under excellent laws.³

Similar, but more definite, is the testimony of Pliny in the first century: “The Nabatheans inhabit the city called Petra, in a valley less than two (Roman) miles in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through it.”⁴ About the same period, Petra is often mentioned by Josephus as the capital of Arabia Petræa, in all his notices of that kingdom and its connection with Jewish affairs.⁵ With that kingdom, it passed under the immediate sway of the Romans, during the reign of Trajan. His successor Adrian appears to have granted privileges to Petra, which led the inhabitants to give his name to the city upon coins. Several of these are still extant.⁶ In the fourth century, Petra is several times mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome; and in the Greek ecclesiastical Notitiæ of the fifth and sixth centuries, it appears as the metropolitan see of the Third Palestine.⁷ Of its bishops, Germanus was present at the council of Seleucia in A. D. 359; and Theodorus at that of Jerusalem in A. D. 536.⁸

But from that time onwards, Petra suddenly vanishes from the pages of history. In the two Latin Notitiæ, referring in part to the centuries after the Muhammedan conquest and before the crusades, the name of Petra is no longer found, and the metropolitan see had been transferred to Rabbah.⁹ Whether Petra perished through the ruthless rage of the fanatic conquerors, or whether it had already been destroyed in some incursion of the hordes of the desert, is utterly unknown. The silence of

¹ Strabo 16. 4. 21, Μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐστὶν ἡ Πέτρα καλουμένη· κείται γὰρ ἐπὶ χωρίου τᾶλλα ὁμαλοῦ καὶ ἐπιπέδου, κύκλῳ δὲ πέτρα φρουρουμένου, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς κρηνοῦ ἀποτόμου, τὰ δ’ ἐντὸς πηγᾶς ἀφδόνους ἔχοντος εἰς τε ὕδρεϊαν καὶ κηπέαν. Ἐξω δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου χώρα ἔρημος ἡ πλείστη, καὶ μάστιγα ἡ πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν.

² See above, p. 161.

³ Strabo *ibid.*

⁴ Plin. H. N. 6. 28 v. 32, “Deinde Nabathæi oppidum incolunt Petram nomine in convalle, paulo minus II mill. passuum amplitudinis, circumdatum montibus inacces- sis amne interfuerunt.”

⁵ See the references to Josephus above, p. 159. n. 4.

ii. 574, 575

⁶ Mionnet Descr. de Médailles Antiques, Tom. V. p. 587. Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. Vet. II. p. 503. No less than eight coins of Petra are described, viz. three in honour of Adrian; one of Marcus Aurelius and Verus; two of Septimius Severus; and two of Geta. Most of them bear on the reverse the inscription: Ἀδριανῆ Πέτρα Μητρόπολις. For this custom on the coins of cities, see above, p. 60. n. 3.

⁷ Onomast. arts. *Petra*, *Idumæa*, *Theman*, etc. Reland Pal. p. 215, 217. See also in general the art. *Petra* in Reland p. 926 sq.

⁸ Reland Pal. pp. 933, 533. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 725.

⁹ Reland Pal. pp. 223, 226.

all Arabian writers as to the very existence of Petra, would seem to favour the latter supposition ; for had the city still retained its importance, we could hardly expect that they should pass it over without some notice, in their accounts of the country and its conquest. As it is, this sudden and total disappearance of the very name and trace of a city so renowned, is one of the most singular circumstances of its history.¹

The crusaders, as we have seen, found Petra at Kerak, just as they also found Beersheba at Beit Jibrin ; thus introducing a confusion as to Petra, which is not wholly removed even at the present day.² It was not until the reports collected by Seetzen respecting the wonderful remains in Wady Mûsa, had been verified by the personal discovery and examination of them by Burckhardt, that the latter traveller first ventured to assume their identity with the site of the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa.³ This identity is now, I believe, admitted by all.—The arguments for the identity in question, are of a threefold nature, and all lie within a small compass.

First, the character of the site, as given by Strabo and Pliny in the passages above quoted ; an area in a valley surrounded by precipitous rocks, with a stream running through it, and a single approach ‘made by hand,’ as mentioned by Diodorus ;⁴ all this corresponds entirely to Wady Mûsa as already described.

Again, the ancient specifications as to the distance of Petra from both the Dead Sea and the Elanitic gulf, all point to Wady Mûsa. Passing over the merely casual and indefinite estimates of Strabo and Pliny,⁵ we find in Diodorus Siculus, that Demetrius, on his return from Petra, marched three hundred stadia,

¹ No Arabian writer mentions Petra ; and the only ones who speak of Wady Mûsa, so far as yet known, are Kazwiny in the thirteenth century, and Ibn Iyâs (Ben Avas) in the fifteenth. Both these authors merely relate a Muhammedan legend, according to which Moses died and was buried in this valley. See Kazwiny's Geogr. Lexicon, *Athâr el-Belâd*, Cod. Ma. Arab. Biblioth. Gothan. No. 234. fol. 80. Ibn Iyâs in his geogr. work, *Nashek el-Ezhâr*, Cod. Gothan. No. 302. fol. 226. These notices from Mss. in the Library at Gotha, I owe to the kindness of Prof. Roediger of Halle.—For the forms Arce, Arceme, Recem, etc. assigned by Josephus and others as the earliest name of Petra ; as also for the er-Rakim of Arabian writers, see Note XXXVII, at the end of the volume.—In like manner the place called by Arabian writers el-Hijr, (not el-Hajar ‘a stone’) has sometimes been mistaken for Petra ; see the same Note.

² See p. 167, above. Adrichomius p. 129. Raumer's Paläst. p. 412 sq.

³ Burckhardt p. 431. The first published account of Burckhardt's visit to Wady Mûsa, seems to have been contained in a letter from him dated Cairo, Sept. 12, 1812, prefixed to his *Travels in Nubia*, Lond. 1819. But before this appeared, Ritter had already suggested the identity of Wady Mûsa and Petra, on the strength of Seetzen's reports in *Zach's Monatl. Corr.* XVII. p. 139. See Ritter's *Erdkunde* Th. II. p. 117. Berl. 1818.

⁴ See pp. 169, 170.

⁵ Strabo places it at three or four days' march from Jericho, 16. 4. 21. Pliny at 600 Roman miles from Gaza, and 135 from the Persian gulf ; H. N. 6. 28 or 32. Here, as Cellarius suggests, the two numbers have probably been transposed ; that is, it should read 135 miles from Gaza, and 600 from the Persian gulf. Cellar. *Notit. Orb.* II. p. 581.

and encamped near the Dead Sea.¹ This distance is equal to about fifteen hours with camels; and if reckoned northwards from Wady Mûsa along the ancient road, extends to nearly opposite the south end of the sea. After all, this is doubtless also a mere estimate, and is if any thing too small; but at any rate, it could never apply to Kerak.—More exactly is the position of Petra laid down in the Peutinger Tables. The distance is there marked from Ailah along the ancient road to Petra, by the stations Ad Dianam, Præsidium, Hauara,² and Zadagatta, at ninety-nine Roman miles in all, equivalent to about seventy-eight and two thirds geographical miles.³ The actual direct distance between 'Akabah and Wady Mûsa, on a straight line, is about sixty-four geographical miles; and when we take into account the windings of the way and the steepness of the mountains, the comparison is here sufficiently exact.⁴ On this route too, the name and site of Zadagatta (Zodocatha) still exist at Ūsdakah, about six hours south of Wady Mûsa.⁵ Further, the same Tables, although somewhat confused on the north of Petra, yet give the distance between it and Rabbah as at least over seventy-two Roman miles; which corresponds well with Wady Mûsa.

Lastly, Josephus, and also Eusebius and Jerome, testify expressly, that Mount Hor, where Aaron died, was in the vicinity of Petra.⁶ And to this day the mountain which both tradition and the circumstances of the case mark as the same, still rears its lonely head above the vale of Wady Mûsa.

These considerations appear to me to demonstrate the identity of Petra with Wady Mûsa; and also to show as conclu-

¹ Diod. Sic. 19. 98, *πλήσιον τῆς Ἀσφαλ-
τίτιδος λίμνης*.

² The *Ἀνδρα* of Ptolemy, and the Hava-
na of the Notitia Dignitatum. Ptol. 5. 17.
Reland Pal. pp. 463, 230.

³ The following is the specification of the
Tables: From Haila, xvi ad Dianam. xxi
Præsidio. xxiii Hauara. xx Zadagatta.
xviii Petria. Summa xcix.—The station
'ad Dianam' is common to both the routes
from Ailah, to Jerusalem and to Petra.
It must therefore have lain in the great
valley; and the distance of 16 Roman miles
from 'Akabah would bring it about oppo-
site the Wady and fountain el-Hendis. It
is marked as a small temple of Diana.
This point must have been considerably
north of the mouth of Wady el-Ithm.
The Roman road to Petra appears there-
fore to have ascended the mountain north
of that Wady; and the station Præsidium
is probably to be sought in those moun-
tains. It would consequently seem, that

el-Humeiyimeh did not lie upon the great
Roman road, of which Laborde found traces
further north upon the mountain.

⁴ The geographical position of Petra is
fixed on the accompanying map at 30°
25' N. Lat. and 35° 38' 9" E. Long. from
Greenwich. This latitude is the mean
between that resulting from our routes
and Laborde's. Moore and Beke give it
at 30° 19', which appears to be even less
correct than their observations at Jerusa-
lem and Hebron; see above, p. 74, n. 2.
Vol. I. p. 259, n. 1 The longitude is
that found by a comparison of our routes
with those of Laborde. See Kiepert's Me-
moir in the former edition of this work,
III. App. p. 37.

⁵ See above, p. 168.

⁶ Josephus Ant. 4. 4. 7. Euseb. et
Hieron. Onomasticon: "Or, mons in quo
mortuus est Aaron juxta civitatem Pe-
tram."

sively, that it could not have been situated at Kerak, where the crusaders placed it.¹

But how or when the name of Petra was dropped, or in what age that of Wady Mûsa was adopted, we have no means of ascertaining. The crusaders found the latter in current use, and speak here only of the "Vallis Moysi."² They also speak of a building on the neighbouring mountain, consecrated to Aaron; but they appear to have discovered nowhere any trace of a Christian population.³

Then came other centuries of oblivion; and the name of Wady Mûsa was not again heard of, until the reports of Seetzen in A. D. 1807. During his excursion from Hebron to the hill Madûrah, his Arab guide of the Haweitât described the place, exclaiming: "Ah, how I weep, when I behold the ruins of Wady Mûsa!"⁴ The subsequent visits of Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Laborde, and others, have put the world in possession of most of the details; yet I apprehend that the historical and antiquarian interest of the place is by no means exhausted. The scholar who should go thither learned in the lore of Grecian and Egyptian arts and architecture, would be able, I doubt not, still to reap a rich harvest of new facts, illustrative of the taste, the antiquities, and the general history of this remarkable people.

Saturday, June 2d. As morning dawned, we rose from our couch of sand in the middle of the 'Arabah; and at 4½ o'clock were again upon our way towards the fountain el-Weibeh. Looking back, we could see the Wady through which we had descended from the pass of Nemela, bearing S. 55° E. and marking the course we had travelled during the darkness. We were now more than half way across the 'Arabah; and continued to travel on nearly W. N. W. through a rolling gravelly desert, with rounded naked hills of considerable elevation. Our guides had usually in the 'Arabah kept one man ahead as a scout; and now, as we approached el-Weibeh, they took double precautions against any enemy; since this and other fountains in the valley, are the usual rendezvous of wandering parties.

¹ For the question whether there was probably more than one Petra, see in Note XXXVII, at the end of the Volume.

² See above, pp. 163, 165.

³ Guibert speaks of this building as a church; 7. 36. p. 555. Another writer calls it an "Oratorium;" *Gesta Dei* p. 581. Fulcher incorrectly makes it a monastery dedicated to St. Aaron; c. 23, p. 405.

Not improbably there may have been here originally a Christian chapel, as on Jebel Mûsa and Mount St. Catherine; but there is no historical trace of any monastery on the mountain. See Note XXXVI, end of the volume.

⁴ Zach's *Monatl. Corr.* XVII. p. 136. See above, p. 165.

We came out, at half past 6 o'clock, upon the high but not steep bank of Wady el-Jeib ; which here sweeps round quite to the foot of the ascent on the west side of el-'Arabah. We descended into it from the gravelly hills, one hundred feet or more. It is here three quarters of an hour in breadth, and everywhere sprinkled with herbs and shrubs. Just on its western side, where the land slopes up very gradually into a tract of low limestone hills, lies 'Ain el-Weibeh, one of the most important watering places in all the great valley. There are here indeed three fountains, issuing from the chalky rock of which the slope is composed. Below them, on the border of the Jeib, is a jungle of coarse grass and canes, with a few palm trees, presenting at a distance the appearance of fine verdure, but proving near at hand to be marshy and full of bogs. This slope continues towards the south, where it becomes wider, and is also sprinkled with herbs ; being watered in winter by a Wady called el-Ghamr, with a small spring of bad water, an hour and a half or two hours south of el-Weibeh. As we approached this latter fountain, we could see the verdure around 'Ain eil-Ghamr.¹

As our scouts had reported that there were no visitors at el-Weibeh, we proceeded directly thither ; and reaching it at 7.20, halted more than two hours for breakfast and rest. The three fountains are some rods apart, running out in small streams from the foot of a low rise of ground, at the edge of the hills. The water is not abundant ; and in the two northernmost sources, has a sickly hue, like most desert fountains, with a taste of sulphuretted hydrogen. The temperature of the water was 75° F. that of the air being about the same. But the southernmost source consists of three small rills of limpid and good water, flowing out at the bottom of a small excavation in the rock. The soft chalky stone has crumbled away, forming a semicircular ledge about six feet high around the spring, and now a few feet distant from it. The intermediate space is at present occupied by earth ; but the rock apparently once extended out, so that the water actually issued from its base.—We could find here no trace of the remains of former dwellings.

'Ain el-Weibeh is situated just on the exterior of a great bend of Wady el-Jeib, which here comes down from the S. by W. and sweeps round almost towards the E. N. E. In it, at some distance below el-Weibeh, we could see the verdure around another place of water, called el-Hufeiry ; the water is found by digging holes in the ground, is scanty, and fails in summer.

From this point, (at el-Weibeh,) Mount Hor is seen to fine advantage, towering in lone majesty, and prominent above all

¹ See Burckhardt p. 446.

the peaks which immediately skirt the 'Arabah ; but itself lower than the high ridges further east. Indeed, as here seen, this peak, and the rocky groups around Wady Mûsa and next the 'Arabah, appear to belong to a chain further west and lower than the high main chain of esh-Sherah. The latter, beginning from Wady Ghuweir, and consisting of round summits and ridges without precipices, runs on continuously as far south as the eye can reach. The lower masses of porphyry, are all along marked by a dark and almost black appearance.¹

We were much struck while at el-Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of its position to the scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites, on their second arrival at Kadesh.² There was at Kadesh a fountain, called also En-Mishpat ;³ this was then either partially dried up, or exhausted by the multitude ; so that "there was no water for the congregation." By a miracle, water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were "in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border ;" and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab and approach Palestine from the east. This Edom refused ; and the Israelites accordingly marched to Mount Hor, where Aaron died ; and then along the 'Arabah to the Red Sea.⁴

Here at el-Weibeh, all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day the most frequented watering place in all the 'Arabah. On the northwest is the mountain, by which the Israelites had formerly assayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back.⁵ Overagainst us lay the land of Edom ; we were in its uttermost border ; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table land above, was directly before us ; while further in the south, Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object, at the distance of two good days journey for such a host. The small fountain et-Taiyibeh at the bottom of the pass er-Rûbâ'y, may then have been, either the wells of Bene-Jaakan, or the Moseroth, of the Israelites.⁶ The stations of Gudgodah and Jotbath further south, we may perhaps find at the mouth of the Wady Ghüründel, and in the marshy tract with palm trees further towards 'Akabah, men-

¹ The several points seen from the fountain el-Weibeh, bore as follows : Mount Hor S. 25° E. Wady from pass of Neme-la S. 60° E. Wady el-Ghuweir S. 80° E. el-Hufeiry N. 65° E.

² Num. c. 20.

³ Gen. 14, 7.

⁴ Num. 20, 14-29.

⁵ Num. 14, 40-45. Deut. 1, 41-46.

⁶ Num. 33, 30. 31. 37. Deut. 10, 6. Eusebius and Jerome relate, that the place of the Beeroth Bene-Jaakan was still shown in their day, ten Roman miles from Petra, at the top of the mountain. Onomast. art. *Beroth P'lior. Jac.*

tioned by Laborde and Schubert ; where in winter at least we might look for "a land of rivers of waters."¹

In view of all these circumstances, we were disposed to regard el-Weibeh as the probable site of the ancient Kadesh ; and felt that we were here treading on ground consecrated by many sacred associations. Some other circumstances corroborative of the same view, I shall have occasion to adduce further on.² Yet the surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights ; and all traces of the city and of its very name, have disappeared. Indeed there is nothing which shows Kadesh to have ever been a place of any size, or of any importance, except in connection with the journeyings of the Israelites.

As we were ascending the pass of Nemela, (May 30th,) we were overtaken by a single Arab, who had come the same day from 'Ain el-Weibeh. From him we learned, that during the preceding night, while we were travelling up Wady el-Jeib, a marauding party (Ghūzu) had encamped at el-Weibeh, composed of four hundred men on dromedaries from the Tiyāhah, Terābin, Dhūllām and 'Azāzimeh, going against the Hawāzim and 'Anazeh of the Syrian desert. Had we not travelled during the night, we might very probably have fallen in with them. It is these marauding expeditions, which render the 'Arabah and the Ghôr dangerous for travellers. They pass and repass frequently between the hostile tribes of the Arabs on the east and west ; and there is always some risk of encountering them. In the present instance, such an encounter would have brought us into no danger ; as those tribes are all allies of the Jehālin, under whose protection we made this journey,

From 'Ain el-Weibeh a travelled path enters immediately among the limestone hills, and proceeding about N. N. W. doubtless ascends the mountain to the region above. Our Jehālin seemed not to be acquainted with this road, being accustomed from el-Weibeh to skirt the 'Arabah along the foot of the hills, as far north as to Wady el-Khūrār, and then ascend by the pass of es-Sūfāh. But as the buffoon Muhammed, who had recently been here with Lord Prudhoe's party, professed to have taken this direct road, and to have found it shorter, the guides concluded to follow it now. We left the fountain at 9½ o'clock, and at once entered among the hills, here low and consisting of chalky stone and conglomerate, without a particle of vegetation. At 10.20, we crossed a large Wady called el-Mirzaba, which gives name to a pass up the mountains on the left ;³ and at 11 o'clock we came to another very large one called el-Muhelleh, from a

¹ Deut. 10, 7 ; comp. Num. 33, 32, 33.

See Laborde's Map and Voyage p. 53.

[147.] Schubert's Reise II. p. 399.

² See further on : Approach of the Israelites to Palestine.

³ See above, p. 125.

place of that name in the country of the 'Azâzimeh in the same mountains. These Wadys, like those which succeeded, find their way to Wady el-Jeib ; and have in them many Seiyâl or Tûlh trees, some of which are very large.

It now appeared, that our Arabs were afraid of having taken a wrong road. The path was evidently much travelled ; but where it led to, no one seemed to know. We therefore turned to the right on a course about N. N. E. without any track, in order to regain the path known to our guides, descending gradually and obliquely among the hills towards the 'Arabah. In doing this we crossed several Wadys of which our Arabs did not know the names. Indeed, they seemed to be quite lost, as if they were entire strangers to the region. We had found it at all times difficult to get information from them, owing partly to their ignorance, partly to carelessness, and somewhat to unwillingness. But they had become less reserved and more and more communicative, the longer we had been with them. All Arabs are usually ignorant of the localities two or three days distant from their own country ; but the general intelligence of our present guides, was the most limited we had yet met with, and we never found more difficulty in eliciting information. Nor could we always put trust in that which they did communicate, without much cross-examination and other confirmatory evidence.

At length, at 1 o'clock, we came down near the mouth of a Wady not far from the 'Arabah, where was a small cane brake indicating water. Here we fell into the road of which our guides were in search. The spot is called 'Ain el-Mureidhah ; but the Arabs said the water was good for nothing, and consisted of little more than dampness of the earth. Following now the known path, we struck up again N. N. W. among the hills towards the mountains. We passed the Wady Abu Jerâdeh at 1.55 ; and came at 2.40 to the Kufâfiyeh, a large Wady, which conducted us more into the mountains. Leaving this we crossed over to Wady el-Khûrâr, which we reached at 3.20. Between all these Wadys are only desert limestone hills, becoming gradually higher and more broken towards the west.

At the mouth of Wady el-Khûrâr, where it issues upon the 'Arabah, an hour or more east of the point where we struck it, is the fountain called 'Ain el-Khûrâr, smaller than el-Weibeh, but having tolerable water, which continues through the year. As we passed along and over the hills, we could see the verdure around this fountain ; and also that around the water of Hasb in the plain beyond, somewhat further north.¹ The waters of

¹ See above, p. 119.

the Khūrār and all the Wadys we had passed, find their way to the Jeib, apparently south of Wady Hasb ; or in part, perhaps, through that Wady.

Following up Wady el-Khūrār for about half an hour, we left it, and ascended by a steep but not long pass, called the pass of Khūrār. This brought us out at 4 o'clock, not exactly upon table land, but upon a higher tract of country, forming the first of the several steps or offsets into which the ascent of the mountains in this part is divided. This is here perhaps four or five hundred feet higher than the tract we had left ; and lay before us two and a half hours in breadth, quite to the base of the next ascent, in which is the main pass of es-Sūfāh. The tract runs up nearly from E. N. E. to W. S. W. from the hills around Usdum and the south end of the Dead Sea, to an indefinite extent on our left ; rising very considerably all the way, and drained in its whole length by the Wady el-Fikreh, which enters the Ghôr at the southwest corner.¹ The bed of this Wady lies beyond the middle of the tract, near the base of the next ascent. The surface is here broken, and in some parts mountainous, like that of the lower region behind us. At the distance of an hour or two further south, a ridge begins on the front or southeast part of this higher tract, and runs off parallel to the next chain ; the head of Wady el-Fikreh being far up between them in the southwest.—We soon struck upon a small Wady, called diminutively Wudey Sik ; which after we had followed it for a while, ran off on the right towards the 'Arabah. After this, all the smaller Wadys ran towards the Fikreh ; and the country just here was less broken than towards the left.

The mountain before us, forming the next step of the ascent, presented a formidable barrier, a naked limestone ridge, not less than a thousand feet in height, and very steep. Three passes up this mountain were pointed out, viz. that of es-Sūfāh directly before us ; on the right, not far off, another, es-Sufey ; and on the left at some distance the third, called el-Yemen, leading up through a deep rent known as Wady el-Yemen. This chasm cleaves the mountain to its base ; and here the higher portion of the ridge may be said to terminate ; for although it continues to run on far to the southwest, yet it is there lower and less steep. The Wady el-Yemen brings down apparently, in the rainy season, large quantities of water from the regions above into the Fikreh. At the top of this pass, water is found in pits, which is good and never fails.

Fifteen minutes before we reached the Fikreh, a road fell into ours (at 5.50) coming up directly from 'Ain el-Khūrār.

¹ See above, p. 116.

The spot was marked by an unusual number of heaps of stones. Immediately afterwards, a path apparently much travelled, went off towards the left, leading to the pass el-Yemen. A branch of it was said to take a course still more to the left, so as to keep along up the Fikreh for some time, and then ascend the mountain further in the southwest, where it is lower and less difficult. This circuitous road is called el-Haudeh, and is usually taken with loaded animals ; since it escapes the steep ascent. The roads which lead up all these passes, fall into each other again in the country above, as we shall see. Yet a track would seem to proceed directly from the ascent of the Haudeh to Gaza ; and on this, so far as we could learn, perhaps in the next chain of mountains, is probably the pass called el-Ghârib, of which we several times heard.¹

The road which immediately enters the hills from el-Weibeh, and which we had at first taken, seems to ascend more in the south to this higher tract, on which we now were. Lord Lindsay appears to have followed it with Sheikh Husein of the 'Alawin ; and he relates, that at seven hours from el-Weibeh, a path went off on the left to Gaza, while he and his party kept on and ascended the pass es-Sûfâh. This Gaza road probably joined the Haudeh as above described. An hour north of the fork of the same roads, the party had on their left the isolated chalky hill or mountain of Madûrah ; under which, their guides said, God once crushed a village for its vices.²

This mountain, so remarkable in its appearance, we too had seen upon our left at the distance of about an hour, ever since we came out upon this higher tract, rising alone like a lofty citadel on the eastern bank of Wady el-Fikreh. Sheikh Hussân related of it, that a city once stood there ; but God was provoked at the inhabitants and slew them, and destroyed their city with stones from heaven. He could not say, however, whether there were now any ruins on or near it.³—This question, as I have since found, had been already determined by Seetzen thirty-one years before. Being at Hebron in March, 1807, he was told of this mountain, and of the city Madûrah which once stood upon it, but was now by the vengeance of God buried beneath it ; there were also said to be round about it many human bodies turned to stone. Thinking to find here something which

¹ See Vol. I. p. 208.

² Lord Lindsay's Letters, etc. II. p. 46. —Schubert also mentions Madûrah, and appears to have ascended by the pass es-Sûfâh ; but by which route he travelled from el-Weibeh thither, I am not able to make out ; Reise II. p. 441–443. Berton followed our route, but ascended the pass

el-Yemen ; Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. Juin 1839, p. 321–323.

³ To this mountain Berton gives the additional name of Kadessa, and supposes it to be the site of Kadesh, but without the slightest ground ; Bulletin etc. I. c. p. 322.

might illustrate the pillar of salt, Seetzen travelled hither with guides of the Haweitât from esh-Sherah; descending, it would seem, by the pass el-Yemen. He examined the mountain carefully; but no trace of ruins was to be found; and instead of petrified human bodies, there was nothing but a small plain covered with round, conical, cylindrical, and lens-shaped stones, about the size of a man's head, composed of limestone mixed with sand. It was to make up for this disappointment, that his guide now told him of Wady Mûsa and the other ruined places of his own country. But although Mount Hor was here directly before the traveller, and in full sight; and he was likewise told of the Wely Neby Hârûn upon a high rocky summit; yet his eye appears nevertheless not to have rested distinctly upon that mountain.¹

We came upon the Fikreh at five minutes past 6 o'clock; it is here a large shallow Wady with marks of much water, and evidently takes its rise at a long distance on the left. The mountain before us, we could now see, was composed of naked strata of limestone lying obliquely and very irregularly, sometimes indeed rising up in convex curves, as if forming the external covering of an arch. These strata are occasionally cut through by short but deep chasms. This ascent is obviously the continuation in this direction of the step or offset which we had formerly descended adjacent to the lower ez-Zuweirah; though it is here much higher and more difficult than there.²—We kept on directly towards the middle pass es-Sûfâh, which affords also the shortest route. Near the foot of the mountain we came at 6½ o'clock upon the ruins of a small fort or castle of hewn stones, with a few other foundations round about. It was obviously designed to guard the pass; like a similar one at ez-Zuweirah.³

We reached the bottom of the pass at 6.40, and began immediately to ascend. The way leads up for a short time gradually along the edge of a precipitous ravine on the right; and then comes all at once upon the naked surface of the rock, the strata of which lie here at an oblique angle, as steep as a man can readily climb. The path, if so it can be called, continues for the rest of the ascent along this bare rock, in a very winding course. The camels made their way with difficulty, being at every moment liable to slip. The rock indeed is in general porous and rough; but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous

¹ Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVII. p. 133–138. Reisen III. 13 sq.

² See p. 104, above.—The Arabs in speaking of this mountain, would be very likely to give to the different parts of it the names of Jebel es-Sûfâh, Jebel el-Yemen, etc. from the various passes. But

ii. 589–591

the whole range, so far as we could learn, does not bear either of these as a general name; as seems to be supposed by Schubert and Bertou.

³ From this spot Madûrah bore S. 50° W. Mount Hor S. 15° E. Mountain of Moab near Khanzireh N. 80° E.

for animals. In such places a path has been hewn in the rock in former days ; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass. The whole mountain side presents itself as a vast inclined plane of rock ; in which, at intervals, narrow tracts of the strata run up at a steep angle, and break out towards the upper part in low projections ; while in other places, they seem to have been thrown up in fantastic shapes by some convulsion of nature.

We clambered up the pass on foot, taking a direct course over the surface of the rock, while the camels ascended more slowly by the winding route. A parallel and still more direct path for footmen, was taken by several of our Arabs ; entering the chasm, on our right from below, and then climbing up by a long narrow point or ledge of the rock, which extends far down into it. Further to the right, beyond the chasm, the pass of the Sufey winds up over the rock in a similar manner.

The name of this pass, es-Sūfāh (a rock), is in form identical with the Hebrew Zephath, called also Hormah ; which we know was the point where the Israelites attempted to ascend the mountain, so as to enter Palestine from Kadesh, but were driven back.¹ A city stood there in ancient times, one of the " uttermost cities of Judah towards the coast of Edom southwards," which was afterwards assigned to the tribe of Simeon.² There is therefore every reason to suppose, that in the name of es-Sūfāh, we have a reminiscence of the ancient pass which must have existed here, and bore the name of the adjacent city Zephath. Of the name Hormah we could find no vestige.

We reached the top of the steep ascent at 7½ o'clock ; when the light of day was nearly gone, and the landscape behind us was dim. Below us, we could overlook the broad tract or step which we had just crossed, drained in its whole length by the Fikreh ; beyond were the lower hills, the 'Arabah, and the mountains of Edom. In the northeast the Dead Sea was of course visible. We continued to ascend more gradually, through an exceedingly rocky and desert region. We wished much to encamp somewhere near the brow of the pass, in order to obtain a fuller view by daylight ; but there was here neither wood for a fire, nor pasture for the camels. We were therefore compelled to proceed, lighted only by the moon in her first quarter. This we much regretted ; for the region which we now traversed, seemed one of the wildest and most broken we had yet seen. After a little while, pursuing the same general course, about N.

¹ Judg. 1, 17. Num. 14, 45. 21, 3. ² Josh. 12, 14. 15, 30. 19, 4.
Deut. 1, 44.

N. W. over a more level tract, we could distinguish deep ravines on each side of us, with precipitous mountains beyond, seemingly rent to their base. The road for some distance lay along a narrow causeway of rock, between two such ravines, hardly wide enough for a dozen men to walk abreast, with a deep precipice on each side. From this we at length found a descent towards the right into a broader Wady, and following it up, encamped near it at 9½ o'clock, in a small plain surrounded by hills. Here were many Tülh trees and shrubs. The Arabs had no name for the spot, and knew of no ruins in the vicinity; but we thought we had seen, not long before, a couple of small towers on the right of the road.

We were excessively fatigued; having now been upon our camels since 11 o'clock of the preceding day, with only occasional stops of two or three hours. The camels too had eaten nothing for the last twenty-four hours, that is, since our stop of the evening before; yet they did not seem fatigued. Being now out of all danger, we rejoiced to encamp and give ourselves up to repose; and after the fatigues of the 'Arabah and the exciting scenes of Wady Mûsa, we looked forward with delight to a day of rest upon the morrow. While the tent was pitching, I threw myself upon my cloaks and fell immediately into a deep sleep; from which it was hard to be awaked to remove into the tent, and partake of our evening meal. But we slept soundly through the whole night; and felt afterwards no further remains of the fatigue.

Of the three passes, that of es-Süfâh is the most direct; but that of el-Yemen, though the way is longer, is more used, on account of the water at the top. We did not learn, that there is any great difference between them all, as to the length or difficulty of the ascent itself, which we estimated at about a thousand feet.¹ The roads leading up the two adjacent passes, es-Süfâh and es-Sufey, as we have seen, are similar. The third road enters the gorge of Wady el-Yemen; and following it up for a time, then climbs the wall of rock by a steep and difficult path. Seetzen describes this Wady as a frightfully wild, deep, and desert valley, strewed with large rocks so thickly, that it is often difficult to find a way between them.²

The high region which we had now reached, is bounded, as we shall hereafter see, by another less elevated ridge in the northwest, and forms a second step or offset in the whole ascent to Palestine. It is indeed the continuation of the broad desert

¹ The whole elevation from Wady el-Fikreh to a point near our encampment, is given by Schubert's measurements at 1434 Paris feet; Reise II. p. 448.

² Zach's Monat. Corr. XVII. pp. 134, 135. So Bertou in Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. Juin 1839, p. 323.

tract, which lies between the two passes of ez-Zuweirah, and runs up in this direction.¹

As we had now taken leave of the 'Arabah and of the region of the Dead Sea, probably for ever, it may be proper to pause for a few moments, and bring together into one view what remains to be said upon these topics. I subjoin too, some remarks upon the catastrophe of the cities of the Plain, and on the route of the children of Israel in their approach to Palestine.

WADY EL-'ARABAH.

This great valley, lying here between the Dead Sea and the gulf of 'Akabah, constitutes a very remarkable feature in the configuration of the whole region. With a partial interruption, or rather contraction, between the lakes el-Hûleh and Tiberias, it may be said to extend from Bâniâs, at the foot of Jebel esh-Sheikh, to the Red Sea. The northern half is watered by the Jordan, which during its course expands into the two fresh-water lakes just mentioned; and is at length lost in the bitter waters of the Dead Sea; this latter occupying the middle point of the great valley nearly equidistant from its two extremities. From the lake of Tiberias to the line of cliffs some three hours south of the Dead Sea, the valley or great chasm bears among the Arabs the name el-Ghôr; above and south of the offset of those cliffs, and so to 'Akabah, it is known only as Wady el-'Arabah. Its breadth at Jericho and at 'Ain Jidy has already been specified;² where we had now crossed it, somewhat obliquely, from the pass of Nemela to 'Ain el-Weibeh, we had found the width to be not far from six hours with camels, or nearly the same as at Jericho; while at 'Akabah, as we have seen, it is contracted perhaps to less than half that distance.³

The remarkable depression of the Dead Sea in the middle of this long valley, of more than thirteen hundred feet below the Mediterranean, has already been adverted to.⁴ To judge from the general configuration, and from the course and current of the Jordan, it follows almost of necessity, that the lake of Tiberias, and most probably also the Hûleh, must also be similarly depressed; although the measurements are as yet so indefinite and inconsistent, that the actual degree of this depression can hardly be regarded as determined.⁵

¹ See this tract described, pp. 103, 104, above.

² See above, Vol. I. pp. 559 sq. 509 sq.

³ See Vol. I. p. 162.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 513.

⁵ See Note XXX, end of Vol. I.

On the south of the Dead Sea, the elevation of the watershed, which according to our Arabs lies beyond the southern Wady Ghüründel, has not yet been determined. Schubert gives the depression of the bed of Wady el-Jeib, an hour and a half south of el-Weibeh, at ninety-one Paris feet below the level of the Red Sea; and that of Wady el-Fikreh, near the pass es-Süfah, at five feet below the same.¹ These specifications seem to me to correspond tolerably with the depression of the Dead Sea. But apart from all barometrical measurements, which as yet are so uncertain, the very conformation of this part of the great valley, thus presenting a much longer and greater descent towards the north than towards the south, seems of itself to indicate, that the Dead Sea must lie considerably lower than the gulf of 'Akabah.

The Ghôr, between the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, as we have seen, is for the most part a desert; except so far as the Jordan and occasional fountains cover some portions of it with exuberant fertility.² On the south of the Dead Sea, where instead of the Jordan we find only during the rainy season the torrents of el-Jeib, the surface of the 'Arabah is almost uninterruptedly a still more frightful desert. In the Ghôr indeed, around the southern end of the sea, the living streams from the Wadys Kerak, el-Kürâhy, and et-Tüfileh, impart fertility to the adjacent soil; while on the southwest, and along the base of the transverse line of cliffs, the brackish fountains comprehended under the names el-Beida and el-Arûs, nourish extensive tracts of marshy verdure.³ But in el-'Arabah, although the fountains are numerous for a desert, yet they are less copious, and seem to exert a less vivifying power, than those of the northern Ghôr. On the east, the stream which fertilizes Wady Ghuweir, in which the Fellâhin of Dhâneh plough and sow, appears not to reach the great plain of the 'Arabah, at least not to any great extent. Then follow towards the south, 'Ain el-Buweirideh already described; the small fountain et-Taiyibeh near the foot of the pass leading up to Mount Hor; and the waters within the mouth of the southern Wady Ghüründel.⁴ On the western side, we find first the water of Hasb in the plain

¹ Reise II. pp. 440. 443.—From 'Akabah to Wady Abu Kusheibeh leading up to Mount Hor, Schubert travelled along the east side of the 'Arabah, where the ground is higher than on the western side. Of course the measurements of 465, 954, and 2046 feet of elevation, do not mark the proper level of the 'Arabah; especially the latter one, which seems to have been taken in the eastern mountains. Ibid. pp. 401, 411, 440; comp. p. 439.

ii. 595-597

² See above, in Vol. I. pp. 545, 556, 559, 571, etc.

³ See generally above, pp. 112, 113; also pp. 115-117.

⁴ For Wady el-Ghuweir, see p. 121, above; for 'Ain el-Buweirideh p. 122; for 'Ain et-Taiyibeh p. 139. For the springs near the mouth of Wady Ghüründel, see Burckhardt p. 441. Laborde Voyage p. 53. [148.]

of the 'Arabah; then 'Ain el-Khūrār at the mouth of the Wady of the same name; 'Ain el-Mureidhah; el-Hufeiry; el-Weibeh; 'Ain el-Ghamr; and then beyond the Jerâfeh also el-Melihiy and el-Ghūdhyân.¹

The main road, by which Ma'ân and the adjacent country has communication with Hebron and Gaza, descends to the 'Arabah near Mount Hor, and crossing to el-Weibeh ascends again to the south of Palestine by some one of the passes above described, the Haudeh, el-Yemen, es-Sūfāh, or es-Sufey. A route also from 'Akabah to Hebron and Gaza leads along the 'Arabah; one branch goes up through Wady el-Beyāneh to the western plain and so to Ruhaibeh; while another, apparently little travelled, remains in the 'Arabah, and falls into the Ma'ân road at el-Weibeh.² An ancient route between Hebron and Ailah followed the same track; it is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and its traces still remain along the pass of es-Sūfāh.³

Not the least remarkable circumstance in regard to this great valley between the two seas, is the singular fact, that until the present century, its existence should have remained unknown to modern geographers. Among ancient writers, neither Strabo, nor Pliny, nor Ptolemy, nor Josephus, nor any other geographer or historian, makes the slightest allusion to it; although they often speak both of the Dead Sea and the Elanitic gulf, and describe the adjacent regions.⁴ The historians of the middle ages preserve the same silence; although the crusaders must have been acquainted with the 'Arabah throughout its whole length. We read indeed of a valley in these parts, to which the crusaders gave the name of "Vallis Illustris;" but this appears to

¹ See above for the Hasb, pp. 119, 177; for el-Khūrār and 'Ain el-Mureidhah, p. 177; for el-Hufeiry, p. 174; for el-Weibeh, p. 174-176; for el-Ghamr p. 174; for el-Melihiy, p. 125. For el-Ghūdhyân see Vol. I. pp. 169, 182. See also generally, Vol. I. p. 182; and Burckhardt p. 446. Schubert speaks of water found by digging holes in the bottom of the Jeib, an hour and a half south of el-Weibeh; where the water probably has some connection with el-Ghamr. He also describes a fountain three or four hours north of el-Weibeh, in a valley which he calls Mirzaba; though the proper Wady of this name is only 35 minutes from el-Weibeh. The distance coincides well with that of 'Ain el-Mureidhah. Reise II. p. 440-443.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 198.

³ See pp. 180, 181. Onomast. art. *Hazon-Thamar*, compared with art. *Arath*. Reland Pal. p. 410, 885.

⁴ Ritter cites a passage from the Peri-
Vol. II.—16*

plus of Agatharcides, as referring to this valley, or at least to the southern end of it near Ailah: "Beyond the Elanitic (Elanitic) gulf, around which the Arabs dwell, is the country of the Bythemanei; a spacious plain, well watered and low, with various grasses as high as a man's head, and much fruit; full also of wild camels and deer, and multitudes of flocks and herds of cattle and mules;" Agatharcides Peripl. Rubri Maris, ed. Hudson, pp. 57, 58; in Hudson's Geogr. Vet. Scriptores Minores Tom. I. There seems however nothing in this language, except the word *low* (*βαθεία*), that can well be applied to the 'Arabah; all the rest, if meant to refer to that valley, is exaggerated and fabulous. This circumstance, and also the expression *beyond* (*μετά*) the gulf, seem rather to intimate, that the writer was speaking of some part of Arabia further east. See Ritter's Erdkunde Th. II. p. 219. Berl. 1818.

refer merely to the Ghôr 'just around the south end of the Dead Sea, the valley of Salt of the Scriptures.'

Arabian writers not unfrequently speak of the Ghôr, applying this term solely to the valley of the Jordan.² In Abulfeda alone we find it mentioned, that the valley extends southwards to the Red Sea. He describes it as follows :³ "From the Dead Sea and Zoghar (Zoar) to Beisân and Tiberias, the tract is called el-Ghôr, as lying between two mountains. One part of the Ghôr is reckoned to the district of the Jordan, the other to Palestine. Ibn Haukal adds : The Ghôr begins at the lake of Gennesareth, whence it extends to Beisân, and so to Zoghar and Jericho, even to the Dead Sea ; and thence to Ailah." To this passage is subjoined, in a note, a Scholion, apparently of Abulfeda himself, from the Leyden manuscript, supposed to be an autograph : "el-Ghôr is a deep valley shut in by mountains. This tract abounds in palm trees, fountains, and streams ; and snow sometimes falls in it. One part extends from the district of Jordan till you pass Beisân ; then comes Palestine. And if one proceeds continuously in this valley [southwards], it will bring him to Ailah." These passages, which we now know to be literally correct, were long overlooked. Büsching, near the close of the last century, simply refers to them.⁵

But if we turn to the Hebrew Scriptures, both the knowledge and the name of the 'Arabah, are found to go back to a high antiquity. The Hebrew word '*Arabah*, signifying in general "a desert plain, Steppe,"⁶ is applied with the article (*the* 'Arabah) directly as the proper name of the great valley in question in its whole length ; and has come down to us at the present day in the same form in Arabic, el-'Arabah. We find the Hebrew 'Arabah distinctly connected with the Red Sea and Elath ; the Dead Sea itself is called the sea of the 'Arabah. It extended also towards the north to the lake of Tiberias ; and the '*Arboth* (plains) of Jericho and Moab were parts of it.⁷ The 'Arabah of the Hebrews, therefore, like the Ghôr of Abulfeda, was the great valley in its whole extent ; and in our present state of

¹ See above, p. 109.

² Edrisi par Jaubert p. 346. Bohaeddin Vit. Salad. pp. 221, 222. Jakût Lex. Geogr. quoted by Schultens, Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Algaurum*. Reland Pal. p. 1041.

³ Abulfeda Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, Lips. 1766, pp. 8, 9.

⁴ Ibid. p. 9. n. 35. See the account of this manuscript in Köhler's Proœmium.

⁵ Erdbeschr. Th. XI. i. pp. 379, 505. Hamb. 1792

⁶ Is. 33, 9. Jer. 50, 12. 51, 43.

ii. 598-600

⁷ Heb. אֲרָבָה *ha'Arabah*, in connection with the Red Sea and Elath, Deut. 1, 1. 2, 8. As extending to the lake of Tiberias, Josh. 12, 3. 2 Sam. 4, 7. 2 K. 25, 4. "Sea of the 'Arabah, the Salt sea," Josh. 3, 16. 12, 3. Deut. 4, 49. "Plains (אֲרָבוֹת) of Jericho," Josh. 5, 10. 2 K. 25, 5. "Plains of Moab," i. e. opposite Jericho, probably pastured by Moab though not within its proper territory, Deut. 34, 1. 8. Num. 22, 1. Comp. Gesenius Lex. Heb. art. אֲרָבָה.

knowledge respecting it, the Scriptures thus receive an important illustration.¹

Yet so utterly unsuspected was the general conformation of the region at the beginning of the present century, that Seetzen, a keen observer and well prepared as a traveller, appears not to have noticed or inquired further after this great valley; although, as he descended from the mountains of Kerak in A. D. 1806, and again when he travelled in 1807 as far south as to the hill Madūrah, it lay directly before him, stretching off towards the south as far as the eye could reach. That he should have failed to remark it, is most singular; or if he noticed it, then his silence is equally unaccountable.² Burckhardt in 1812 was the first to visit and describe this valley as it exists; but his discovery seems to have been first published to the world in 1819, and his more full description in 1822.³ Before this time, however, the sagacity of Ritter, from the account of Abulfeda alone, had already detected the true configuration of the region in question; and he had described it in language which, even now, there would be little occasion to alter.⁴

The journey of Laborde in 1828, gave occasion for the earliest good map of the 'Arabah, south of Wady Mūsa. The first to pass through its whole length from one sea to the other, was M. de Bertou, who preceded us by a few weeks. In looking through the published account of his journey, I have only to regret the appearance of some inaccuracies; which, followed as they seem to have been by Letronne, can only lead to confusion in the geography of this region.⁵

THE DEAD SEA AND CATASTROPHE OF THE PLAIN.

With the conformation of the valley of the 'Arabah as above described, the history and character of the Dead Sea stand in

¹ Besides this general illustration, the difficult passage in Deut. 1, 1, admits in this way an easy explanation. The Israelites were in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho; and are there described as "in the 'Arabah overagainst the Red Sea," i. e. in the part opposite to the Red Sea, or towards the other end. This 'Arabah is then said to lie between Paran (Kadesh) on the one side, and Tophel (Tüfleh) on the other. The remaining names mentioned, are all on the west, viz. Laban, the Libnah of Num. 33, 20; Hazeroth, i. e. 'Ain el-Hüdherah; and Di-Zahab, probably Dahab.—I owe the suggestion of this explanation to the kind communication of Prof. Hengstenberg of Berlin.

² I speak here of course only with reference to his printed letters, in Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVII. pp. 133–140. XVIII. pp. 433–443. His silence as to Mount Hor has already been noticed; p. 180, above.

³ See the letter dated Sept. 12, 1812, prefixed to his Travels in Nubia, Lond. 1819. Also Travels in Syria etc. Lond. 1822, p. 441 sq.

⁴ Erdkunde Th. II. p. 218. Berl 1818.

⁵ These particulars were pointed out in the former edition of this work, in Note XXXVII, end of Vol. II; also in Monatsbericht der Berliner Ges. für Erdk. I. p. 192 sq. Berl. 1840.

close connection. It has usually been assumed, that this lake has existed only since the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as recorded in the book of Genesis; and the favourite hypothesis of late years had been, that the Jordan before that time had flowed through the whole length of Wady el-'Arabah to the gulf of 'Akabah, leaving the present bed of the Dead Sea a fertile plain. But this, as we had now learned, could not have been the case; at least not within the times to which history reaches back. Instead of the Jordan pursuing its course southwards to the gulf, we had found the waters of the 'Arabah itself, and also those of the high western desert far south of 'Akabah, all flowing northwards into the Dead Sea.¹ Every circumstance goes to show, that a lake must have existed in this place, into which the Jordan poured its waters, long before the catastrophe of Sodom. The great depression of the whole broad Jordan valley and of the northern part of the 'Arabah, the direction of its lateral valleys, as well as the slope of the high western desert towards the north, all go to show that the configuration of this region, in its main features, is cœval with the present condition of the surface of the earth in general; and not the effect of any local catastrophe at a subsequent period.

It seems also to be a necessary conclusion, that the Dead Sea anciently covered a less extent of surface than at present. The cities which were destroyed, must have been situated on the south of the lake as it then existed; for Lot fled to Zoar, which was near to Sodom; and Zoar, as we have seen, lay almost at the southern end of the present sea, probably in the mouth of Wady Kerak as it opens upon the isthmus of the peninsula.² The fertile plain, therefore, which Lot chose for himself, where Sodom was situated, and which was well watered like the land of Egypt, lay also south of the lake, "as thou comest unto Zoar."³ Even to the present day, more living streams flow into the Ghôr at the south end of the sea, from Wadys of the eastern mountains, than are to be found so near together in all Palestine; and the tract, although now mostly desert, is still better watered, through these streams and by the many fountains, than any other district throughout the whole country.⁴

In the same plain were slime pits; that is to say, wells of bitumen or asphaltum; the Hebrew word being the same, as that used in describing the building of the walls of Babylon, which we know were cemented with bitumen.⁵ These pits or

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 180, 199. Compare also above, p. 114 sq.

² Gen. 13, 10-12.

³ Gen. 19, 20, "Behold now, this city is near to flee to." For the site of Zoar, see above p. 106 sq. and Note XXXV, end of the volume.

⁴ See above, pp. 112, 113.

⁵ Heb. חֵמָר Gen. 14, 10; compared with 11, 3.

fountains appear to have been of considerable extent. The valley in which they were situated, is indeed called Siddim ; but it is said to have been adjacent to the salt sea, and it contained Sodom and Gomorrah.¹ The streams that anciently watered the plain, remain to attest the accuracy of the sacred historian ; but the pits of asphaltum are no longer to be seen. Did they disappear in consequence of the catastrophe of the plain ?

The remarkable configuration of the southern part of the Dead Sea, I have already described ; the long and singular peninsula connected with the eastern shore by a broad low neck ; the bay extending up further south, in many parts very shallow ; and the low flat shores beyond, over which the lake, when swollen by the rains of winter, sets up for several miles. Indeed the whole of this part of the sea, as I have said, as seen from the western mountains, resembles much the winding estuary of a large river, when the tide is out, and the shoals left dry.² I have also related the sudden appearance of masses of asphaltum floating in the sea ; which seems to occur at the present day only rarely, and immediately after earthquakes ; and also, so far as the Arabs knew, only in the southern part of the sea.³ The character of the shores, the long mountain of fossil salt, and the various mineral productions, have also been described.⁴

In view of all these facts, viz. the necessary existence of a lake before the catastrophe of Sodom ; the well watered plain towards the south, in which were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and not far off the sources of bitumen ; as also the peculiar character of this part of the Dead Sea, where alone asphaltum at the present day makes its appearance ; I say in view of all these facts, there is but a step to the obvious hypothesis, that the fertile plain is now in part occupied by the southern bay, or that portion of the sea lying south of the peninsula ; and that by some convulsion or catastrophe of nature, connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities, either the surface of this plain was scooped out, or the bottom of the sea was heaved up, so as to cause the waters to overflow and cover permanently a larger tract than formerly. In either case, it would follow, that the sources of bitumen would in like manner be covered by the sea ; and the slimy substance becoming hardened and fixed by contact with the waters, might be expected occasionally to rise and float upon the surface of this heavy flood. The ancients describe the masses of asphaltum as thus rising from the bottom of the sea, apparently in greater abundance than at the present day ; although this circumstance perhaps may be accounted for,

¹ Gen. 14, 2. 3. 10-12.

See above, Vol. I. pp. 501 sq. 519.

² See Vol. I. p. 517 sq.

³ See Vol. I. p. 510 ; also p. 108, above
ii. 603, 604

by supposing, that the bitumen was not anciently, as now, eagerly gathered up and carried away.¹

The country we know is subject to earthquakes ; and exhibits also frequent traces of volcanic action. In the whole region around the lake of Tiberias these traces are decided ; and at a short distance northwest of Safed, we afterwards came upon the crater of an extinguished volcano. It would have been no uncommon effect of either of these causes, to upheave the bottom of the ancient lake, and thus produce the phenomenon in question. But the historical account of the destruction of the cities, implies also the agency of fire : " The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven ; " and Abraham too " beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace." ² Perhaps both causes were at work ; for volcanic action and earthquakes go hand in hand ; and the accompanying electric discharges usually cause lightnings to play and thunders to roll. In this way we have all the phenomena, which the most literal interpretation of the sacred records can demand.

Further, if we may suppose, that before this catastrophe, the bitumen had become accumulated around the sources, and had perhaps formed strata spreading for some distance upon the plain ; that, possibly, these strata in some parts extended under the soil and might thus easily approach the vicinity of the cities ; if indeed we might suppose all this, then the kindling of such a mass of combustible materials, through volcanic action or by lightning from heaven, would cause a conflagration sufficient not only to engulf the cities, but also to destroy the surface of the plain, so that " the smoke of the country would go up as the smoke of a furnace " and the sea rushing in, would convert it into a tract of waters. The supposition of such an accumulation of bitumen, may at first appear extravagant ; but the hypothesis requires nothing more, (and even less,) than nature herself actually presents to our view, in the wonderful lake or tract of bitumen found on the island of Trinidad.³ The subsequent barrenness of the remaining portion of the plain, is readily accounted for by the presence of such masses of fossil salt, which perhaps were brought to light only at the same time.

The preceding views and suggestions are not the result of mere conjecture ; but rest upon a basis of facts and analogies supplied by the researches of science. Nor do they depend simply upon my own unaided authority, which would be nothing in

¹ See Vol. I. p. 518.

² Gen. 19, 24. 28.

³ See Transactions of the Royal Geological Society, London 1811, Vol I. p. 63 ii. 604-605

sq. The account of this extraordinary lake of pitch, illustrates very strikingly, what well may have been the character of a portion of the ancient plain of Sodom.

a matter of this kind. Through the kindness of the distinguished geologist Leopold von Buch, whose researches have been particularly directed to the phenomena of volcanos, I was permitted to lay before him an abstract of the facts which have been more fully detailed in this work ; and the following letter in reply contains his commentary upon them.

Berlin, April 20, 1839.

SIR,

It is rather in reply to your kind confidence, than in the hope of presenting any observation of importance, that I address to you these lines.

The valley of the Jordan is a fissure (*crevasse*), which extends from Mount Lebanon to the Red Sea without interruption. Such it seems to me, is the result of your researches, as well as of those of M. de Bertou and of M. Callier ; who nevertheless find fault with Ritter for having said the same thing. These long fissures, especially frequent among limestone mountains, give the configuration to our continents. If they are very large and deep, they afford passage to the primitive mountains, which for that reason form *chains*, in the direction which the fissure prescribes. We might therefore expect a greater development of the volcanic agents at the bottom of this fissure, than upon the heights.

According to the most recent researches, fossil salt is a product of volcanic or plutonic action along an opening of this nature. But, fountains of asphaltum or bitumen are so likewise ; as is proved by the numerous sources of bitumen from the foot of the Zagros in the environs of Bassorah as far as to Mosul, and also at Bakou ; as is proved further by the source of bitumen in the gulf of Naples, or at Mellilli near to Syracuse ; as is proved too by the sources of bitumen in the isle of Zante, and even by the bitumen of Seyssel, of which they make side-walks in Paris.

The asphaltum of the Dead Sea, is probably nothing more than bitumen consolidated at the bottom of the lake ; which, not being able to flow off, forms by consequence a layer at the bottom, as in the island of Trinidad. It is quite probable, that this accumulation may have taken place in remote times, as well as in our day ; and if some volcanic action, an elevation of the soil, or shocks of earthquakes, have brought to light masses of asphaltum analogous to that which you describe, (a phenomenon of the highest importance, hitherto unknown,) we can very well conceive of the conflagration of entire cities, by the inflammation of materials so eminently combustible.

Could some mass of basalt be discovered in the southern part, or towards the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, one might believe that a basaltic dyke had been upheaved at the time of the celebrated catastrophe; just as this took place in 1820, near the isle of Banda, and at another time at the foot of the volcano of Ternate.¹ The movements which accompany the breaking out of such a dyke, are of a character to produce all the phenomena which have changed this interesting region, without exercising any very marked influence upon the form and configuration of the mountains round about.

The fertility of the soil depends sometimes upon light accidents. It is not probable, that bitumen would be adapted to augment it. But it is very possible, that earthquakes may have brought out a larger mass of fossil salt; which being carried by the waters to the bottom of the valley, would suffice to take away its productive power. Lot would hardly have been so struck with the fossil salt, as to suppose his wife was changed into salt, had there been any knowledge of its existence between the layers of the mountain, before the remarkable catastrophe.

It is to be hoped, that the very active Geological Society of London may one day send out one of its members, to illuminate with the torch of geology the facts which interest all the world. But it would be necessary to examine the whole geological constitution, both of Mount Lebanon and of all the valley of the Jordan, from Tiberias quite to 'Akabah.

I conceive, Sir, that all this can hardly content you. But I think it would be rash to build a theory upon facts, of which one has not himself at least observed the results.

(Signed) LEOPOLD VON BUCH.²

APPROACH OF THE ISRAELITES TO PALESTINE.

I have formerly endeavoured to trace the route of the Israelites to Sinai; and have pointed out also their probable course from Sinai northwards, passing by 'Ain el-Hüdhera corresponding to the ancient Hazeroth.³ I have likewise already expressed

¹ Description des Iles Canaries etc. par L. de Buch, Paris 1836, pp. 412, 433.

² The original of this letter is given in Note XXXVIII, end of the volume.—For some of the main suggestions contained in the views above presented, I am indebted to my friend and companion, Mr Smith, whose attention was turned to the subject

at an earlier period than my own. It was in consequence of these suggestions, that I was first led to lay the subject before the writer of the above letter.

³ See at the end of Sect. II, and the first part of Sect. III. For el-Hüdhera see Vol. I. p. 151.

my conviction, that whatever may have been the direction of their course after leaving that fountain,—whether to the shore of the eastern gulf and so along the 'Arabah, or whether they crossed the Tih and came out upon the high western desert north of that mountain,—they still could not have passed on the west of Jebel 'Arâif, and the mountainous tract further north. Such a course would have brought them directly to Beersheba, and not to Kadesh in the “uttermost border of Edom.”¹

The mountainous tract north of Jebel 'Arâif and west of the 'Arabah, forming the country of the 'Azâzimeh, we had now seen on all sides. Beginning at the bluff el-Mûkrâh and the fountain 'Ain esh-Shahibiyeh, it extends northwards nearly or quite to the point where we now were, a desert limestone region full of precipitous ridges, through which no travelled road has ever passed.² Our conviction was therefore strengthened, that even if the Israelites came out at first upon the great western plateau, they must necessarily have followed down the Jerâfeh to its junction with the 'Arabah opposite Mount Hor; and then, in any case, have approached the border of Palestine along the latter valley. Most probably, however, they passed by way of the Red Sea and the 'Arabah; for the language of the sacred writer seems to imply, that their way led along Mount Seir.³

We are led also to the same conclusion by all the scriptural notices of the site of Kadesh, to which they first came. It was “in the uttermost border of Edom.”⁴ The southern quarter of Judah too is described as being “along by the coast of Edom;” and the line was drawn “from the shore of the salt sea, from the bay that looked southward; and it went out to the south side to the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side to Kadesh-barnea.”⁵ Further, from Kadesh the spies entered Palestine by ascending the mountain; and the murmuring Israelites attempting to do the same, were driven back by the Amalekites and Canaanites, and afterwards apparently by the king of Arad as far as to Hormah, then called Zephath.⁶ There was also at Kadesh a fountain, mentioned long before the exodus of the Israelites; and the miraculous supply of water took place only at their second visit; which implies, that at their first approach, there was no special lack of this necessary article.⁷ From Kadesh they

¹ See Vol. I. p. 187.

² See Vol. I. 186. Not but that it may be and is sometimes traversed; for the 'Azâzimeh live in it; but other Arabs avoid the tract and pass around it on their journeys. M. Callier appears to have got among these mountains on his journey in this region; Journ. des Savans, Jan. 1836.

VOL. II. —17

Nouv. Annal. des Voyages, 1839. Tom. III. p. 272.

³ Deut. 1, 2.

⁴ Num. 20, 16.

⁵ Josh. 15, 1. 2. 3; comp. Num. 34, 3. 4.

⁶ Num. 13, 17. 14, 40-45. 21, 1-3.

Deut. 1, 41-44. Comp. Judg 1, 17.

⁷ Gen. 14, 7. Num. 20, 1-11.

ii. 609, 610

turned back to Mount Hor, and thence proceeded to the Red Sea.

These circumstances all combine to fix the site of Kadesh at a fountain in the northern part of the great valley; and I have already pointed out the remarkable coincidence of the position of the fountain el-Weibeh, with all these particulars. There the Israelites would have Mount Hor in the S. S. E. towering directly before them; across the 'Arabah is the Wady el-Ghuweir, affording an easy passage through the land of Edom; in the northwest rises the mountain by which they attempted to ascend to Palestine, with the pass still called Sūfāh (Zephath); while further north we find also Tell 'Arād, marking the site of the ancient Arad. To all this comes then the vicinity of the southern bay of the Dead Sea; the line of cliffs or offset separating the Ghôr from the 'Arabah, answering to the ascent of Akrabbim;¹ and the desert of Zin with a place of the same name between Akrabbim and Kadesh, not improbably at the water of Hasb in the Arabah.²—In this way all becomes easy and natural; and the scriptural account is entirely accordant with the character of the country.³

I have thus far assumed that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh; and this appears from a comparison of the various accounts. They broke up from Sinai on the twentieth day of the second month in the second year of their departure out of Egypt, corresponding to the early part of May;⁴ they came into the desert of Paran, whence spies were sent up the mountain into Palestine, in "the time of the first ripe grapes;" and these returned after forty days to the camp at Kadesh.⁵ As grapes begin to ripen on the mountains of Judah in July, the return of the spies is to be placed in August or September. The people now murmured at the report of the spies; and received the sentence from Jehovah, that their carcasses should fall in the wilderness, and their children wander in the desert forty years.⁶

¹ See above p. 120.

² See pp. 119, 177, above. Compare Num. 20, 1.

³ Mr Rowlands supposes that he found Kadesh at the fountain el-'Ain, in the high western desert; see above, Vol. I. pp. 189, 190. Holy City I. p. 466 sq. That fountain is called also 'Ain el-Kudeirât, from a tribe of Arabs who water there. Out of this name Mr Rowlands, or his Greek dragoman, seems to have made Kûdês or Kâdês; and on the strength of this blunder, assumed there the site of Kadesh. Against this view the considerations urged above in the text, are conclusive; not one of them applies to el-'Ain. It is not in the uttermost border

of Edom; there is no great valley passing up thence through Edom to the eastern desert, like el-Ghuweir; the host could not have proceeded thence directly to Mount Hor, where Aaron dies; there is no mountain near, by which the spies could ascend into Palestine; nor by which the people could go up to Arad, where they were discomfited. In short, the position of el-'Ain, is utterly inconsistent with all the circumstances narrated as having taken place at Kadesh. See more in Biblioth. Sacra, 1849, p. 377-381.

⁴ Num. 10, 11; comp. 9, 1.

⁵ Num. 12, 16. 13, 2. 17. 20. 25. 26.

⁶ Num. 14, 29. 32. 33.

They were ordered to turn back into the desert "by the way of the Red Sea;" although it appears that they abode "many days" in Kadesh.¹

The next notice of the Israelites is, that in the first month, they came into the desert of Zin and abode again at Kadesh; here Miriam dies; Moses and Aaron bring water from the rock; a passage is demanded through the land of Edom, and refused; and they then journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor, where Aaron dies in the fortieth year of the departure from Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month, corresponding to a part of August and September.² Here then, between August of the *second* year and August of the *fortieth* year, we have an interval of thirty-eight years of wandering in the desert. With this coincides another account. From Mount Hor they proceeded to Elath on the Red Sea, and so around the land of Edom to the brook Zered on the border of Moab; and from the time of their departure from Kadesh, (meaning of course their first departure,) until they thus came to the brook Zered, there is said to have been an interval of thirty-eight years.³

In this way, the scriptural account of the journeyings of the Israelites, becomes perfectly harmonious and intelligible. The eighteen stations mentioned only in the general list in the book of Numbers, as preceding the arrival at Kadesh, are then apparently to be referred to this eight and thirty years of wandering, during which the people at last approached Ezion-geber, and afterwards returned northwards a second time to Kadesh, in the hope of passing directly through the land of Edom.⁴ Their wanderings extended doubtless over the western desert; although the stations named are probably only those head-quarters where the tabernacle was pitched, and where Moses and the elders and priests encamped; while the main body of the people was scattered in various directions.⁵

How in these wide deserts, this host of more than two millions of souls, having no traffic nor intercourse with the surrounding hordes, could find supplies of food and water sufficient for their support without a constant miracle, I for one am unable to divine. Yet among them we read only of occasional longings and complaints; while the tribes that now roam over the same regions, although numbering scarcely as many thousands, are exposed to famine and privation of every kind; and, at the best, obtain only a meagre and precarious subsistence.⁶

¹ Num. 14, 25. Deut. 1, 40. 46.

² Num. 20, 1-29. 33, 37. 38.

³ Num. 21, 4. Deut. 2, 8. 13. 14. 18.

⁴ See the list of all these stations, Num. 33, 18-36.

⁵ See above, Vol. I. p. 72 sq. Comp. ib. 52.

⁶ For a synoptical arrangement of the several lists of stations during the wanderings of the Israelites, exhibiting in one view the whole course of their journey, see Note XXXIX, end of the Volume.

Sunday, June 3d. After our fatigues of the preceding two days, we slept soundly until 6½ o'clock; and rose congratulating ourselves upon the rest of the Christian Sabbath. But this rest to-day was not to be of long duration. After breakfast, one of the Arabs, Muhammed, went with the camels to the water at the head of the pass Yemen, nearly an hour distant from our tent in the southwest. There, as he said, he met an Arab who had come up the pass during the night, and who reported, that yesterday towards evening he had seen a party of men with horses and dromedaries encamp at the water of Hasb in the 'Arabah, apparently coming this way on a marauding expedition. Our Arabs immediately concluded, that they were of the Sulit or Hejáya coming against the Tiyáhah in retaliation for the inroads of the latter. Should they ascend by the Süfah, they would come directly upon us; or if by the Yemen, their scouts would doubtless discover our tent; and as they were at war with the Jehálin also, we should of course be exposed to be plundered, if to nothing worse. We had indeed strong suspicions, that this was a story got up by Muhammed, the worthless buffoon, who alone had seen the stranger, in order to induce us to push forward. Yet it might after all be true; and we therefore thought it advisable under the circumstances to go on, and get out of the reach of any danger. This was, however, the only instance, in which we were compelled to violate our principle of not travelling upon the Christian Sabbath.—It was said, the party would not reach the top of the pass until the afternoon. A camel was now despatched with the water-skins to be filled at the water of Yemen. The Arabs seemed to be in no hurry whatever; and it was not until after long delays, that we at length set off. Nor do we know unto the present day, whether the story of the hostile party was true or false.

We at length started at 10½ o'clock; the course continuing about N. N. W. We soon came out upon an open and tolerably level tract, called et-Türáibeh; which, although chiefly covered with loose sand, had everywhere many herbs affording pasture for camels. It belongs to the Arabs called Sa'idíyeh. Before us was another long mountain ridge, running from E. N. E. to W. S. W. similar in its general appearance to that we had ascended last night; though not more than half as high. This tract, between the top of one ridge and the bottom of the other, constitutes the second step or offset of the whole ascent between the 'Arabah and Palestine; and is, as we have seen, the continuation in this direction of the broad region of desert hills between the two passes of ez-Zuweirah; the lower ridge being here much higher, and the upper one much lower, than on that road. Further north, it is drained by Wady el-Fá'íya, a branch

of the Muhauwat, which enters the Dead Sea at the north end of Usdum;¹ but just in this part, the waters are carried off southwards by one of the main heads of Wady el-Yemen, which runs along the base of the next ridge. On this plain, the roads from the three passes, Sufey, Süfâh, and Yemen, all unite; and a branch was also said to come in from the Haudeh.²

At 12.25 we crossed the branch of Wady el-Yemen, which commences not far to the right. Here we immediately began to ascend by a low gap in the ridge before us, called el-Muzeikah. The ascent is gradual and easy; at a quarter before one, we were at the top, and came out upon another higher tract of table land, or rather a basin, shut in on the southeast by hills, forming the top of the ridge. They are here comparatively low; but further towards the W. S. W. the ridge becomes higher, and spreads out into a mountainous tract, through which our Arabs knew no road. Yet we were led to suppose, that the pass el-Ghârib, of which we had several times heard, is probably connected with this range of mountains.³

We kept on N. N. W. across the basin, around which are gravel hills, and which is bounded on the other side at the distance of about an hour by another low ridge or line of hills, parallel to that we had just ascended. On our right the surface had a gradual descent; and here was the beginning of a Wady running down northeast to Wady el-Fâ'iya, and forming one of its heads. On the left we could perceive a shallow Wady called Abu Terâifeh, coming from the north and passing down through the hills of the ridge we had ascended, about half a mile further southwest to Wady el-Yemen. Another road ascends along this Wady, which was taken by some of our Arabs. Just at the head of this latter pass, we could distinctly see the ruins of a town, called Kurnub, covering a low hill near the Wady; our guides said there was here living water in pits (Themâil); and on that account they had been very desirous to reach this spot the evening before. With our telescopes we could distinguish two or three ruined walls, apparently of hewn stones, which seemed to be the remains of churches or other public buildings.⁴

¹ See above, pp. 104, 106.

² In 1834, M. Callier travelled from Hebron to "Dariyé" (Dhoheriyeh); thence S. S. W. to Wady "Kalassa" (Khūlasah, Kūrn, see Vol. I. p. 202) at the foot of the mountains, where he encamped on the third day. On the fourth day he followed up this Wady into the mountains and then descended eastwards along another Wady called "Traybé" (Tūrāibeh), which brought him near to the Ghôr. This would seem to have some reference to the tract we were now crossing, which is about

in the latitude of Wady Khūlasah; and the traveller probably approached the pass of Yemen. But from Hebron to this point, his route by Dhoheriyeh was singularly circuitous; occupying four days instead of the two which it took us. See Journ. des Savans Jan. 1836, p. 47. Nouv. Annal. de Voy. 1839, Tom. III. p. 274.

³ See Vol. I. p. 208; also p. 179, above.

⁴ Lord Lindsay appears to have ascended by the more southern pass, directly to Kurnub; he describes it as the extensive ruins of an ancient walled town, about

This place is marked on Seetzen's map, and would seem most probably to have been the Thamara of Ptolemy and other writers, as well as the Tamar of the Old Testament.¹ The grounds on which this supposition rests, will be better understood in connection with the remarks respecting el-Milh further on.

In passing over this open tract or basin, we saw traces of grass, now dried up. At 1.20 we crossed obliquely the bed of Wady Abu Terâifeh. Here a path branched off to the right, leading directly to the country of the Jehâlin; while that which we still followed is the Hebron and Gaza road. At 2 o'clock we came out upon the top of the swell or low ridge above mentioned, here called Kubbet el-Baul; and had before us a smaller basin forming the head of Wady 'Ar'ârah, which runs off to Wady es-Seba', and so to the Mediterranean. We now had a slight descent into this basin, and kept then along the broad Wady. Here was the first appearance of soil; and along this tract we found at 2.30 traces of ancient walls, probably once dams or terraces connected with tillage. Indeed the vestiges of ancient cultivation began to be everywhere visible. Towards the western part, at 3.05, we passed the foundations of a former village of unhewn stones, now called el-Kuscir (little castle), from a small structure near the foot of the hill, which may have been a tower. This tract belongs to the Dhüllâm. We found in it a stray female camel with her foal, which our Arabs at first were inclined to drive off with them. They caught her and examined her marks; and finding that she belonged to the 'Azâzimeh, let her go. Each tribe has a peculiar mark for its camels; and those of one tribe are in no danger of being taken by any other in time of peace.

At a quarter past 3 o'clock, another path went off towards the right, leading directly to el-Milh; this is the usual Hebron road. We still kept the Gaza path, which passes to the left of el-Milh. The Wady soon sweeps off more towards the northeast and afterwards northwest. We ascended the low ridge or swell on the left, and from the top at 3½ o'clock, had a wide view over the broad, open, undulating region, extending in the northeast to

three hours from the top of the pass es-Sûfîh, exhibiting fragments of columns, but no inscriptions; he saw a large vaulted subterranean chamber near a ruined building, and a strong dam in a ravine on the south of the town. Letters etc. II. p. 46. When Schubert passed this way, there was here an Arab encampment; Reise II. p. 449.

¹ Ezek. 47, 19. 48, 28. Reland Palest. p. 1031.—The question suggests it-ii. 616, 617

self not unnaturally: Whether these ruins may not mark the site of Hormah, the ancient Zephath? But this place would more appropriately be sought further south, nearer to the pass Sûfîh (Zephath); if not indeed quite at the foot of the pass around the small fort. It could hardly be expected, that any very distinct ruins should yet remain of a town last mentioned in I Sam. 30, 30. See Reland Pal. p. 721.

the neighbourhood of Tell 'Arâd, and on the west towards Beer-sheba, with the mountains of Judah in the north. Indeed it was the southern part of the same wide tract, which we had formerly beheld from the mountain south of Carmel;¹ and that same mountain ridge was now directly before us, terminating towards the left in a low bluff; and forming, as it were, another step in the whole ascent. The high encampment of the Jehâlin was visible bearing about N. N. E.—Descending very gradually towards the north for an hour, we again struck Wady 'Arârah at 4½ o'clock, here running northwest and then W. N. W. to join Wady es-Seba', of which it is one of the main branches.

Here in the broad Wady are many pits for water (Themâil), which are called 'Arârah, and give name to the valley. The water is good; but most of the pits were now dry. In the valley and on the western hill are evident traces of an ancient village or town; consisting only of foundations of unhewn stones now much scattered, but yet sufficiently in place to mark them as foundations. Small fragments of pottery are also everywhere visible. In this instance, the name leaves little room to question, that this is the site of the ancient Aroer of the south of Judah; to which David sent presents after the recovery of the spoil of Ziklag.²—This water is frequented chiefly by the Dhûl-lâm. On the west side of the bed of the Wady is a burying place belonging to the Sa'idiyeh; in which were several fresh graves. The dead are brought from a great distance to this cemetery.

We had come thus far upon the Gaza road in order to visit the site of Aroer. After a stop of ten minutes, we now struck across the country northeast towards Milh, without a path, in order to regain the Hebron road. The land was undulating, with gentle swells and broad valleys. Here we fell in with another stray camel, which joined company with ours, although the Arabs tried to drive it away. At 6 o'clock we encamped in a retired valley, hid from all view; and felt ourselves now out of the reach of all marauders, whether real or imaginary.

Monday, June 4th. We rose early, and found ourselves enveloped in a thick fog, the first we had yet *felt* in Palestine; once before, when at Beit Nettif, we had *seen* the mists in the valleys below. The strange camel was still with us; while the dromedary of my companion had strayed away during the night, and was nowhere to be found. It was the property of Sheikh Hussân, who now went in search of it. As however we no longer needed to fill the water-skins, we were able to get on with four camels; and accordingly set off at 5 o'clock, leaving

¹ See pp. 97, 98.

² 1 Sam. 30, 26. 28.

Hussân to overtake us. Our track was northeast over a country still undulating; and after an hour we reached the wells el-Milh at 6 o'clock. Here we stopped for breakfast, and to wait for Hussân; but we saw no more of him to-day; and afterwards learned, that having sought long and in vain for his camel, he had despaired of overtaking us, and had gone directly to the encampment of his tribe.

At Milh are two wells, measuring about forty feet in depth, and walled up round with good mason work; one of them is seven and a half, and the other, five feet in diameter. The water seemed not to be good, and the Arabs said it was acid; but we had no rope or bucket to draw any. The Arabs of the Tiyâhah water here; they come hither early in autumn; and after the rains commence, send their camels to the Ghôr es-Sâfieh for the winter, and go themselves to sow in the Sher'ah south of Gaza.—The broad shallow Wady close by which the wells are situated, Wady el-Milh, comes from the northeast and continues on W. S. W. to unite with the 'Ar'arah, and so to Wady es-Seba'. It passes around the southwestern extremity or bluff of the ridge before us, (that south of Kurmul,) which was now not far distant in the same direction. Here and on our way, great numbers of the bird called Kûtâ by the Arabs, a large species of partridge, were flying about very low in all directions; our Egyptian servants, being used only to water-fowl, mistook them for ducks, and fired among them repeatedly, though without success. This species of bird has often been supposed to be the quails, that came up and covered the camp of the Israelites; but there seems to be no other ground for this opinion, than their present abundance in regions not very far remote from the route of that people.²

On the plain adjacent to the wells on the south, the stones of a ruined town, or extensive village, are scattered over a space of nearly half a mile square, all unhewn. Just by the wells is a round hill like a high tumulus, upon which the foundations of a wall are visible, running in the form of a square around the whole top. On this hill is now an Arab cemetery, where the Dhüllâm bury.³ From this spot we saw Tell el-Kuseifeh, a hill

¹ In this connection it was told us, that the Kudeirât water at Beersheba; and that the Terâbin live chiefly in the Fâr'a.

² Ex. 16, 13. Num. 11, 31, 32. Ps. 105, 40.—The Kûtâ is the *Tetrao alchata* of Linneus, Syst. Nat. Tom. I. P. II. p. 745. No. 11. Hasselquist calls it "*Tetrao Israelitarum*," and describes it fully, Reise pp. 331–333. But the Hebrew name of the bird of the Israelites is *Selav* (סֵלַב) quail; and the present Arabic name for

the quail is *Selwa*. The ancient versions also understood here the quail; Sept. *ὄρνις γουήτρα*, Vulg. *coturniz*. There would therefore seem to be no sufficient reason for laying aside this coincidence, and adopting another explanation on mere conjecture. See Gesenius' Notes on Burckhardt p. 1067. Comp. Niebuhr's Beschreibung von Arabien p. 176. Rosenmüller's Bibl. Archæol. IV. ii. p. 346 sq.

³ From the summit of this Tell at Milh,

about an hour distant, having upon it what appeared to be a considerable ruin. Tell 'Arâd lies somewhat more remote; and, as we have seen, probably marks the site of the ancient Arad.¹ The Arabs said indeed, that no ruins exist there; but they had said the same thing of 'Ar'ârah and Milh. Two other places, Rûkhama and 'Aslûj were mentioned as lying southwest of Milh on the way to 'Abdeh.

These wells and ruins at el-Milh, I am disposed to regard as marking the site of the ancient Moladah of the Old Testament, the Malatha of the Greeks and Romans. There is at first sight an apparent resemblance in the names; but I am able to make out no etymological affinity; and if there be a connection, it can be only because the Arabic, in the popular pronunciation, has corrupted the last letter, so as to obtain a usual and significant form.² But the testimonies of ancient writers as to the position of Malatha are tolerably definite.

Moladah was situated in the extreme south of Judah towards Edom; it was afterwards assigned to Simeon; and was again inhabited after the exile.³ Josephus also mentions Malatha as in his day a castle of Idumea.⁴ Eusebius and Jerome speak of it several times, and place it four Roman miles from Arad, on the way from Hebron to Aila by Thamara; Arad itself being according to them twenty miles from Hebron.⁵ Still later, Malatha is noticed as the station of a Roman cohort.⁶ To all these circumstances, as it seems to me, the situation of el-Milh very exactly corresponds. We have here the vestiges of an extensive town with important wells, on the great route from Hebron to the Red Sea through the 'Arabah; and in the N. E. by E. we still find Tell 'Arâd, about an hour and a half from

we took the following bearings: Encampment of the Jehâlin about N. 38° E. Tell el Kuscifeh N. 54° E. Tell 'Arâd N. 59° E.

¹ See above, p. 101.

² The form *Milh* has no etymological affinity with Moladah (מולדה) nor Malatha (Μάλαθα). There is no known instance of a change of מ or ש into the Arabic Ha. If possibly it be a corruption from the Greek, (Milh for Μαλθ,) we must regard it as an instance of the usual tendency of popular pronunciation, to reduce foreign proper names to a significant form; as in German, *Mailand* (i. e. Mayland) for *Milan*; and as in English the plant *Asparagus* is mostly known among the common people only as *Sparrow-grass*. At any rate, *Milh* (salt) and its derivatives furnish among the Arabs many names for places; thus besides Milh, we have in several instances, Mâlih, Mâlihah, Muweilih,

and Mawâlih.—But even to the supposition of such a corruption from the Greek, there is this objection. In all other cases where the present Arabic name of a place owes its origin to a Greek name, that Greek name was wholly different from the original Hebrew one; as in Nâbulus and Sebûstieh for the ancient Shechem and Samaria. But here the Greek form itself is a mere corruption of the Hebrew; and the Arabic would more naturally follow the latter.

³ Josh. 15, 26, comp. vs. 21. 19, 2. 1 Chr. 4, 28. Neh. 11, 26. See generally Reland Palæst. pp. 885, 886.

⁴ Antiq. 18. 6. 2.

⁵ Onomast. arts. *Arath* (Ἀραθ), *Hazon-Thamar*. See note 2, on the next page.

⁶ Notitia Dignitatum ed. Pancirol. pp. 217, 219. Reland Pal. p. 231.—The Notitia reads *Moleaha*, and another manuscript has *Moleathia*.

Milh, and some eight hours distant from Hebron on a different route.¹

According to Eusebius and Jerome, Thamara was a town and fortress one day's journey from Malatha on the way from Hebron to Ailah, and in their day was held by a Roman garrison.² It is likewise mentioned in the same quarter by Ptolemy and in the Peutinger Tables ;³ and seems to have been the Thamar of the prophet Ezekiel, from which the southern border of the land was to be measured, on one side to Kadesh, and on the other to the western sea.⁴ If we assume, as above, that Malatha was situated at el-Milh, then all the circumstances correspond to fix the position of Thamara at Kurnub, the site with ruins six hours south of Milh towards the pass es-Sūfāh. In that place we find the remains of a walled town with water, on the great route from Hebron to 'Akabah by way of the 'Arabah, at the distance of an ordinary day's journey from el-Milh.⁵

From all these considerations, it appears probable, that the ancient eastern road from Hebron to Ailah and also that to Petra, followed the same general route as that of the present day ; passing by Malatha and Thamara, and so down the mountain to Kadesh ; just as now it touches el-Milh, Kurnub, and el-Weibeh, and thence branches off to 'Akabah and Wady Mûsa.⁶

After having waited for more than an hour and a half, and no Hussân appearing, we at length at 7.40 set forward. The guides were very desirous to take us to the encampment of their tribe for the night ; while our wish was to go by Semû'a and reach Hebron to-day ; both because it would save us time, and because we should thus escape the annoyance of the Bedawin hospitality, manifested in the killing and eating of a sheep among themselves, for which we should then have to pay the full value in the shape of a present. Yet so bent were the Arabs upon their object, that at first they prevaricated, and said there was no way by Semû'a ; though they could take us, they

¹ To judge merely from the name, el-Milh might well be the "City of Salt" (צִיר הַחֶמֶל) mentioned Josh. 15, 62. That city however lay, not in the south of Judah, but in the desert near the Dead Sea (comp. vs. 21, 61) ; and I have already spoken of it as probably situated in or near the valley of Salt, connected with the mountain of Salt, at the south end of that lake. See above, p. 109.

² Onomast. art. *Hazazon-Thamar*. The text of both authors is here singularly corrupted in this proper name ; Eusebius has : λέγεται δὲ τις Θαμαρὰ κώμη διεστώσα μόλις (al. Μόλις) ἡμέρας ὀδὸν ἀπὸντων ἀπὸ ii. 622, 623

Κεβρὼν εἰς Αἰλάμ. Jerome : "Est et aliud castellum Thamara unius diei itinere a Memphis oppido separatim pergentibus Ailam de Chebron." But these corruptions fortunately aid in correcting each other ; the Memphis of Jerome serves to show that there must have been here a proper name ; while the μόλις or Μόλις of Eusebius shows no less clearly, that this name was Malatha. Comp. Le Clerc in loc. Reland Palest. p. 1031.

³ Ptolem. 4. 16. Reland Pal. p. 462.

⁴ Ezek. 47, 10. 48, 28.

⁵ See p. 197.

⁶ See p. 185.

said, across the mountain west of their encampment, and so through Sûsieh and Yûtta to Hebron. At last, however, they recollected that there was also a road to Semt'a, and we took it. Our course lay about N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. having the mountain at our left, and approaching it gradually and very obliquely along a level plain. At 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we came to the foot of the ascent; and had on our right not far off the site of a former place, called Mak-hûl, consisting of little more than a few caves in the side of the hill. Indeed, such caverns constitute the chief mark of several ancient sites in this region. The path goes up here along a gap or ravine, somewhat steep, but not long. We reached the top of the steep ascent at a quarter before ten; and stopped for a time to take a last survey of the country behind us.¹

This ascent did not, as we had expected, bring us out upon a ridge, like that we had crossed in travelling south from Carmel and Ma'in; but only among higher hills. After fifteen minutes we went on again; and continued gradually ascending along the Wady, shut in by the mountainous tract on every side, which cut off all prospect around us. Here all at once a jackal started up near our path, and ran at full speed up a hill on our left; when about half way to the top, much to our amusement, he stopped and looked round very sheepishly, to see if we were yet in sight; and perceiving us, set off anew with still greater speed, without venturing to look again. At 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock we were through the mountainous tract, and came out upon the hill country of Judah, resembling the region around Hebron in its hills and naked rocks; but apparently less fertile. We made here no descent from the chain of hills behind us; but had gained another step of the whole ascent between the Dead Sea and Hebron.

On examining the list of the cities of Judah and Simeon, as given in the book of Joshua, it appears, that all the cities of the "mountains," so far as their position is known, were situated north of the point where we now were; while those of the uttermost south lay either behind us or on our left, further in the south.² This leads to the probable conjecture, that this mountain ridge, which commences not far from Carmel and runs W. S. W. to the latitude of Beersheba, formed the natural boundary, on this side, of the higher tract or "mountains" of Judah; while the lower region further south, extending quite around to Beersheba, constituted appropriately the uttermost border "toward the coast of Edom southward."

At this season of drought, the country looked naked and

¹ The bearings here taken were as follows: Tell Milh S. 26° W. Tell Kuseifeh S. 2° E. Tell 'Arâd S. 70° E. South end

of the mountain of Moab, near Khanzîreh, S. 57° E.

² Josh. 15, 21-32. 48-60.

desolate; towards the north and west, the eye rested only on parched and rocky hills. Yet it was evidently a fine grazing region. Traces of ancient tillage were everywhere visible in the terraces built up along the hill sides. Our course was now in general about N. 20° E. At 11.20 we came upon the first appearance of recent tillage; and near by were fields of millet, sown by the people of Semû'a. At 11.40 we had in a valley on our right, eight or ten minutes distant, the ruins of a village called el-Ghuwein, perhaps the ancient *Anim*;¹ and at the same time the site of Attir was on our left, bearing about west, at the distance of half an hour, marked by caves upon a hill.² Here we fell in with several small swarms of young locusts, the first we had seen during our journey. They were quite green, with wings just sprouting; they entirely resembled grasshoppers, and hopped briskly away from our path. Our Arabs, when asked if they ate them, spurned at the idea; but said the Ma'áz do so, and also the Sherârât, a tribe in Wady Sirhân in the east.

From an elevated point in the road at 12¼ o'clock, several places were visible, which we had formerly seen from Ma'in.³ Their names and sites were quite familiar to us; and we felt that we were approaching Hebron, which we looked upon almost as the end of our journey.

At half-past 12 o'clock we passed a ruin on a hill at the left, called Râfât; and just by the way side was a cistern of rain water hewn in the rock, with a large circular hewn stone near by, intended probably as a curbstone, but never finished. Ten minutes beyond, we came to another place of ruins bearing the same name, Râfât, on the southern slope of a low hill close by the path. These ruins are somewhat extensive, with remains of walls and arches. A square building of large hewn stones is still standing; the doorway has been walled up; but over it is a round arch of good workmanship, separate from the wall, and as it were leaning against it. The building has the appearance of having been once a church.

We reached Semû'a, the first inhabited place in approaching Hebron from this quarter, at 1 o'clock. It is a considerable village, situated on a low hill, with broad valleys round about, not susceptible of much tillage, but full of flocks and herds all in

¹ The name *Anim*, אַנִּים (for אַנִּיָּם) Josh. 15, 50, is the plural of אַנִּי a fountain. The Arabic *Ghuwein* is a diminutive of the form אַנִּי. *Anim* is mentioned in Josh. 1. c. along with Anab and Eshtemoa.—In the former edition I referred el-Ghuwein to the Heb. *Ain*, Josh. 15, 32. 19, 7. The Arabic name corresponds better to *Ain*; but the latter was

ii. 625, 626

in the south of Judah, apparently beyond the ridge above mentioned. The suggestion of *Anim* belongs to Dr Wilson; *Lands of the Bible* I. p. 354.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 494.

³ These places bore as follows: Semû'a N. 20° E. Mejd el-Bi'a N. 4° E. Shuweikeh N. 51° W. Dhoheriyeh N. 57° W. Za'nûtah N. 85° W.

fine order. We halted among the olive trees in the shallow southern valley; and were glad once more to obtain milk and fresh fruits for our noon-day meal. After dinner we walked through and around the village. In several places there are remains of walls built of very large stones, bevelled, but left rough in the middle. We measured several of the stones, which were more than ten feet in length. These old foundations seem to mark this as the site of an extensive ancient town; probably, as I have already shown, the Eshtemoa of the Old Testament.¹

The most conspicuous object, at the present day, is the ruins of a castle; of which however only one square tower remains in any degree perfect. This and the other portions of the walls, are built of well-wrought masonry, with loop-holes; but there are now no arches, except some small ones of modern construction. The work does not look ancient; and might perhaps be referred to the crusaders, were there any evidence that they had outposts and fortresses further south than Hebron. It is most probably of Saracenic or Turkish origin.—We had some difficulty in getting to the top of the tower, as all the doors leading to it were closed; and we could find no place by which to climb up on the outside. The men of whom we inquired, seemed too lazy to take the trouble of showing us the way. At length, however, one man volunteered to take us up; and led the way, clambering up the outside of the wall, and passing over the flat roofs of several houses. He seemed well acquainted with the surrounding country, and proved an intelligent guide.

The prospect from the tower is somewhat extensive; and various places were in sight.² At Sūsieh, we were told, here as well as at Ma'in, is a large extent of ruins, with columns and other indications of an ancient city.³ Our guide also said that at Ma'in and Tawāneh, there are wells of living water belonging to the Jehālin; and other similar ones at Deirāt and Abu Sheb-bān belonging to the Ka'ābineh; while both tribes water at Kurmul in common. This however does not accord with the account given us by the Jehālin themselves.⁴

As we came down from the tower, an old man sat at the foot, playing on the Kemenjeh, a little musical instrument somewhat like a viol, common also in Egypt, and described by Mr Lane.⁵ We left Semŭ'a at 2½ o'clock, descending first gradually into a deep valley running southwest, apparently the great drain of the basin west of Carmel and Zif;⁶ and then ascending to

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 494, n. 4.

² Bearings at Semŭ'a: Ma'in N. 87° E. Sūsieh N. 80° E. Beni Na'im N. 41° E. Yutta N. 30° E. Hebron, not visible, about N. 20° E. Mejd el-Bā'a N. 5° W. Shuweikeh N. 75° W. Dhoheriye N. 77° W.

³ See Vol. I. p. 494.

⁴ See p. 98, above. Comp. Vol. I. p. 499.

⁵ Mann. and Cust. of the Mod. Egyptians, Vol. II. p. 63 sq.

⁶ See above, Vol. I. p. 493.

the higher tract beyond. Here, after about three quarters of an hour, Yutta lay on the right before us, having the appearance of a large modern Muhammedan town, on a low eminence, with trees around. Our guide at Semû'a told us, that there were here old foundations and walls like those in the former place. We have already seen that this is the ancient Juttah of the Old Testament, a city of the priests, which has been lost sight of since the days of Jerome. There seems, therefore, little reason to question the correctness of Reland's suggestion, that this was probably the residence of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and the birthplace of John the Baptist.¹

We were here of course considerably higher than in the plain of Carmel. After 3 o'clock we began to get among bushes, the verdure of which we had long seen from a distance as we approached.

Descending into a cultivated valley at 3.20, we turned off from the road, first west and then W. S. W. to Um el-'Amad, "Mother of Columns," a site of ruins thirty-five minutes distant. Here, on a low round hill, once stood apparently a town of no great size, with houses of hewn stone, the foundations of which still remain. The place takes its name from the ruins of a small church, which had originally four columns on each side of the middle aisle; of those on the south side, three with the architrave are still standing; and one on the north side. They are all of common limestone, of coarse architecture, and of no order. Near by is an excavated tomb or magazine.—This spot is not far from the south side of the great Wady el-Khûlil.²

After a stop of ten minutes, we returned E. N. E. leaving the ruined village Beit 'Amreh on our left, to the Hebron road. This we reached at 4.40, at a point some twenty minutes north of where we had left it; thus losing in all about an hour. We soon came to the great Wady el-Khûlil, here running southwest and quite deep; we reached the bottom at 5 o'clock. On a hill at the right, on the south bank, are the ruins of a village, the name of which we did not learn. Crossing the valley, we entered Wady Kirkis, which comes in from the north; on the left is a Tell with the ruins of a village called Kirkis, which we passed at 5½ o'clock. Our way led up the Wady; which however soon turns more N. N. W. while our path ascended obliquely along the eastern slope to the top of the ridge; where we came

¹ Josh. 15, 55. 21, 16. See above, Vol. I. pp. 491, 494. Also Reland Palest. p. 870. Reland supposes this to be the *ῥόλις* 'Iolôss of Luke 1, 89; being so written by a corruption, or from a softer pronunciation, instead of *ῥόλις* 'Iolôra.

ii. 628, 629

² From Um el-'Amad we took bearings Dhoheriyeh S. 74° W. Mejd el-Ba'a S. 25° E. Beit 'Amreh N. 44° E. This last is the ruins of a large village on a hill near Wady el-Khûlil, perhaps twenty minutes distant from Um el-'Amad.

out at 6 o'clock. Here, close on our right, were the foundations of another ruined village.

At this point begin the fields of grain and the cultivation on this side of Hebron. We now kept along on high ground, around the heads of two cultivated Wadys running off southeast, and at 6.20 reached the top of another ridge, from which we descended into a broad fertile Wady full of fields of wheat, running down into the valley in which Hebron is situated. We fell in with many people returning from their work, some of them with donkeys carrying home loads of sheaves. This showed that the wheat harvest was here just beginning. We came now upon the olive groves and vineyards; and rounding the point of the hill between the two valleys, entered that in which Hebron stands. At length, at 7½ o'clock, we encamped on our old spot on the green slope west of the city.

Our friend Elias was already on the look-out, and soon visited us; and we were glad to learn, in general, that all things remained as they were. The plague in Jerusalem, it was said, had not increased its ravages; although the city continued to be still shut up.

Tuesday, June 5th. Our first care now was, to decide upon our further course from Hebron; and as the journey from Wady Mûsa had occupied less time than we had anticipated, in consequence of our travelling uninterruptedly by night and day; and as much of the week was still before us; we concluded to go from Hebron to Ramleh, and thence to Yâfa or Jerusalem, as the case might be. In Hebron, however, no animals were to be had, except camels or asses; and we therefore despatched Komeh at once on a donkey to Jerusalem, to bring us beasts, money, and our letters; and return as soon as possible. We had occupation enough, and more than enough, for the day, in writing up our journals; which during our late rapid travelling had fallen greatly behind.

In the course of the forenoon, the Sheikhs of the Jehâlin, Defa' Allah and our guide Hussân, came in to receive their money and to take leave. They and the men of Hebron, of whom many visited us, expressed great indignation at the conduct of the Arabs of Wady Mûsa, and paid us many compliments for having extricated ourselves so successfully from their clutches. We distributed a *bakhshish* to Sheikh Hussân and his men, which appeared to satisfy them fully; with the exception of the worthless Muhammed, whom we designedly passed over, and whose disappointment seemed to amuse the Sheikhs. We had also a hint from Elias, that besides all this, a present of ten or twelve dollars to the chief Sheikh would be very proper; but as the suggestion lay very near, that if the said

Sheikh deserved such a present, a similar one would be much more proper in the case of Elias himself, we could not regard the hint as entirely disinterested, and took no further notice of it. Defa' Allah himself put in no such claim.

As to the price of the camels, we could not pay it until our money should arrive from Jerusalem the next day. Meanwhile, there arose a trial of skill between Elias the Christian and Defa' Allah the Bedawy, in arranging to whom the money should be paid over. The Arabs wished to go home, leaving some one to receive the money; and Elias felt entitled to be that receiver, because he said they owed him several thousand piastres; while, for this very reason, the Sheikh did not wish the money to go into his hands. But the policy of Elias towards us was so very crooked, that it gave the Sheikh the advantage over him, however little he might otherwise deserve it. We doubted indeed for a time the story of the debt; though Elias afterwards showed us the written obligation. Our course was plain enough; we had made the bargain with Defa' Allah for his camels; and our duty was to pay the money only to him or to his order. Accordingly, he brought to us a man with witnesses, who testified solemnly, that this person had advanced the money to the Sheikh; and now the Sheikh, in their presence, requested us to pay over the money to the same man, when it should arrive. Elias was very indignant on learning this transaction; declaring that we ought at any rate to pay the money into his hands; because the bargain was made through him, as the agent of the Franks in Hebron.

The man to whom we were to pay the money, was the owner of camels, to whom allusion has formerly been made.¹ He had been a great traveller in his day, and now gave us particular information respecting 'Abdeh in the southern desert, as to which we had hitherto had some doubts. He was quite desirous of furnishing us with camels for our further journey to Damascus and Beirût. But of this offer we had no wish to avail ourselves.

We had now done with camels; and I cannot say otherwise, than that I rejoiced at the circumstance. Admirably adapted to the desert regions which are their home, they yet constitute one of the evils which travelling in the desert brings with it. Their long, slow, rolling or rocking gait, although not at first very unpleasant, becomes exceedingly fatiguing; so that I have often been more exhausted in riding five and twenty miles upon a camel, than in travelling fifty on horseback. Yet without them, how could such journeys be performed at all?

But their home is the desert; and they were made, in the

¹ See Note XXIII, end of Vol. I.

wisdom of the Creator, to be the carriers of the desert. The coarse and prickly shrubs of the wastes, are to them the most delicious food ; and even of these they eat but little. So few are the wants of their nature, that their power of going without food, as well as without water, is wonderful. They never appear to tire, but commonly march as freshly at evening as in the morning. The only instance I remember to the contrary, was yesterday after our long march in returning to Hebron ; when my young camel, on arriving at the place of encampment, seemed weary, and lay down of its own accord in order to be relieved of its load. If they once begin to fail, they soon lie down and die. Thus two camels of our train died between Suez and 'Akabah, which a few hours before had been travelling with full loads. In all our recent journey to Wady Mûsa, the camels fed only upon shrubs, and never tasted grain of any kind ; although once we had them loaded for thirty-six hours, during all which time they browsed only for one hour.

Their well known habit of lying down upon the breast to receive their burdens, is not, as is often supposed, merely the result of training ; it is an admirable adaptation of their nature to their destiny as carriers. This is their natural position of repose ; as is shown too by the callosities upon the joints of the legs, and especially by that upon the breast, which serves as a pedestal beneath the huge body. Hardly less wonderful, is the adaptation of their broad cushioned foot to the arid sands and gravelly soil, which it is their lot chiefly to traverse.

The camel in very many respects is not unlike the sheep. They are a silly timid animal, gregarious, and when alarmed, like sheep they run and huddle all together. They are commonly represented as patient ; but if so, it is the patience of stupidity. They are rather exceedingly impatient ; and utter loud cries of indignation when receiving their loads, and not seldom on being made to kneel down. They are also obstinate and frequently vicious ; and the attempt to urge them forward, is often very much like trying to drive sheep the way they do not choose to go. The cry of the camel resembles in a degree the hollow bleating of the sheep ; sometimes it is like the lowing of neat cattle, or the hoarse squeal of the swine. But the Arabs heed not their cries ; nor does the poor animal find much mercy at their hands. Heavy and galling loads and meagre fare are his appointed portion ; and God has hardened him to them. The camels of the Fellâhin appear to have an easier lot ; they are mostly large, fat, and strong ; while those of the Bedawin in the deserts are comparatively thin and slender.

The singular power of the camel to go without water, seems also to be of the same nature as that of the sheep, at least in its

manifestation ; though in a far greater degree. The dew and the juice of grass and herbs, are sufficient for them in ordinary cases ; though when the pasturage has become dry, the Arabs water their flocks every two days, and the camels every three. The longest trial to which we subjected our camels in respect to water, was from Cairo to Suez, four days ; yet some of them did not drink even then, although they had only the driest fodder.¹ But at all times the camel eats and drinks little, and secretes little ; he is a cold-blooded, heavy, sullen animal, having little feeling and little susceptibility for pain. Thistles and briers and thorns he crops and chews with more avidity than the softest green fodder ; nor does he seem to feel pain from blows or pricks, unless they are very violent.

There is nothing graceful or sprightly in any camel, old or young ; all is misshapen, ungainly, and awkward. The young have nothing frisky or playful ; but in all their movements are as staid and sober as their dams. In this respect, how unlike to the lamb !

As the carriers of the east, the "ships of the desert," another important quality of the camel is their sure-footedness. I was surprised to find them travelling with so much ease and safety up and down the most rugged mountain passes. They do not choose their way with the like sagacity as the mule, or even as the horse ; but they tread much more surely and safely, and never either slip or stumble. In all our long journeys with them, I do not recollect a single instance ; and yet no roads can be worse, than the passes in going and returning between Hebron and Wady Mûsa.

The sounds by which the Arabs govern their camels, are very few and very guttural. The signal for kneeling is not unlike a gentle snore ; and is made by throwing the breath strongly against the palate, but not through the nose. That for stopping, is a sort of guttural clucking, which I could never master.

In accordance with an invitation from Elias, we went to dine with him at 6 o'clock P. M. The room in which he received us was a small one, in the third or main story of the house ; it was his usual sitting room. We found three other guests already present, common Muhammedans of the place. The females of the family did not make their appearance. Dinner was soon served. A large napkin was spread upon the carpet of the room ; on this was placed a coarse wooden stool, supporting a large tray of tinned copper. Bread in thin sheets was laid for each person on the napkin below. On the tray were three dishes of pillaw without meat ; three dishes of mutton stewed with onions ; three dishes of a kind of sausage, stuffed with rice and

¹ See Vol. I. p. 45 sq.

chopped meat ; and a large bowl of lebben or soured milk. The company sat around as we best could, six persons in all. There were no plates ; but each had a wooden spoon and his fingers. We, as strangers, had silver forks, and one silver spoon between us. Our companions seemed more dexterous with their fingers than with the spoon ; the latter was used to lade a little of the lebben upon the rice in the dish, and then to take up a spoonful of the rice thus moistened. This constituted the dinner ; and so soon as each had done eating, he drew back from the table. A single cup of coffee followed, and we soon retired. As we passed down stairs, the younger females of the family were standing near the kitchen in the second story, and returned our salutations, welcoming us back.

The threshing-floors near our tent, which during our former visit were full of barley and lentiles,¹ were now just beginning to be covered with sheaves of wheat. The crops were apparently very good ; and there was a prospect of a prosperous and busy season, during both wheat harvest and the vintage. Indeed, the country in general round about Hebron, exhibited more of industrious cultivation and actual productiveness, than any other equally extensive portion of the mountains of Judah, which we visited.

Wednesday, June 6th. Forenoon. While we were at breakfast early this morning, Komeh returned from Jerusalem, bringing with him horses, money, and also many letters from Europe and America. The breakfast was at once forgotten over the letters ; and we rejoiced to hear of the health and welfare of distant friends, both in the old world and the new. With a burst of grateful emotion, we thanked God, and took courage.

Komeh of course had not entered Jerusalem, but had had communication with Mr Whiting at the gate. The horses too he had found outside ; the owners, on the shutting up of the city, having sent them out to remain in the fields around the walls. We were not particularly delighted thus to get again one of our former Mukârys ; but were easily disposed to make the best of it. We learned too that Mr Lanneau and our fellow traveller were keeping a strict quarantine under a guard in their own house, in order to come out and join us in our tent on our return.

In the course of the morning, Elias came again with the man who was to receive the money for the camels. It was agreed between them, that we should pay the money into the hands of Elias ; and he should immediately deliver it over to the man. This took place accordingly. The only reason for it seemed to be, that Elias might be able to say, the payment was

¹ See p. 83.

made through him as the agent of the Franks. The man paid him back one hundred and fifty piastres in our presence ; which we understood to be his commission on the bargain we had made with the Arabs ; being equal to thirty piastres on each camel. It was probably partly in order to render this pill less unpalatable to Defa' Allah, that Elias had yesterday given us the hint respecting an extra present to that Sheikh.¹

We finished writing up our journals, and made our purchases of provisions for the journey as far as to Nâbulus ; since we could now obtain nothing at Jerusalem. Just as we were preparing to set off, two English travellers came in from Beer-sheba. We had found their tent here yesterday, and learned that they had gone on this excursion. As travellers under such circumstances do not stand upon etiquette, we called at their tent, and found the Rev. Dr. Mill and Col. Hezata, who in returning from India by way of Egypt, had thus taken the route through Palestine. Our present visit was a short one ; but we afterwards had the pleasure of meeting them again at Jerusalem and Beirût ; and also of making in company with them the voyage from Beirût to Alexandria and Smyrna.

¹ I have since learned, that things went on prosperously with our friend Elias for the next two years ; and he obtained the height of his ambition, in being made the agent of the British consul at Jerusalem. But early in the last year (1840) he was seized and thrown into prison, on a charge of peculation. Feeling perhaps that he

had few friends in Hebron, he made application to the American missionaries at Jerusalem, to intercede in his behalf, that his case might be transferred to the authorities of the Holy City. This they were able to effect, through the good will of the Mufti ; and Elias was still lying there in prison at midsummer.

SECTION XIII.

FROM HEBRON TO RAMLEH AND JERUSALEM.

Wednesday, June 6th. Afternoon. In leaving Hebron for Ramleh, we decided first to turn our steps towards el-Burj, the place which we had been formerly prevented from visiting when at Dawâineh. We heard many extravagant reports from the Arabs respecting it ; so that it seemed of sufficient importance to be investigated. We were now ready to set off ; but found great difficulty in obtaining a guide. Several persons offered their services ; but as this seemed to be in Hebron a new species of employment, of which the price was not yet fixed or in any way regulated, they chose to demand at least threefold wages ; apparently too without being well acquainted with the route. We offered the double of what we had formerly paid ; which was refused. Knowing however that we should fall in with persons on the way, or at least should certainly be able to obtain a guide at Dûra, we cut the matter short with the Hebronites ; and loading up our animals, left the city at 1 o'clock alone.

Our way led up the western hill, by the same path which we had formerly descended in coming from Dhoheriyeh. On the top, however, the roads separate ; we took that leading to Dûra, lying more to the right ; and proceeded on a general course about west by south. We now passed through a succession of fine vineyards sloping gently towards the west ; the way being everywhere shut in between their walls. Our new Mukâriyeh had loaded the tent and other luggage so unskilfully, that in passing along this narrow way, the load was first caught against the walls and drawn from the horse ; and again, soon after, it slipped off in going down a steep place. This detained us half an hour. At 2.40, we came upon the head of a valley running westwards, on the north of Dûra, towards the plain. It soon becomes deep ; and looking down through it, we could perceive the distant sand-hills along the coast. Here on our right were the ruined foundations of a village ; and five minutes further, on the left, was a beautiful little spring with a rill crossing our

path. We learned from a shepherd, that it is called Nunkur, and gives its name to the valley. The way continued along the high ground on the south of this Wady; and at a quarter past three, we passed another place of springs at the head of a small branch of the same. Proceeding across some hills, we came upon the fine plain which extends for half an hour on the east of Dûra. It was now covered with fields of wheat, which the peasants were busily engaged in reaping; the wheat harvest having just begun.

Crossing this plain, we reached at 4 o'clock the large village of Dûra, situated on the gradual eastern slope of a cultivated hill, with olive groves and fields of grain all around. On the top of the hill, not far off, is the Mukâm or Wely of Neby Nûh (Noah), which we had formerly seen from Dawâimeh. The village is one of the largest in the district of Hebron, and is properly the chief place; being the residence of the Sheikhs of the house of Ibn 'Omar, who are the head of the Keisiyeh of the mountains, and formerly ruled over the villages.¹ We found here a party of Egyptian soldiers; but saw no traces of antiquity; unless perhaps in a large hewn stone over a doorway, with an ornamental figure cut upon it. Here too we were able to obtain no guide in the village itself; but having rode through it, we found one of the principal Sheikhs with a number of the inhabitants sitting in an olive grove; and laid our request before him. He treated us with great civility; and politely invited us to remain over night; repeating the usual story of the insecurity of the way; but on our declining, he immediately sent with us the servant of his brother, the head Sheikh, who was absent. This man was a Nubian slave, jet black, of a tall commanding figure; he proved a very intelligent and faithful guide, and was of great service to us. He told us, that his master, the chief Sheikh, was the owner of five male and six female slaves, two hundred sheep, three hundred goats, twenty-one neat cattle, three horses, and five camels.

Dûra had recently been the seat of a violent quarrel, in which the inhabitants, although nominally disarmed, seized their weapons and went to killing each other. This of course drew upon them the notice of the government; and it was here that the three governors, whom we had recently met in Hebron, had been for some weeks occupied in compelling the people a second time to deliver up their arms. They had in this way collected from the one party about two hundred guns, and from the other nearly a hundred more, which we had seen brought into Hebron upon camels.² The origin of the quarrel was related to us, as

¹ See above, p. 27.
iii. 2, 3

² See above, p. 80. Comp. p. 57.

follows. A family of Sheikhs, not of the house of Ibn 'Omar, was in power; and one of them was Mutesellim at the time of the last conscription; in which he and his followers so managed, as to take all the men required for soldiers from the opposite party. In consequence of the ill will which thus arose, he caused also the head of the house of 'Omar, 'Abd er-Rahman, to be imprisoned. Upon this, the brother of the latter, the Sheikh whom we saw, went to Damascus to Sherif Pasha, governor of all Syria, and obtained from him the release of the prisoner. The chief himself now repaired to Damascus; and returned as Mutesellim in place of his enemy. In the broils which ensued, the parties took arms; and six men were killed, all of the party now in disgrace. The people of Yŭtta also entered into the quarrel. The government interfered with stern severity; gathered up the arms of both parties; and the followers of the deposed Mutesellim withdrew to el-Burj and other places in the plain. It was probably for this reason, that the Sheikh represented the way to el-Burj as insecure.¹

Although we saw no special traces of antiquity among the buildings in Dŭra, yet the general aspect of the village and of the adjacent country testifies, that the place is one of long standing. There is indeed little reason to doubt of its being the *Adoraim* of the Old Testament, enumerated along with Hebron and Maresha as one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam.² Under the name Adora it is mentioned in the Apocrypha, and also often by Josephus; who usually connects the two places Adora and Maressa as cities of the later Idumea.³ At the same time with Maressa, it was captured by Hyrcanus, and again built up by Gabinius.⁴ After Josephus, there seems to be no mention of the place, either by Eusebius or Jerome or any other writer, down to the present day. Yet the name is quite decisive. The dropping of the first feeble letter is not uncommon; and appears also to have been partially current in this name, even in the days of Josephus; in whose writings we find it in several instances in the form of Dora.⁵

After a delay of forty minutes we left Dŭra at 4.40, proceed-

¹ In 1839, this chief of Dŭra, 'Abd er-Rahman, rose in rebellion against the government; and with his followers got possession of Hebron, and held it for a time. The governor of Damascus marched against him; and compelled him to abandon Hebron and retire to the desert towards 'Ain Jidy. Here he was surrounded by a circle of 2000 men upon the watch; through which he at last cut his way, and escaped to the country east of the 'Arabah.

² 2 Chron. 11, 9.

³ 1 Macc. 13, 20. Joseph. Ant. 8. 10. 1.

ib. 13. 6. 4. ib. 13. 9. 1. ib. 13. 15. 4. ib. 14. 5. 3. B. J. 1. 2. 6. ib. 1. 8. 4.

⁴ Jos. Ant. 13. 9. 1. ib. 14. 5. 3. B. J. 1. 8. 4. Comp. above, p. 67.

⁵ Δῶρα Dora, Ant. 13. 6. 4 in all Mss. Ant. 14. 5. 3 in the text. Δωπεδς Doreus, B. J. 1. 2. 6, and ib. 1. 8. 4 in the Mss. See generally Reland Palest. pp. 547, 739. —Josephus scoffs at Apion for placing the Dora (Dor) of Phenicia in Idumea; which at least serves to show that Apion might have heard of this name there; c. Apion 2. 5.

ing on a southwest course, passing around the head of a Wady which runs off west on the south of Dûra, and crossing a low ridge beyond. Here we had a view of the western sea. At 5 o'clock there was a site of foundations on our left called Khûrsah; and at the same time Dhoheriyeh was visible, bearing S. 35° W. The hills around us were now green with bushes, and the trees higher than we had usually seen. At 5.35, we were opposite to other ruined foundations, called el-Hadb, at the foot of a hill on our left. At 5½ o'clock, we passed between two higher hills on the brow of the steep descent of the mountain, into the head of a Wady called el-Keis, which runs down nearly west into the lower region.¹

We followed down Wady el-Keis, descending very gradually on a western course. The adjacent hills were decked, as before, with bushes and large trees. This proved to be the least steep and rugged, and therefore the most feasible, of all the passes that we travelled up or down the mountains. The path continued all the way in the Wady; which brought us out at 6.40 into the region of lower hills, and valleys, intermediate between the mountains and the great plain, similar to that which we had formerly traversed further north. The hills, where not tilled, were bushy and green, and sprinkled with numerous flocks; the valleys broad and covered with a rich crop of wheat; the fields full of reapers and gleaners in the midst of the harvest; with asses and camels receiving their loads of sheaves, and feeding unmuzzled and undisturbed upon the ripe grain.² These peasants were mostly from Dûra, belonging to the party which had fled, and was now scattered at different places in this region.

Our path led us southwest across a broad basin or plain; around which many of the hills were marked by ruins, showing that this tract of country was once thickly inhabited. Of these, one called Deir el-'Asal was on our right at 6.55; another named Beit er-Rûsh, on the left ten minutes beyond; at 7.30 we had Khûrbet en-Nûsrâny on the same side; and at 7.40 some foundations called Beit Mirsim occupied a Tell on our left.

Here we ascended from the plain, and crossed a ridge running north from this Tell. It was now quite dark. In going up the ascent the guide suddenly demanded a pistol, and running forward fired at an animal, which he supposed to be a hyæna; but without effect. We now came into another valley running about S. by W. and at 8 o'clock reached el-Burj, situated on a very rocky promontory, or long point of a hill project-

¹ From the top of the southern hill I took the following bearings: Yûtta S. 70° E. Semâ'a S. 86° E. Dhoheriyeh S. 28° W.

iii. 5 6

² Ps. 65, 13, "The pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing."

ing towards the west. The ground was so rugged and so strewn with rocks, that it was with great difficulty we could find a place for our tent in the dark. It was a full hour before the tent could be made ready, or anything obtained from the peasants who were sojourning here, but who had not yet returned from the fields. Here our faithful Nubian showed himself active and useful.

Thursday, June 7th. On examining the ruins of el-Burj this morning, our expectations were disappointed. The Arabs had told us much of them; but had given an exceedingly exaggerated report. Indeed, it is impossible to know, in ordinary cases, how much credit is to be attached to their accounts; and the truth often turns out to be as much beyond their reports, as in this instance it fell short of them. The ruins here consist of the remains of a square fortress, about two hundred feet on a side, situated directly upon the surface of the projecting rocky hill above described. On the eastern and southern sides a trench has been hewn out in the rock, which seems once to have extended quite around the fortress. The walls are mostly broken down, and there remain no arches; nor indeed is there any thing to mark distinctly its probable age, or even the character of its architecture. The stones which compose the wall, are not large; and were laid up with small intervening stones to fill out the crevices; or possibly these latter may have been driven in at a later period.¹

Yet the general appearance of the ruins is decidedly that of a Saracenic structure; and I am disposed to regard it as one of the line of strong Saracenic or Turkish fortresses, which appears once to have been drawn along the southern frontier of Palestine. Of these we had now visited four, viz. at Kurmul, Semt'a, Doheriyyeh, and this at el-Burj. When or for what specific purpose those fortresses were erected, we have no historical account. They would seem, at first view, not improbably to have had their origin perhaps in the centuries before the crusades, during the long feuds and bloody wars between the various parties of the Muhammedan empire, or between the rulers of Syria and Egypt. Yet I have been able to find no allusion to any one of them in any writer, whether Christian or Arabian; and it is possible that they may have been constructed even after the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century; when we know that the fortress at Beit Jibrin was again built up.²

We could hear of no other fortress or ruins in all these parts. There was said to have been formerly a tower or castle at el-Khuweilifeh, a place which we could see in the S. S. W. at the

¹ Compare the similar walls at Tefûh, n. 71, above.

² See above, p. 25.

distance of about an hour or an hour and a half, in the edge of the great plain ; but the fortress is now level with the ground, and only a few loose stones and foundations mark its former existence. The place is known, at the present day, chiefly as a well on the road between Dhoheriyeh and Gaza, where the Ti-yâhah Arabs water their flocks. It seems however to have ever been a watering-place of importance ; and as such is mentioned in connection with the movements of Saladin's troops south of el-Hasy, near the close of the twelfth century.¹ We would gladly have gone thither ; but our time did not permit the excursion.

The ruins of el-Burj are situated very near the border of the hilly region towards the western plain ; which latter we could here overlook to a great distance.² Around the castle are some remains of huts, and many caves in the rocks, which seem once to have been inhabited as a sort of village ; and were now usually occupied by a few poor families from Dûra, who come hither to pasture their flocks and raise tobacco. At the present time, other families of the defeated party in Dûra had also taken up their quarters here. The men gathered about us this morning, and were friendly in their demeanour.

Just as we were setting off, however, a great clamour arose, in consequence of the disappearance of one of our pistols. It had been yesterday in the care of our servant Ibrahim, and was now missing ; and our servants and muleteers charged the people, and particularly one man, with having stolen it. This was not improbable ; for these Fellâhin covet nothing so much as arms ; and especially now, when they had been so recently again disarmed. The noise became very great ; and ended at length in a determination on the part of our followers, to take the Sheikh and the suspected person before a higher Sheikh, at the distance of an hour. As however this waste of time would have been a greater loss to us than both the pistols ; and there was moreover no proof, that the one in question had not been lost by Ibrahim himself ; we interfered to stop the quarrel, and proceeded on our journey. Our plan was to keep among the hills as far as to 'Ain Shems, visiting on the way Terkûmieh and Beit Nûsib.

Leaving el-Burj at 6.40, we returned on our road of last evening, for twenty minutes, to the ridge connected with the Tell of Beit Mirsim. Here we diverged from the former path more to the left, going N. N. E. through a region of swelling hills and open Wadys covered with grain. At 7.40 we reached

¹ Bohaeddin Vita Salad. pp. 231, 233. Comp. Vol. I. p. 207.

² From el-Burj we got but few bearings, iii. 8, 9

viz. el-Khuweilfeh about S. 25° W. Um er-Rumâmin about S. 25° W. Za'k S. 60° W. Beit Mirsim N. 15° E.

Um esh-Shūkaf on a broad cultivated ridge, where there was once a village. Here were many threshing-floors thickly covered with grain; but the village itself is level with the ground. A large party of the people from Dûra were now here, threshing out the wheat which they had reaped in the valleys around; living without houses under the open sky, or in cellar-like caves. They inquired quite anxiously, when we (the Franks) were coming to take possession of the country.¹

After a stop of twenty minutes, we passed on; and seeing three paths before us, we called back to the people to inquire which was our road to Idhna. The reply was "Doghry, Doghry!" that is, Straight ahead! although this applied to all the roads before us, just as well as to one, and strictly to neither of them. It was some time before we could get a more definite direction. Indeed, this indefiniteness and want of precision seems interwoven in the very genius of the eastern languages and character. Whenever we inquired the way, the first answer was always the everlasting *Doghry!* Straight ahead! although we perhaps might have to turn at a right angle five minutes afterwards. Having here found our road, we went on, and at 8½ o'clock passed among the ruins of Beit 'Auwa, covering low hills on both sides of the path, exhibiting foundations of hewn stones, from which all that can be inferred is, that here was once an extensive town. At 9.20 there was another site of scattered foundations on the road, called Deir Sâmit. In going up an ascent soon afterwards, the tent and luggage slipped off, and detained us for fifteen minutes. We came at 9.40 to a cistern by the way side, on the level top of a broad ridge. Close by were other scattered ruins, marking the site of el-Môrak; here too were many threshing-floors in full operation. Fifteen minutes further on was another similar site, after descending from the ridge. At 10.20 we fell into the road from Dawâimeh to Idhna; and reached the latter place fifteen minutes later.

Here we halted at the door of our old friend, the Sheikh, whose hospitable breakfast we had formerly left in the lurch.² He now welcomed us with a smile; and when we asked for a guide to the next village, he offered to go with us himself. So "he arose and saddled his ass;" or rather, threw his cloak over the animal; and in ten minutes we were again upon our way; the Sheikh intimating as he mounted, that he hoped we would show him "charity," which means a *bakhshish*. Setting off at 10½ o'clock, our way led down the broad Wady Feranj N. N. E. until 11.10, when we left it running down towards Beit Jibrin,

¹ From Um esh-Shūkaf, Taiyibeh bore N. 60° E. Idhna N. 40° E. Wely seen from Dawâimeh N. 20° W.

² For an account of our former visit to Idhna (Jedna), and the hospitality of the Sheikh, see above, p. 70.

and turned up a branch Wady towards Terkûmieh on a course nearly east. In this we came after ten minutes to a well in the path, called Bir es-Sifala, ten or twelve feet deep with good water, and surrounded by many flocks. At 11.35 our course became E. N. E. and just beyond the head of the valley, we came at 11.50 to Terkûmieh.

This village lies near the foot of the high mountain, on a low rocky ridge or swell, extending from east to west between the head of the Wady we had ascended and another on the north, running down westerly to the Feranj. The usual road from Gaza through Beit Jibrin to Hebron passes along up this northern valley; the distance from Beit Jibrin is reckoned at two and a half hours. Taiyibeh on the mountains bore S. 40° E. We could perceive here no ruins; but the stones of earlier structures have apparently been employed in building the present houses. The name identifies this place with *Tricomias*, an episcopal see of the First Palestine, enumerated in the earliest and latest ecclesiastical *Notitiæ*; but of which, until the present time, there is no further notice whatever. Reland could only conjecture, and with reason, that it was somewhere in the region of Gaza.¹

Here we made a long halt for rest, as the day was exceedingly warm. We spread our carpets beneath the shade of the fig trees, which are here large and fine; and were soon visited by the Sheikh and others of the chief inhabitants, who demeaned themselves kindly and courteously. There was a strong northwest wind, blowing directly from the sea, over the great plain and hills; yet so hot as to afford no refreshment. The thermometer at noon, sheltered behind the trunk of a large fig tree, the coolest spot we could find, stood at 97° F. and exposed to the wind, though still in the shade, it rose to 103°. Indeed the heat, as reflected from the whitish rocks and stones around, was almost insupportable.

We set off again at 2.25, proceeding about N. 7° E. across the Hebron road and the Wady in which it lies; and after passing another swell, came into the head of a broad cultivated valley, Wady es-Sûr, running off in a northerly direction. On the rising ground on the right, and not far from the Wady, lies the site of Beit Nûsib, with ruins, which we reached at 3 o'clock. Here is a ruined tower about sixty feet square, solidly built; some of the larger blocks are bevelled, but the crevices are cobbled with small stones. The interior was dark, and seemed to

¹ Reland Palest. p. 1046. See the ecclesiast. Notit. ib. pp. 215, 224, 225. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 678.—Cedrenus speaks of a Tricomis (Τρικωμῖς) in Palestine, but seems not to have meant this

place; p. 135 ed. Par. Reland ib. p. 1045. Another Tricomias is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitat.* as situated in Arabia Petraea in the region of Areopolis; p. 220 ed. Pancirol. Reland ib. p. 231.

have a solid arch; we attempted to enter, but were driven back by myriads of fleas. Near by are the foundations of a massive building, apparently of greater antiquity, one hundred and twenty feet long by thirty broad; its purpose we could not divine. There were also fragments of columns. Ruined foundations are also seen further south on another mound.¹

I have already had occasion to remark the identity of this place, with the *Nezib* of the plain of Judah, the Nasib of Eusebius and Jerome.² Eusebius sets it at nine Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, and Jerome at seven. The latter seems to be correct; for its distance from Beit Jibrin is apparently a little less than that of Terkümieh, which is reckoned at two and a half hours.

Thus far to-day, our journey had been through the region of hills, between the mountains and the plain, gradually approaching the former. The way had led along valleys and over hills; the Wadys being everywhere filled with grain which the peasants were reaping, or planted with millet; while the hills are mostly given up to pasturage. It is a rich and fertile region, and once teemed with an abundant population; as is shown by the numerous former sites, now in ruins or level with the ground. We were exceedingly struck with the multitude of these mournful tokens of ancient prosperity, so strongly contrasted with the present state of desertion and decay.—At Terkümieh and Beit Nūsib we were very near the steep ascent of the mountains; but for the remainder of the day, our road led down the Wady es-Sūr on a northerly course, which again brought us gradually away from the mountains and nearer to the plain.

We left Beit Nūsib at 3½ o'clock; dismissing our friend the old Sheikh of Idhna with a 'charity,' which, as we were sorry to perceive, seemed to leave on his mind no favourable impression as to our charitable propensities. We followed down the valley, which is broad and arable, with swelling hills, on a course N. N. W. for half an hour, and then N. N. E. At 3.55, we passed a well called Bir el-Kaus; five minutes further was another, Bir el-Ghaul; and at 4.5, we came to a third, Bir es-Sūr, giving name to the Wady. Opposite the first well, on the right, are ruined foundations upon a hill. The bed of the Wady above these wells showed signs of stagnant water, with mud and patches of weeds.

The name of this well and Wady, (es-Sūr,) led us to search on the adjacent hills, which just here are very rocky, in order to

¹ From Beit Nūsib, Beit 'Atāb bore N. 21° E. Jeba'h N. 41° E. Beit Ūla N. 76° E. Terkümieh S. 7° W. Um Burj N. 29° W.

² Josh. 15, 43. Onomast. art. *Neesib*. We had already heard of this place several times; see above, pp. 16, 17, 54, 57.

discover, whether any town or fortress might have once stood here, bearing perhaps the name of Beth-zur; though the chief fortress of that name, one of the strongest of Judea, obviously lay upon the mountains not far distant from Halhul and Hebron.¹ Our search here was in vain; we could perceive no trace of foundations either in the valley or upon the hills; except the ruins of a small well built village on an eminence, about twenty minutes distant in the E. S. E.

We left the well at 4.35; and kept on N. by E. down the valley, which now opens more towards the right, and receives several broad cultivated tributaries, coming from near the mountains. After fifteen minutes we got sight of Beit Nettif, the end of our day's journey, bearing north. At 5½ o'clock, we came to the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, which here crosses the valley and intersects our path; the latter being the usual road from Hebron to Ramleh and Yâfa. This Gaza road is a branch of the ancient way, which we had formerly seen in coming from Jerusalem; the other branch having passed on towards Askelon down Wady el-Mustîr.² At some distance on the right, a ruin was visible on a hill; near which this road was said to lead.

Here, in the broad valley, at the intersection of the roads, stands an immense Butm tree (*Pistacia Terebinthus*), the largest we saw anywhere in Palestine, spreading its boughs far and wide like a noble oak. This species is without doubt the terebinth of the Old Testament; and under the shade of such a tree, Abraham might well have pitched his tent at Mamre.³ The Butm is not an evergreen, as is often represented; but its small feathered lancet-shaped leaves fall in the autumn, and are renewed in the spring. The flowers are small and followed by small oval berries, hanging in clusters from two to five inches long, resembling much the clusters of the vine when the grapes are just set. From incisions in the trunk there is said to flow a sort of transparent balsam, constituting a very pure and fine species of turpentine, with an agreeable odour like citron or jessamine and a mild taste, and hardening gradually into a trans-

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 217, n. Comp. Joseph. Ant. 12. 9. 4. Reland Palast. p. 658.—The Beth-zur of the crusaders and of the following centuries, was at the fountain of St. Philip in Wady el-Werd; see Vol. I. p. 469; also p. 65, above.

² See above, pp. 15, 20.

³ Heb. תְּרֵבִינִי *terebinth*, distinguished from עֵץ *oak*, Is. 6, 13. Hos. 4, 13. In the first passage the Engl. version has *teil* (linden); and in the second *elm*; elsewhere usually *oak*, Gen. 35, 4. Judg. 6,

iii. 14, 15

11. 19. 2 Sam. 18, 9, 14.—For the identity of the Butm of the Arabs with the *Pistacia Terebinthus* of botanists, see Celsii Hierobot. I. pp. 36, 37. This is also confirmed to me by the distinguished naturalist, Prof. Ehrenberg of Berlin, who himself observed it in the east. See generally Linn. Syst. Nat. Edit. 10. Tom. II. p. 1290. Willd. Spec. Plant. T. IV. ii. p. 752. See also a description and drawing in Hayne's Beschr. der Arznei-Gewächse Bd. XIII. 19.

parent gum.¹ In Palestine nothing seems to be known of this product of the Butm. The tree is found also in Asia Minor (many of them near Smyrna), Greece, Italy, the south of France, Spain, and in the north of Africa; and is described as not usually rising to the height of more than twenty feet.² It often exceeded that size as we saw it on the mountains; but here in the plains it was very much larger.

We kept on down Wady es-Sûr, and at 5½ o'clock reached the point where it bends more northwest. We now passed obliquely over the low hill which here runs down between it and the Musûrr; crossed (about a quarter before five) the latter Wady, coming from the east, with the other branch of the ancient road; and further on another smaller Wady, coming from the northeast along under the hill of Beit Nettif. These three unite and form Wady es-Sümt, a fertile and beautiful plain already described.³

We now ascended the steep and high hill on which Beit Nettif lies, and encamped again at 6.25 upon our old spot, now surrounded by threshing-floors full of sheaves of wheat. Our former acquaintances received us with a welcome. We found the place lying higher than we had before supposed; the weather having then been hazy and foggy. The atmosphere was now clear, and we enjoyed a superb sunset; the great western plain lighted up by the mellow beams, and the sun itself lingering to disappear below the glittering waves of the Mediterranean.⁴

Friday, June 8th. The object of our journey to-day, was to be a visit to the ruins of 'Ain Shems; to search for the long lost Ekron; and then reach Ramleh. We rose early, and were not comforted by the prospect of a very warm and oppressive day. The thermometer stood in our tent at 76° F. but rose to 83° in the open air before sunrise. We had engaged over night a guide for 'Ain Shems and 'Akir; but although we were ready at half past 4 o'clock, yet the guide did not make his appearance; and it was therefore 4.55 when we at length set off. The sun was rising gloriously; and the numerous herds and flocks of the village, wending their way to their pastures among the hills, presented an animating and pleasing view.

From Beit Nettif, 'Ain Shems bears N. 12° W. and our way led in that direction down the hill; and then wound along and across several small Wadys all running towards the left, and over the low ridges between. Yarmûk, Neby Bûlus, and Beit el-Jemâl, all ruins, lay at our left on or among the hills. At

¹ Terebinthia Cypria, seu pistacia, seu de Chio.—This is usually adulterated, and is now seldom found in the shops.

² Hayne l. c. Ehrenberg, in the course of his travels, found the Butm on the

north coast of Africa and also around Mount Lebanon.

³ See above, p. 20.

⁴ For our former visit to Beit Nettif, see above, pp. 15–20.

length we came into a broader Wady, coming from the left and running north, which apparently receives higher up the smaller ones we had crossed. In this valley was a half stagnant muddy brook, and a well called Bir en-Nahl, in which the turbid water was even with the surface of the ground. Here at 6.10 we stopped half an hour for breakfast; the site of 'Ain Shems being within view, only fifteen minutes distant, bearing N. 30° E. We reached it at length at 6.55, in an hour and a half from Beit Nettif.

The name 'Ain Shems implies a fountain; but there is now here no water of any kind, thus called. The place to which the Arabs give this name, consists of the ruins of a modern Arab village of moderate size, with a Wely, all evidently built up with ancient materials. But just on the west of this village, upon and around the plateau of a low swell or mound between the Sūrār on the north and a smaller Wady on the south, are the manifest traces of an ancient site. Here are the vestiges of a former extensive city, consisting of many foundations and the remains of ancient walls of hewn stone. The materials have indeed been chiefly swallowed up, in the probably repeated constructions of the modern village; but enough yet remains to make it one of the largest and most marked sites, which we had anywhere seen. On the north, the great Wady es-Sūrār, itself a plain, runs off first west and then northwest into the great plain; while on the south, the smaller Wady comes down from the southeast, and uniting with the one down which we had travelled, they enter the Sūrār below the ruins. Beyond this latter valley, on a high point of the northern ridge, is seen a Wely bearing N. 20° E. marking the site of Sūr'ah, the ruins of which lie just on the other side below the brow.¹

Both the name and the position of this spot, seem to indicate the site of the ancient Beth-shemesh of the Old Testament. That city is described by Eusebius and Jerome, as seen from the road leading from Eleutheropolis to Nicopolis (Amwās), at ten Roman miles from the former city; and as they assign nearly the same distances from Eleutheropolis to Zorah, Zanoah, and Jarmuth, it is obvious that Beth-shemesh lay in the vicinity of these places. And so we had already found it, surrounded by Zānt'a in the east, Sūr'ah in the N. N. E. and Yarmūk in the southwest. Indeed, from the existence of these names, and their coincidence with the accounts of Eusebius and Jerome, we had been able chiefly to trace out and fix the site of Eleutheropolis at Beit Jibrin.² The words Beit (Beth) and 'Ain are so

¹ Other bearings from 'Ain Shems were:
Būtāsheh N. 45° W. Um Jina S. 82° W.
Kheishām S. 50° W. Beit el-Jemāl S. 8° W.

² See the details as given above, pp. 20, 58.

very common in the Arabic names of Palestine, that it can excite no wonder should there be an exchange, even without any obvious ground. In the same manner, the ancient Beth-shemesh (Heliopolis) of Egypt, is known in Arabian writers as 'Ain Shems; although at present the name is applied specifically, only to a well at some distance from its site.¹

Beth-shemesh lay on the border of Judah, and belonged to that tribe; although it is not enumerated in the list of its cities, except as having been assigned from it to the priests.² In the days of Samuel, it became celebrated for the return of the ark from the Philistines, and the trespass of the inhabitants against the same; for which they were smitten of the Lord.³ In later times it was the residence of one of Solomon's twelve purveyors, and became the scene of the defeat of Amaziah king of Judah by Jehoash king of Israel; it was also conquered by the Philistines from king Ahaz with other cities of the plain.⁴ We hear no more of Beth-shemesh until the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who incorrectly assign it to the tribe of Benjamin;⁵ and from their age onward, it appears to have remained unknown or forgotten until the present day.⁶

The Ir-shemesh once mentioned on the border of Dan and Judah, seems without much question to have been the same with Beth-shemesh.⁷ Of Eshtaol, which also lay in the vicinity, we could find no trace.⁸

¹ Jer. 43, 13. See Vol. I. p. 25.

² Josh. 15, 10, 21, 16. 1 Chr. 6, 59. Not mentioned in the valley, with Eshtaol and Zorah and other cities which lay around it, Josh. 15, 33-35.

³ 1 Sam. 6, 9-20. Joseph. Ant. 6. 1. 3. Josephus does not elsewhere mention Beth-shemesh.

⁴ 1 K. 4, 9.—2 K. 14, 11, 12. 2 Chr. 25, 21.—2 Chr. 28, 18.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Bethsamia*.

⁶ Brocardus indeed mentions it; but in a manner so confused, as to show that he is writing from no personal knowledge, and only from theory; c. 10. p. 186. He places Gath four leagues south of Joppa (near Jabneh), and Beth-shemesh two leagues south of Gath, which of course brings it near the sea. Then he makes Accaron (Ekron) four leagues west of Beth-shemesh. The absurdity is so glaring, that one must suspect a corruption in the text.

⁷ Josh. 19, 41.—In Josh. 15, 10 we find the northern border of Judah running by Beth-shemesh, Timnah, Ekron, and Baalah, to the sea; and of these places Beth-shemesh and Ekron are expressly assigned to Judah; vs. 45, 46, 21, 16. In Josh. 19, 41-44 we have the like places along 'the coast' of Dan; Ir-shemesh, Timnathah,

Ekron, Baalath. Of course Ir-shemesh (Beth-shemesh) and Ekron can only be here mentioned as marking the border; and not as originally cities of Dan, though afterwards assigned to that tribe. Further, in the same passage, we find Ir-shemesh, Shaalabin, and Ajalon (אֵילָן) placed together; and in 1 Kings 4, 9 we have also Shaalbim, Beth-shemesh, and Ajalon (אֵילָן). These coincidences seem most decisively to identify Ir-shemesh and Beth-shemesh.—This identity is rejected by Reland, on the ground of a remark of Jerome, Comm. in Ezek. 48, 21, 22; where in speaking of the territory of Dan he enumerates "Ailon et Selebi et Emmaus, quæ nunc appellatur Nicopolis;" as if for Ajalon, Shaalbim, and Beth-shemesh, as above. But there is here no evidence that Jerome was even thinking of Beth-shemesh at all; and if he did thus actually confound it with Emmaus, it probably arose from the form given to it by the Seventy, viz. πόλις Σαμμαύς (Σαμές, Shemesh), Josh. 19, 41; which he took for Ἀμμαούς or Ἐμμαούς. See Reland Palæst. pp. 168, 656. Münchner Gel. Anzeigen 1836. No. 245. pp. 926, 927.

⁸ Josh. 15, 33. 19, 41. Judg. 14, 31. Onomast. art. *Eshtaol*.

We left the site of 'Ain Shems at 7.10, and crossing obliquely the plain of the Sūrār N. N. W. reached in ten minutes its water-bed near the northern hills. Here is a well, about fifteen feet deep to the surface of the water, called not Bir Shems nor 'Ain Shems, as one might expect, but Bir eth-Themed. The path now ascends gradually and obliquely the hill of Sūr'ah in the same direction, which here declines gently towards the west; it is the same spur of the mountains, which I have already described, as running out along the Sūrār to the plain.¹

Near the top, at 7½ o'clock, we had on our right the widespread ruins of Rāfāt. Here we could see the Sūrār running off northwest and then N. N. W. through the plain, a broad low tract of exceedingly fertile land, skirted by low hills and gentle swells. But I do not remember that we saw any appearance of another like valley coming into it from the south; as would probably have been the case, did Wady es-Sūmt actually thus form a junction with it, as supposed.² We now descended into a valley among hills; where at 8 o'clock we stopped a moment at a small spring of running water.

We very soon came out into the great plain, properly so called; although it is here more undulating than we had seen it further south towards Gaza, and might even be called hilly. We still kept on N. N. W. At some distance on our right, a long line of rocky hills, a spur from the mountains, extended out westwards into the plain. The country was mostly tilled, though not fully. At half past eight, we passed the ruins of a village called Beit Fār; and at 9 o'clock had the large village of Khulda on a hill ten minutes distant on our right, apparently connected with the spur just described. Fifteen minutes later we came to a large well in a valley among the swells, fitted up with troughs and reservoirs, with flocks waiting around. Here two men were drawing water "with the foot," by means of a large reel, as already described, pulling the upper part towards them with their hands, and pushing with their feet upon the lower part.³ We stopped here ten minutes for our animals to drink. At a short distance on the northeast, perhaps eight or ten minutes, was the large village of Saidôn.

Setting off again at 9.25, we soon left the Ramleh road, which keeps on in the same course, and turned more to the left, about N. W. by W. towards the village of 'Akir. After a few minutes, we had a distinct view of Ramleh. At 10 o'clock there was a spring in a valley on our path; and ten minutes beyond it a miserable little village on the left, called el-Mansûrah. We

¹ See above, p. 5.

² Ibid.

iii. 20 21

³ See above, p. 22; and Note II, end of Vol. I.

now travelled across a wide tract of low flat land, the level bed of a broad Wady coming from the northeast and passing on to join the Sūrār, as it crosses the plain and obliquely approaches the sea. Before us, at the distance of an hour or more, was a short line of hills running nearly parallel with the coast, which shut out the region of Yebna from our view. The Sūrār passes behind these hills, being first joined on their left by the Wady in which we now were; and there takes the name of Wady Rûbin. 'Akir lies on the rise of land on the northwestern side of the Wady we were crossing; and as we drew near, the path led through well tilled gardens and fields of the richest soil, all upon the low tract, covered with vegetables and fruits of great variety and high perfection. We reached 'Akir at 11 o'clock.

Here we made a mid-day halt of several hours, beneath some trees fully exposed to the wind, on the north of the village. Our fears of a day of oppressive heat were more than verified. There was a slight haze before the sun; and the wind was blowing strongly from the northwest directly from the adjacent sea; yet it seemed charged with a glow, as if it came from a scorched desert. The thermometer sheltered behind the trunk of a tree stood at noon at 105° F. and held in the sun rose only to 108°. The shade of the scattered olive trees was so small and slight, that it availed us little as a protection against the sun's rays.

'Akir lies not far from the line of hills above described, which here bound the plain on the west, and behind which the Sūrār passes on obliquely to the sea.¹ It is of considerable size; but in the village itself we could perceive nothing to distinguish it from other modern villages of the plain. Like them it is built of unburnt bricks or mud; and exhibits to the eye of the traveller, no marks of antiquity. We were unable to fix the direction of Yebna; and Ramleh was hidden by the intervening swells.²

There seems no reason for doubt, that 'Akir answers to the ancient Ekron. The radical letters of the Arabic name are the same as those of the Hebrew; and the position too corresponds

¹ Other places bore from 'Akir as follows: Sūr'ah S. 50° E. El-Mansûrah S. 45° E. Kheishûm S. 33° E. Tell Zakariya S. 25° E. Tell es-Sâfi'eh S. 1° W. Kûtrah S. 50° W. Mûghâr S. 65° W.

² Yebna is situated on a small eminence on the west side of the Wady Rûbin, an hour or more distant from the sea; Irby and Mangles p. 182. [57.] Corresp. d'Orient, V. pp. 373, 374. According to Scholz, there are here the ruins of a former church, afterwards a mosk; Reise p. 146. Between it and the sea are the ruins of a Roman bridge over the water of Wady Rûbin, with high arches, built of very large stones;

Irby and Mangles *ibid.* Scholz p. 147. On the eastern side of the Wady, on a small eminence, is the tomb or Wely of Rûbin (Reuben) the son of Jacob, from which the Wady here takes its name; it is mentioned by Mejr ed-Din (in 1495) as having been formerly a great place of pilgrimage for the Muhammedans, and it still remains so in a degree; Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 138. Irby and Mangles p. 183.—For the ancient Jabneh, see Reland Pal. p. 822. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 587. The crusaders built here the fortress Ibelin; see above, p. 66, n. 5.

to all we know of Ekron. That city was the northernmost of the five cities of the lords of the Philistines ; and was situated upon the northern border of Judah ; while the other four cities lay within the territory of that tribe.¹ Eusebius and Jerome describe it as a village of Jews between Azotus (Ashdod) and Jamnia, towards the east ; that is to say, to the eastward of a right line between those places ; and such is the actual position of 'Âkir relative to Esdûd and Yebna at the present day.*

The ancient Ekron was at first assigned to Judah as upon its border ; but was afterwards apparently given to Dan, though conquered by Judah.² It afterwards became remarkable in connection with the capture of the ark by the Philistines, which was sent back from Ekron upon a new cart drawn by two milch-kine ; and these being left to their own course took the "straight way" to Beth-shemesh, the nearest point of entrance to the mountains of Judah.⁴ In coming therefore from 'Ain Shems to 'Âkir we might almost be said to have followed the track of the cart, on which the ark was thus sent back. After David's victory over Goliath in Wady es-Sûmt, the Philistines were pursued to Ekron ; and at a later day the prophets utter denunciations against it along with the other cities of the Philistines.⁵ But from that time onward, except the slight notice of Eusebius and Jerome above cited, no further mention of Ekron appears until the time of the crusades. This great plain and the cities of the adjacent coast, were the scenes of many of the exploits of the warriors of the cross ; and in the writings of that age the name of Accaron (Ekron) is spoken of, as still extant in the region where we now find 'Âkir.*

Since that time until the present day, Ekron has again been utterly overlooked by all Frank travellers ; although several must have passed very near to it on their way between Esdûd and Ramleh.⁷ Yet the Christians of both Gaza and Ramleh have the tradition, that 'Âkir is the ancient Ekron ; and the Muslim Sheikh of the village itself, told us of his own accord that such was the belief among the inhabitants. The absence of all remains of antiquity may be accounted for by the circumstance,

¹ Josh. 13, 3. 15, 11. 47.

² Onomast. art. *Accaron*.

³ Josh. 15, 11. 45. 19, 43. Judg. 1, 18. Joseph. Ant. 5. 1. 22. ib. 5. 2. 4.

⁴ 1 Sam. 5, 10. 6, 1-18.

⁵ 1 Sam. 17, 52.—Jer. 25, 20. Am. 1, 8. Zeph. 2, 4. Zech. 9, 5. 7. Comp. above, p. 66 and n. 4.

⁶ King Baldwin marched in A. D. 1100 from Jerusalem to Askelon, through Azotus (Esdûd), "inter quam et Jamniam quæ super mare sita est, Accaron dimissit. 23. 24

mus;" Fulch. Carnot. 23, in Gest. Dei p. 404. Brocardus also says the name was still extant at a place four leagues west of Beth-shemesh ; c. 10. p. 186. Marin. Sanut. p. 165. R. Parci also mentions Ekron as east of Jabneh ; see Zunz in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 441.

⁷ So Von Troilo in A. D. 1666, p. 349. Volney, Voyage II. p. 310. Richardson in 1818, Travels II. p. 207. Irby and Mangles in the same year passed more to the left, by Yebna ; Travels p. 182. [56, 57.]

that probably the ancient town, like the modern villages of the plain, and like much of the present Gaza, was built only of unburnt bricks. Esdūd, as to the identity of which with Ashdod, no one doubts, has in like manner no remains of antiquity ; and ancient Gath, for aught we know, is swept from the face of the earth.¹ The same Sheikh, however, an intelligent man, informed us, that here at 'Akir, and in the adjacent fields, they often discover cisterns, the stones of hand-mills, and other relics of the former place.

The great plain, in the region where we had now crossed it, like the same in the direction of Gaza, is entirely given up to the cultivation of grain, chiefly wheat and barley ; and the crops were very fine. Many fields of millet were also interspersed, with their beautiful green ; and we noticed also sesame in many places. The peasants were now in the midst of the wheat-harvest, or rather were near its close ; the reapers were yet busy in the fields, followed as usual by female gleaners almost as numerous. We saw also many women reaping. In some places the poorer peasants, for want of neat cattle, were treading out their grain with donkeys ; and we often saw the women beating out with a stick the handfuls they had gleaned.² In one instance a poor woman was pounding out her gleanings with a stone.

We left 'Akir at 2.50 for Ramleh, on a course about N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. Between these places, the plain is less fertile, and is comparatively little cultivated. The approach to Ramleh is over a tract of heavy sand, which continues even among the olive groves and gardens lying around the town upon this side. We reached Ramleh at twenty minutes before 5 o'clock.

With some difficulty we found our way to the house of 'Abūd Murkus (Marcus) the American consular agent, an upright wealthy Arab of the Greek church, whose acquaintance we had already made at Jerusalem. He and his eldest son were absent at Yāfa ; but we were received with great kindness by the family. The second son, a young man of eighteen or twenty years, did the honours of the house ; and conducted us to an "upper room," a large airy hall, forming a sort of third story upon the flat roof of the house. As we entered, the mistress of the family came out of her apartment and welcomed us ; but we saw no more of her afterwards. In our large room, we had opportunity to arrange our toilette a little, for the first time, after three weeks of dwelling in a tent and travelling mostly in deserts. Sherbet was brought, which in this instance was lemonade ; and then coffee. Our youthful host now proposed, in the genuine style of ancient oriental hospitality, that a servant

¹ See above, p. 83, n. 2. Ibid. pp. 66, 67. ² See above, p. 45. Ruth 2, 17.

should wash our feet. This took me by surprise ; for I was not aware that the custom still existed here. Nor does it, indeed, towards foreigners ; though it is quite common among the natives. We gladly accepted the proposal, both for the sake of the refreshment and of the scriptural illustration. A female Nubian slave accordingly brought water, which she poured upon our feet over a large shallow basin of tinned copper ; kneeling before us, and rubbing our feet with her hands, and wiping them with a napkin. It was one of the most gratifying minor incidents of our whole journey.¹

While dinner was preparing, we had time to walk out and take a view of the town ; and also to ascend the lofty tower which is seen far and wide, as the traveller approaches Ramleh. Our host accompanied us, and also a younger brother, a lad of twelve or fourteen years of age. The town lies upon the eastern side of a broad low swell in the sandy though fertile plain ; and the streets have therefore a slight declivity towards the east. Like Gaza and Yâfa, it is surrounded by olive groves, and gardens of vegetables and delicious fruits ; the latter enclosed by impenetrable hedges of prickly pear. Occasional palm trees are also seen, as well as the Kharûb and the sycamore. The streets are few ; the houses are of stone, many of them large and well-built. There are several mosks, one or more of which are said to have once been churches ; and there is here one of the largest Latin convents in Palestine, which however we did not visit.² The vaulted cisterns on the north of the town, we also did not see.³ The place is supposed to contain about three thousand inhabitants ; of whom nearly one third part are Christians, chiefly of the Greek rite, and a few Armenians. The great caravan road between Egypt and Damascus passes through Ramleh.

The chief object of our attention was the tower above mentioned, which is situated some ten minutes west of the town, on the highest part of the swell of land. It stands in the midst of the ruins of a large quadrangular enclosure, which has much

¹ Gen. 18, 4 "Let a little water, I pray you, be brought, and wash your feet." 19, 2. Luke 7, 44. Comp. 1 Sam. 25, 41. John 13, 5.

² Most Frank travellers stop at this convent. As such, it is not older than the 18th century. Before that time there was here only a *hospitium* or Khân for pilgrims, purchased or built by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy after A. D. 1420, and served by the monks of the Latin convent at Jerusalem ; though it was often left untenanted. So Gumpenberg, Tucher, Breydenbach, and Fabri, Reissb. pp. 442, 667, 104, 240. Quaresmus II. pp. 7, 8. Coiii. 26, 27

tovic. p. 142. B. de Salignaco found it deserted in 1522 ; and also Sandys in 1610 ; de Salign. Tom. VI. c. 8. Sandys p. 118. So late as 1697, Morison describes it as "un hospice passablement bien bati et commode ;" p. 548. According to Korte, the present building was erected not long before his day, i. e. in the early part of the 18th century ; Reise pp. 47, 48. Comp. Von Egmond u. Heyman I. p. 310.—The monks make their convent occupy the site of the house of Nicodemus. Quaresmus l. c. etc. etc.

³ Pococke II. i. p. 4. Prokesch p. 38.

the appearance of having been once a splendid Khân; indeed the arches on the southern and eastern sides are still standing. Under the middle of the area, or perhaps nearer the southern side, are extensive subterranean vaults, resting on arches of solid masonry, and lighted from above. These are of good workmanship, and perfectly dry and clean; and have very much the aspect of storehouses or magazines for the deposit of the merchandise, which might once have passed through the Khân.

The tower is towards the northwest part of the enclosure; and is at present wholly isolated, whatever may have been its original construction. It is of Saracenic architecture, square, and built of well hewn stone; its windows are of various forms, but all with pointed arches. The corners of the tower are supported by tall slender buttresses; while the sides taper upwards by several stories to the top. The exterior reminded me not a little of the ancient Red tower in Halle; though this of Ramleh is more slender and graceful, and also more ornamented. It is built of solid mason-work, except a narrow staircase within, winding up to the external gallery. This latter is also of stone, and is carried quite around the tower a few feet below the top. We judged the altitude of the whole tower to be about one hundred and twenty feet.¹

From the top of this tower there is a wide view on every side, presenting a prospect rarely surpassed in richness and beauty. I could liken it to nothing but the great plain of the Rhine by Heidelberg; or better still, to the vast plains of Lombardy, as seen from the cathedral of Milan and elsewhere. In the east, the frowning mountains of Judah rose abruptly from the tract of hills at their foot; while on the west, in fine contrast, the glittering waves of the Mediterranean Sea associated our thoughts with Europe and distant friends. Towards the north and south, as far as the eye could reach, the beautiful plain was spread out like a carpet at our feet, variegated with tracts of brown from which the crops had just been taken, and with fields still rich with the yellow of the ripe corn, or green with the springing millet. Immediately below us, the eye rested on the immense olive groves of Ramleh and Lydda, and the picturesque towers and minarets and domes of these large villages. In the plain itself were not many villages; but the tract of hills and the mountain side beyond, especially in the northeast, appeared as if studded with them; and as now seen in the reflected beams of the setting sun, they seemed like white villas and hamlets among the dark

¹ Prokesch says, there are 128 steps of nine inches each; which together with the basement and the part above the gallery, would not differ materially from our estimate. But the specification of nine inches

to each step cannot be relied on as exact. Reise, p. 39. Scholz gives the number of steps at 125; Reise p. 148. Von Egmond and Heyman at 122; Reizen I. p. 312.

hills; presenting an appearance of thriftiness and beauty, which certainly would not stand a closer examination.

We here obtained a large number of bearings, and might have taken many more. Our young host was well acquainted with the region around; but he was now so taken up with examining distant objects through our telescopes, that he did not always stop to look at a place before he told its name. For this reason, there may be doubt as to the accuracy of some of the names of places which we wrote down, especially of the minor and remoter ones; though in general they are correct. We wished much to find the direction of Yâfa; which lies three hours distant, somewhere towards the N. N. W. But we were not able to arrive at any certainty respecting it; as nothing was here visible to mark its site. Through one of the gaps, between the peaks of the eastern mountains, we could distinguish what we held to be the high point and mosk of Neby Samwil, with which we were already well acquainted; and in the south several known places were visible, serving to connect our former routes with Ramleh.¹

Of the places recorded in the note, Beit Dejan and el-Mejdel are at least ancient names;² and Beit Nebâla is perhaps a scriptural one.³ Besides these, Jimzu and Yâlo are likewise ancient; and we saw them more fully on our way to Jerusalem. Kubâb, or as it is likewise called, Beit Kubâb, and also Lâtrôn,⁴ are on the direct road to the latter city; the former on one of the first hills two hours from Ramleh; and the latter an hour beyond at the foot of Wady 'Aly, through which the road ascends, though still an hour from the "Gate of the valley," as it is called. 'Amwâs, the ancient Emmaus or Nicopolis, we could not make out; it was said to be ten or fifteen minutes north of Lâtrôn towards Yâlo.⁵

We lingered upon the tower until near sunset, enjoying the

¹ The following are the bearings from the tower of Ramleh, beginning in the N. W. and proceeding towards the right: Beit Dejan 1½ hour distant N. 5° W. Sifti'yeh N. 11° E. el-Mejdel N. 35° E. el-Muzeiri'ah N. 40° E. Kûleh N. 46° E. Deir Tureif N. 53° E. Ludd N. 57° E. Beit Nebâla N. 64° E. Deir Abu Mesh'al N. 68° E. Na'lin N. 76° E. Budrus N. 80° E. Dâniyâl E. Râs Kerker S. 86° E. Jimzu S. 82° E. Neby Samwil S. 66° E. 'Anâbeh S. 65° E. Yâlo S. 55° E. el-Kubîb S. 54° E. Lâtrôn S. 46° E. Kheishâm S. 15° E. Tell Zakariya S. 9° E.

² The form Beit Dejan is obviously the Hebrew Beth-Dagon; but no place of that name occurs in Scripture in this region. There was a Beth-Dagon in the plain of

Judah further south, Josh. 15, 41; and another in the tribe of Asher, Josh. 19, 27. Eusebius and Jerome however place a large village called Caphar Dagon (Arabic Kefr Dejan) in the region between Diospolis and Jamnia; of which perhaps this name and place are the remains. Onomast. art. *Beth Dag-n*.—The form el-Mejdel is the Heb. Migdol, Greek Magdala; but Scripture mentions no place of that name in these parts.

³ Is this perhaps the Neballat of Neh. 11, 34, mentioned along with Lod or Lydda?

⁴ For Lâtrôn see in Vol. III. Sect. III, under April 27th, 1852.

⁵ For 'Amwâs, see the reference in the preceding note.

surpassing beauty, in which the mountains of Judah and the plain of Sharon revealed themselves before us. Returning to the house of our friends, we found their hospitality meantime had not been dormant; a dinner of many dishes was awaiting us, the most abundant indeed which we anywhere met with in Palestine. 'Abûd Murkus himself returned about 9 o'clock; bringing word that the plague had now disappeared in Yâfa, and that the town (which like Jerusalem had been long shut up) was to be open on Sunday.¹ Several neighbours came in to learn the news; and carpets and mats were spread for the company in the open air on the flat roof, adjacent to the room we occupied. Here we revelled in the delightful coolness of the evening, after the sultry heat of the day.

The household establishment of our host was large, and very respectable in its appointments. Of the many females it contained, we saw none except the mother of the family, who welcomed us at our entrance, and the Nubian slave who washed our feet. Indeed, although Christians, the customs of oriental life seemed to prevail here in some force, and the females were sedulously kept out of view. Whenever we passed down stairs from our upper room, word was given below, in order that they might get out of the way. The eldest son was married, and his wife lived as a daughter in the family. This indeed is the usual custom, the remains of ancient patriarchal usage; and it is not unfrequent, that parents thus see several children and many grandchildren clustering around them, and their household increasing so as to include what, in other circumstances, would form six or eight families. For this reason, any estimate of the population of a place in Palestine from the number of households, must rest upon no solid foundation.

It was near 11 o'clock before the company separated, so that we could lay ourselves down to rest; although we were excessively fatigued from the heat and burden of the day. During the evening, we sent off Komeh and one Mukâry with the tent and luggage to Jerusalem, by the direct road over Kuryet el-'Enab; in order that the tent might be ready to receive Mr Lanneau and our companion, whose quarantine would expire in the morning. We ourselves concluded to take the great ancient road over Lydda and Beth-horon; intending also to set off very early, as there was a prospect of another sultry day. Our servants, as being Muhammedans, were not permitted to enter the house, except at our express call; and it was with some difficul-

¹ We learned nothing more of Yâfa, except what has often been told. The population, as we heard from several quarters, is estimated at about 7000 souls; of whom nearly one half are Christians, including

Greeks, Greek Catholics, Armenians, and a few Latins. The mean geographical position of Yâfa is Lat. 32° 03' 06" N. and Long. 34° 44' 24" E. from Greenwich. See Berghaus' *Memoir* p. 26.

ty, that we obtained permission for Ibrahim to sleep before our door, in order that he might be at hand in the morning.

We would gladly ourselves have slept upon the roof beneath the open sky, in preference to the close air of any room; but this privileged spot was already in the possession of others. Beds were spread for us in our upper room, consisting of thick quilts underneath, and another quilt of silk in which to wrap ourselves. But the night beneath a roof was hot; and the house like all others in Palestine not free from fleas; so that I did nothing but toss about in feverish half slumber all night. Here my companion's long experience in similar oriental annoyances, gave him the advantage; and his rest was more tranquil than mine. I several times rose and looked out through the lattices, as the bright moonlight fell upon the group of sleepers on the roof, and envied their lot.

Let us now look out for a moment at the historical questions connected with er-Ramleh.

The name er-Ramleh¹ signifies "the Sand;" and the place is first mentioned under this name by the monk Bernard, about A. D. 870.² Adamnanus, about A. D. 697, makes no allusion to it; although he speaks of the memorials of St. George at Lydda.³ All this tallies well with the account of Abulfeda, drawn from earlier Arabian writers, that Ramleh is not an ancient city, but was founded by Suleimân, son of the Khalif 'Abd el-Melek, in the early part of the eighth century, after he had destroyed Ludd. A palace of 'Abd el-Melek had already occupied the spot.⁴ William of Tyre and Marinus Sanutus give the same testimony.⁵ The place soon became flourishing, and is celebrated by Arabian writers.⁶ Edrisi about A. D. 1150, calls Ramleh and Jerusalem the two principal cities of Palestine; and describes the former as pleasant and well peopled, with markets and commerce and revenue.⁷ Before the time of the crusades, it was surrounded by a wall with a castle and twelve

¹ We adopt the form er-Ramleh as being already common. Written strictly according to our system of orthography, it would be *er-Râmleh*.

² Bernardus de Loc. Sanct. 10, "Deinde venerant Alarixa (el-'Arish); de Alarixa in Ramula, juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii Martyris."

³ Adamnanus 3. 4. p. 521. ed. Mabillon.

⁴ Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 79. 'Abd el-Melek and his two sons el-Welid and Suleimân, held the throne from A. D. 705 to 720.

⁵ Will. Tyr. 10. 17, "Est autem Ramulii. 32-34

la civitas—quam post tempora seductoris Mahumeth, ejus successores Arabum principes, veteres tradunt historie, fundasse." Marin. Sanut. p. 152, "Hanc civitatem ædificaverunt Arabes prope Lyddam, quum peregrini primo iverunt ad partes illas post tempora Mahumeti."

⁶ Some place here the tomb of Lokman the Wise; see d'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. art. *Ramlah*.

⁷ Edrisi par Jaubert, p. 339. Abulfeda l. c. Mejr ed-Dîn in Fundgr. des Orient II. p. 135.

gates ; and with each of the four principal gates, towards Yâfa, Askelon, Jerusalem, and Nâbulus, there were connected markets and a mosk.¹

The crusaders in A. D. 1099, on their march from Antioch to Jerusalem, having celebrated the day of Pentecost at Cæsarea, directed their course to Lydda, where they found the splendid tomb and church of St. George. Count Robert of Flanders, with five hundred knights, was sent forward to reconnoitre the neighbouring Ramleh ; and found the gates open and the city deserted of inhabitants. The host of crusaders followed, and took up their quarters in Ramleh for three days, recruiting themselves with the abundance of provisions, which the inhabitants had left behind in their flight. Here they celebrated a festival to St. George, who had already aided them in the battle near Antioch ; and with due formality installed him as their patron saint. His tomb at Lydda was made the seat of the first Latin bishopric in Palestine ; and Robert, a priest from Rouen in Normandy, was on the spot appointed bishop, and received tithes from the pilgrims. The new see was endowed with the cities of Ramleh and Lydda, and the lands belonging to them. On the fourth day the army proceeded towards Jerusalem.²

From its position between Jerusalem and the coast, Ramleh formed an important post for the crusaders ; and continued generally in their hands while they held possession of the Holy City, and long afterwards. About A. D. 1177 the place was burned by the renegade Ivelin.³ In A. D. 1178 Saladin was totally defeated in the vicinity by the Christians under king Baldwin IV ; but in 1187, after the decisive battle of Hattin, the whole plain, with Yâfa, Askelon, and also Jerusalem, fell into his hands.⁴ On the approach of Richard of England in A. D. 1191, Saladin caused the fortifications of Askelon to be dismantled ; and the fortress of Ramleh and the church of Lydda, as well as other castles in the plain, to be razed.⁵ In the truce made between Richard and Saladin in the following year, it was stipu-

¹ Mejr ed-Din l. c. p. 186.

² See in the *Gesta Dei*: Rob. Monach. p. 73. Baldric. p. 130. Raimund de Ag. p. 173. Fulch. Carn. p. 396. Will. Tyr. 7. 22. Also Wilken *Gesch. der Kr. I.* p. 268.—The homage paid to St. George by the crusaders, probably led to his greater renown in Europe, where he was adopted as the patron saint of England and several other countries. In consequence of the vicinity of Ramleh and Lydda, the two have been sometimes confounded ; and the church and story of St. George placed at the former ; so Phocas de Loc. Sanct. 29. *Anna Comnena* in *Alexiade* lib. XI. p. 328.

Willebr. ab Oldenb. in L. Allat. *Symmikta*, Col. Agr. 1653. p. 145. *Acta Sanctor.* Apr. Tom. III. p. 142. Schweiggiger in *Reissb.* II. p. 113. Comp. *Reland Palæst.* p. 960.

³ Will. Tyr. 21. 21.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 21. 23, 24. Bohaedd. Vit. Salad. p. 46. Abulfed. *Annal.* A. H. 573. Wilken l. c. III. ii. p. 186.—Bohaedd. l. c. p. 72. Abulfed. l. c. A. H. 583.

⁵ Bohaedd. p. 202. Abulfed. *Ann.* A. H. 587. *Reinaud Extraits* p. 331. Mejr ed-Din in *Fundgr. des Or.* II. p. 136. Gaufr. *Vinisauf* p. 362. Wilken *Gesch. der Kreuzz.* IV. p. 426.

lated, that the plain and coast from Tyre to Yâfa, including the half of Ramleh and Lydda, should remain in the hands of the Christians.¹ In A. D. 1204 Ramleh was wholly given up to them, and appears to have continued chiefly in their possession until A. D. 1266, when it was finally taken from them by the Sultan Bibars.² In the subsequent centuries, it is often mentioned as the resting place of pilgrims and travellers, on their way between Yâfa and Jerusalem.³ About 1547 Belon found it almost deserted; scarcely twelve houses being inhabited, and the fields mostly untilled.⁴

With the history of Muhammedan Ramleh, the tower above described on the west of the town, stands in close connection. This structure has long been a stone of stumbling to travellers; who have mostly been content to follow, in this case, as in so many others, an indefinite monastic tradition. In all Frank writers, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, I find no allusion to the spot. At that time, about A. D. 1555, Bonifacius of Ragusa speaks of it as the site of a former Christian church, dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Armenia; this is repeated by Zuallart and Cotovicus, cited with approbation by Quaresmius, and followed by most other travellers.⁵ In the beginning of the eighteenth century, we begin to find it regarded as one of Helena's churches.⁶ In the present century, it has become fashionable to refer these ruins to the time of the crusades, as having been a convent and church erected by the knights Templars, and dedicated to the Forty Martyrs.⁷ The tower in question has usually been held to have belonged, as a belfry, to the ancient church.⁸

¹ Bohaedd. pp. 258, 259. Reinaud. Extraits p. 356. Gaufr. Vinisauf p. 422. Abulfed. Annal. A. H. 588. Wilken IV. p. 569.

² Abulfedæ Ann. A. H. 601. Reinaud Extraits p. 498. Wilken VII. p. 493.

³ See for the hospitium and convent, p. 230, n. 2, above.

⁴ Observat. p. 140. Paulus Samml. I. p. 256.

⁵ Bonif. de perenn. Cultu Terræ Sanct. lib. II. Quaresmius II. p. 7, 8. Zuallart p. 112. Cotovicus p. 141. So Monconys I. p. 293. Doubdan p. 488. Pococke II. i. p. 4. Chateaubriand I. p. 419. Par. 1837, etc. etc.

⁶ This is probably a mere hypothesis of the monks; I find it first mentioned by Van Egmond and Heyman, I. p. 311; and then again only very recently by Salzbacher in 1838; II. p. 24. Prokesch indeed speaks of a church of Helena in Ramleh, but seems to mean some other

building; p. 39. Scholz ascribes only cisterns to Helena; p. 148.

⁷ This report, current apparently among the monks, seems to be first mentioned in Turner's Tour in the Levant, 1815, Tom. II. p. 282. Scholz gives the same account quite circumstantially, p. 148; and is followed by Prokesch, p. 39; Monro, I. p. 94; Salzbacher, II. p. 24. The latter traveller has the merit of uniting the two conjectural traditions; making Helena first build the church, and the Templars repair it.—According to Michaud, the remains of several tombs of Christian knights are found here; but I cannot learn that this account rests on any better authority than Surinus in 1645, who affirms the same thing. No other traveller speaks of any such remains, nor did we see or hear of any. Surius Pelerin p. 358. Corr. d'Orient IV. p. 176.

⁸ Monconys I. p. 299. Von Troilo Reisebeschr. p. 85. Morison, p. 544. Chateaub. Itin. I. p. 419.

That Christian churches existed at Ramleh before the age of the crusades, we know from the testimony of Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria. He relates, that during the reign of the Egyptian Khalif el-Muktadir, early in the tenth century, the Muslims rose in tumult and destroyed the churches of St. Cosmas and St. Cyriacus in Ramleh, and others in Askelon and Cæsarea; which, on complaint to the Khalif, he ordered to be rebuilt.¹ That during the long possession of the city by the Frank Christians, other churches and also convents were erected, is highly probable; though I have been able to find no historical trace of it whatever. The first Christian notice of the tower and surrounding quadrangle, as we have above seen, is from the sixteenth century; and the first reference of it to the Templars occurs in the nineteenth. Yet there seems to be no evidence, that the Templars ever had an establishment at Ramleh; it is found in no list of their possessions; although their houses at Yâfa and Gaza and elsewhere in the vicinity, are enumerated; and an establishment so large as this obviously once was, could not well have been passed over, had it made part of their possessions.² Thus there is no historical evidence, that the spot in question was ever occupied by a Christian church at all; and also no traditional evidence, reaching further back than the sixteenth century.

On the other hand there is decisive evidence, both historical and architectural, of the Muhammedan origin of the whole structure, as it at present exists. The remaining arches of the quadrangle are obviously Saracenic; and the tower itself was no less obviously erected as a minaret; although the form and style are peculiar. It is solid within, except the staircase; has the usual external gallery above; and has neither place for a bell nor any thing else in common with the tower of a church. Further, an Arabic inscription over the door, which we read, bears the date of A. H. 710, corresponding to A. D. 1310, showing the time when the tower was commenced. This is further confirmed by the testimony of Mejr ed-Din, the author of a valuable Arabic history of Jerusalem and several other towns, written in A. D. 1495. He relates, that the Khalif Nâsir Muhammed Ibn Kalâwîn, (who was restored to the throne of Egypt in A. D. 1310,) built here a minaret, unique for its loftiness and elegance, which was finished in A. H. 718. This allows eight years for the completion of the work.³

¹ Eutychii Annales II. pp. 512, 513. Oxon. 1658.

² See a list of the establishments of the Templars in the province of Jerusalem, in Münter's Statutenbuch des Ordens der Tempelherrn, I. pp. 418, 419. Berl. 1794.

³ Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Orients II. p. 136.—Volney mentions the inscription over the door, as recording that this tower was built by Seif ed-Din; Voyage II. p. 308. If this name actually stands in the inscription, it is probably in con-

The same writer informs us, that the ancient mosk, with which this minaret was connected, was situated outside of the town, and surrounded by many tombs. In his day it was known as the White mosk; though little of the ancient structure remained. It had been built originally by Suleimân, son of 'Abd el-Melek, the founder of Ramleh, on his accession to the Khalfate in A. D. 717; and was renewed during the reign of Saladin by a person of his court in A. D. 1190, a year before the dismantling of Ramleh by that Sultan.¹ Another Arabian writer, el-Khulil Ibn Shâhin edh-Dhâhîry, about A. D. 1450, speaks of the same White mosk at Ramleh as particularly worthy of admiration; and mentions also its subterranean crypts, in which forty companions of the prophet were said to be interred.² There is probably some connection between this legend and that of the forty Christian martyrs, whom the Latins hold to be buried here; but which of the two is the original, it may be difficult to determine.

I have above remarked, that the remains of the quadrangle have much the appearance of a large and splendid Khân, while the crypts resemble subterranean magazines; and such a Khân would here be entirely in its place, on the great caravan road between Egypt and Damascus. Yet we have no historical or traditional evidence to any such fact. If then, as Arabian writers seem to represent, the whole was once a mosk, this quadrangle probably formed an enclosure, similar to that of the Haram esh-Sherif at Jerusalem, surrounding a court in which the mosk or mosks were erected. The chambers along the walls of the quadrangle, may then have served for the attendants of the mosks, and for Derwishes, as is still the case at Jerusalem. The mosks themselves have disappeared; perhaps the materials have been employed for the erection of other buildings in the town itself. Scholz relates, that there are inscriptions, importing that the Muslims after the crusades built three mosks within this quadrangle; a large one on the north, and two smaller ones on the southern side, with two saint's chapels in the middle. This would be much like the present arrangement of the Haram at Jerusalem; but our attention was not called to the subject at the time; and I regret that these inscriptions escaped our notice.³ Mejr ed-Din certifies also to the building of mosks at Ramleh, in the time of the Khalif Nâsir Muhammed above

nection with the mention of Kaliwân, the father of Nâsir, who bore that appellation, and died A. H. 689, twenty years before the building of the tower.—For the views of some later travellers, see Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 585 sq.

¹ Mejr ed-Din, l. c. pp. 136, 137.

iii. 38-40

² See Extracts from edh-Dhâhîry in Rosenmüller's *Analecta Arabica*, Pars III. p. 18 of the Arabic; pp. 37, 38, Lat.

³ Scholz Reise etc. p. 148. There may perhaps be some doubt as to the interpretation, if not as to the existence of these inscriptions.

mentioned ; which, in the writer's day, like the rest of the place, were in ruins.¹

We may now inquire, whether there is any evidence to connect the present Ramleh with an ancient Ramah ; either the Ramathaim-Zophim of Samuel, or the Arimathea of the New Testament ? Since the time of the crusades, such a connection has been generally assumed, chiefly upon the strength of a supposed identity or resemblance of the two names, supported by the ancient mention of a Ramah or Ramathem in the vicinity.

That a place called Ramathem or Ramatha did anciently exist in this region, somewhere not far distant from Lydda, admits of little question. In the letter of Demetrius Nicator to Lasthenes, preserved in the first book of Maccabees and by Josephus, he speaks expressly of three districts, Apherima, Lydda, and Ramathem, which had been annexed to Judea from Samaria.² Further, both Eusebius and Jerome mention an Armatha Sophim in the Tamnitic region near to Lydda, and regard it as the city of Samuel and the Arimathea of the New Testament.³ This testimony is decisive, as to the existence of a place and district called Ramathem,⁴ not far from Lydda, and within the region or toparchy of Thamna.

But does this evidence go to show any connection between this Ramathem and the modern Ramleh ? In itself it certainly does not ; and after having had the subject long before my mind, I am constrained to admit, that the balance of probabilities seems to be against the identity of the two.

First, the two names Ramah (Ramathem) and Ramleh, instead of being identical or even kindred, are totally diverse both in etymology and meaning. Ramleh signifies "sand," and is thus appropriately applied to the town as situated in a sandy plain ;⁵ while Ramah is "a height, hill," and is therefore here wholly inapplicable. The names too come from different roots,

¹ Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 136.

² Καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νόμους, Ἀφελρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθέμ, αἵ τινες προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείδος, 1 Macc. 11, 34, and Joseph. Ant. 13. 4. 9. These three districts are elsewhere several times alluded to, without naming them ; e. g. 1 Mac 10, 30. 38. Jos. Ant. 13. 2. 3. ib. 13. 4. 9. See Reland's comments, Palest. pp. 178, 179.

³ Onomast. "Armatha Sophim, civitas Elchanæ et Samuelis in regione Tamnitica juxta Diospolim, unde fuit Joseph qui in Evangelis ab Arimathia esse scribitur." So too Jerome in Ep. 86 ad Eustoch. Epiphaph. Paule, p. 673, "Et Lyddam versam u. Diospolim (vidit)—haud procul ab ea Arimathiam viculum Joseph qui Dominum

sepelivit ; et Nobe urbem quondam sacerdotum, nunc tumulum occisorum ; Joppen quoque," etc.—The Ramah which Jerome once couples with Beth-horon, refers unquestionably to er-Râm north of Jerusalem, the Ramah of Benjamin ; see Vol. I. pp. 576–578. Yet Dr Clarke refers it to Ramleh ! Travels II. i. p. 634. 4to.

⁴ The name Ramathem (Ῥαμαθέμ) is simply the Greek form for the Heb. רַמַּתְהִים Ramathaim. With the article (הַרְמַתְהִים) this would readily pass over into the Greek Ῥιμαθάλα Arimathea, of the New Testament.

⁵ It is also sometimes applied to a sandy plain itself ; e. g. to the great tract of sand south of Jebel et-Tih towards Sinai. See Vol. I. p. 77.

and have no more etymological affinity than Ramah and Ramah, or Poland and Portland. The Arabian history of the founding of Ramleh affords an easy explanation, why the name should have been adopted; while as to Ramah, the supposition would be far more probable, that it was situated upon one of the hills not far distant from Lydda towards the northeast.

It is somewhat remarkable too, if this ancient Ramah occupied the site of Ramleh, so near to Lydda and in full view from that place, that none of the early pilgrims should allude to it. Both the Bourdeaux pilgrim in A. D. 333, and St. Willibald about A. D. 765, mention Lydda and Emmaus (Nicomopolis); and it is hardly conceivable, that they should have passed by Ramah or Arimathea, which in that case lay very near, without some notice, as the city of Joseph. Yet they have no allusion to the name or place; and the first mention of it, as we have seen, is by the monk Bernard a century later, who speaks of it only as Ramleh. All this goes to sustain the testimony of Abulfeda and William of Tyre.¹

Further, by combining several notices of Eusebius and Jerome, it appears to follow, that the Ramah (Arimathea) of which they speak, did actually lie somewhere eastward from Lydda, as I have above conjectured. It was, as we have seen, in the Tamnitic region near to Lydda. But Thamna, which gave name to a toparchy, is described by the same writers as a large village in the borders of Lydda, on the way to Jerusalem.² And from another passage, it appears, that the Tamnitic district extended not less than fifteen Roman miles on the north (or northeast) of Lydda; which point they still describe as on the borders of the latter city, although this was the head of a different toparchy.³ Hence, as the district in which their Ramah lay, stretched thus far on the east and north of Lydda, we are hardly entitled to assume, that it also extended around to the southwest of that town, so as to include a place so near it in that direction as Ramleh. Nor is their expression "near by Lydda" (juxta Diospolim) to be pressed to an extreme; Lydda itself is said to be "near to Joppa," although the two places are three hours distant from each other.⁴

Hence, as this Ramah seems to have been situated on the northeast of Lydda, and the name implies that it stood upon a

¹ See p. 234, above.

² Onomast. "*Thamna*—ostenditur hodieque pregrandis vicus in finibus Diospoleos euntibus *Æliam*."—Ibid. "*Ænam*—proximus *Thamnæ* vico grandi, qui situs est inter *Æliam* et *Diospolim*."

³ Onomast. "*Bethsalisa*—est autem villa in finibus Diospoleos, quindecim ferme

ab ea milibus distans contra septentrionem in regione *Thamnítica*." For the names of the toparchies, Emmaus, Thamna, Lydda, Joppe, etc. see Ptol. 5. 14. Joseph. B. J. 3. 8. 5. Reland Pal. p. 176.

⁴ See above, p. 233, n. 3.—Acts 9, 38 *Ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως Ἀβδόνης τῇ Ἰόππῃ*.

'height,' we are most probably to look for it somewhere in the tract of hills between the mountain and the plain. We however fell in with no further trace of it; and my purpose here has been, not so much to show where it lay, as to point out the circumstances which render it improbable, that Ramah was identical with Ramleh.¹

In accordance with this view, and with the testimony of Abulfeda, most of the earliest crusaders speak of the place only as Ramleh, and appear not to have thought of any Ramah.² Yet the hypothesis of their identity must have soon sprung up; for Benjamin of Tudela not long after A. D. 1160, speaks of the place as the ancient Ramah, and relates the fable of the bones of Samuel.³ Yet the scholars of the age did not adopt the common view; for, twenty years afterwards, William of Tyre expressly rejects it, and follows the testimony of Arabian writers, that Ramleh had been first founded by the Muhammedans.⁴ But the influence of his learning could not stem the tide of legend-loving credulity; and in the time of Brocardus, a century later, we find Ramleh fully installed as the Arimathea of Joseph, and also as the Ramathaim-Zophim of Samuel in Mount Ephraim.⁵ Yet long before this time, the present Neby Samwil was already held to be the latter place.

I have already adduced reasons enough to show, that the city of Samuel could not have been at Neby Samwil, and still less at the Ramathem (Armatha) of Eusebius and Jerome near Lydda, wherever this may have lain.⁶ The idea that this Ramah may have been the Arimathea of the New Testament, is not in itself improbable; and it may be said too, that these fathers lived near the apostolic age, when a correct tradition might still be extant. Yet, on the other hand, in the very same article, they make the place also to have been the city of Samuel, which is impossible. Hence, the position of the scriptural Arimathea must, I think, be still regarded as unsettled.

Instead of proceeding directly from Ramleh to Jerusalem, we would gladly have first availed ourselves of the opportunity to visit Yâfa, the ruins of Cæsarea (Kaisâriyeh), and other points along the coast; and also to search for the site of Antipatris and other ancient places in the plain. But our time was limited; and we knew that the coast had been perhaps better

¹ See more on this Ramah in Vol. III. Sect III, under Apr. 26th, 1852.

² See above, p. 235, n. 2.

³ See Vol. I. p. 459, n. 5. Benj. of Tud. pp. 78, 79.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 10. 17, "Est autem Ramula civitas in campestribus sita, juxta Liddam, quæ est Diospolis; *hujus antiquum nomen non reperi*; sed neque ipsam pris-

cis fuisse temporibus, frequens habet opinio; quam post tempora seductoris Mahumeth, ejus successores Arabum principes, veteres tradunt historiæ, fundasse."

⁵ Brocardus, c. 9. p. 184. Adrichomius, p. 29. So too as Arimathea, Raumer Paläst. Ed. 3, p. 197.

⁶ See Vol. I. pp. 458, 459.

explored, than any other part of Palestine. Besides, the heat of summer had already come; and the experience of the last two days had warned us of what we must expect, if we continued in the plain. With reluctance, therefore, for once, we set our faces towards the mountains and the Holy City; leaving the plain to be explored by future travellers, under more favourable auspices. A few notices are all that I can here give.

We have seen above, that in the destruction of Eleuthropolis, Gaza, and Askelon, which took place A. D. 796, a city called Sariphæa shared the same fate; which therefore probably lay somewhere in the plain.¹ The name of Stephen, bishop of Sariphæa, is found among the subscriptions to the council of Jerusalem in A. D. 536; though this city occurs as a bishopric in none of the ecclesiastical lists of Palestine.² Reland suggests with probability, that it may have been the place now called Sûrafend, a village on the road from Ramleh to Yâfa, half an hour from Ramleh and an hour before Beit Dejan.³

In the district of Ludd, and apparently not far from that town, our lists give the name of an inhabited village el-Yehûdi-yeh. Is this perhaps the Jehud of the children of Dan?⁴

Antipatris was built up by Herod the Great, and so named in honour of his father Antipater, on the site of a former place called Caphar Saba. The spot was well watered and fertile; a stream also flowed around the city, and groves of large trees were near.⁵ To Antipatris the soldiers brought Paul by night from Jerusalem, on the route to Cæsarea; and then returned, leaving the horsemen to go on with him alone.⁶ Antipatris lay between Cæsarea and Lydda; and the distance from Cæsarea, according to the Bourdeaux pilgrim, was twenty-six Roman miles.⁷ All these circumstances go to show, that Antipatris stood in the midst of the plain, and not upon the sea coast; and could not therefore have been at Arsûf, where the crusaders supposed they found it.⁸

¹ See above, p. 62, n. 2.

² Στέφανος ἐπίσκοπος Σαριφάλας, Lat. Stephanus episcopus Scarphiensis et Sariphæensis; Labb. Concilior. Coll. Tom. V. col. 283. C. Reland Palæst. p. 987. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 630.

³ Reland *ibid.* pp. 987, 988. Our lists give two sites called Sûrafend, one in ruins and the other inhabited by Muhammedans.

⁴ Josh. 19, 45.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. 16. 5. 2, Καφαρσαβά—ποταμοῦ τε περιέρροντος τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν, καὶ κτλ. This matter of a stream must not be pressed too literally. It was doubtless merely a Wady, which, coming from the mountains, had water in it only a part of the year.

iii. 44-46

⁶ Acts 23, 31. 32.

⁷ Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 673 ed. Mart. Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 600. Reland Pal. p. 417.—The same Itinerary gives the distance of Antipatris from Lydda at X Roman miles.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 9. 19. *ib.* 14. 16. Jac. de Vitruv. c. 23. p. 1067. Marin. Sanut. p. 152. Brocardus. c. 10. p. 186. Comp. Reland Palæst. pp. 569, 570.—Arsûf, so renowned in the history of the crusades, is now a deserted village at the mouth of Nahr Arsûf, a small stream 2½ hours north of the village el-Haram, or about 6 hours from Yâfa. See Irby and Mangle's Travels, p. 189. [59.] The stream is called on Jacotin's map el-Haddar. Arsûf is

Prokesch, in travelling from Ramleh northwards through the plain, passed a village some distance north of Râs el-'Ain, the name of which he writes "Kaffr Suba;" the identity of which with Antipatris has been suggested by Raumer.¹

In the same neighbourhood, our lists contain the name of a village Jiljuleh, corresponding to the ancient Galgula which Eusebius and Jerome place at six Roman miles north of Antipatris.² This was perhaps the Gilgal in the region of Dor, whose king was subdued by Joshua;³ though it would seem to lie too far south.

As we learned nothing more of this part of the great western plain, and travelled also from Ramleh to Jerusalem by a route more circuitous than the common one, I subjoin in a note two Itineraries which have reference to these regions. One is from notes made by my friend Mr Smith, during a journey in A. D. 1835, along the coast from 'Akka to Yâfa, and thence by the direct road to Jerusalem; the other has been kindly furnished me by Mr Lanneau, and gives the ordinary distances in time along the same road from Jerusalem to Yâfa. The regular and well known rate with horses or mules from the Holy City to Ramleh, is nine hours; and from Ramleh to Yâfa, three hours. Yet, of course, one who travels leisurely, may easily occupy a longer time; or, also, the distance may be hurried over in a shorter interval. It must also be borne in mind, that from Yâfa to Lâtrôn, six hours, the way is mostly level; while the remaining half, quite to Jerusalem, is a difficult mountain road.⁴

Saturday, June 9th. After a few hours of uneasy tossing on our couches, we thought it better to enjoy the cool air of the night abroad, and improve the beautiful moonlight, rather than waste the same time in vain attempts to sleep, pent up beneath a roof. We accordingly rose soon after 2 o'clock, made ourselves ready, and despatched Ibrahim for the Mukâry and horses. We intended to have departed without disturbing the family; but as we descended the stairs, we found our host and his two sons waiting to see us off. Coffee was brought; and we at length bade farewell to our friends, not without respect and gratitude for their unaffected kindness and hospitality. At 3 o'clock we were upon our way; and found ourselves greatly refreshed by

probably the ancient Apollonia; Reland Pal. p. 573.

¹ Paläst. ed. 3. pp. 131, 132.—Kefr Sâba was visited by Rev. E. Smith in 1843; see Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 490 sq. We likewise saw it in 1852; see Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 24th, 1852.

² Onomast. art. *Gelgel*. In Greek Γαλγούλη. Jacotin's map has a Jiljuleh about the same distance towards the south.

³ Josh. 12, 23. Probably the Gilgal of Neh. 12, 29 and 1 Macc. 9, 2, was the same. Comp. Vol. I. p. 557, n. 3.

⁴ See Note XL, end of the volume.

the cool morning breeze. Our road lay over the level tract, on a straight course to Ludd. On the way, we saw several caravans of camels encamped for the night; they were apparently travelling upon the great caravan road from Egypt to Damascus, which, touching Gaza, Ramleh, and Ludd, proceeds northwards through the plain; and then, at or near el-Lejjûn, passes into the great plain of Esdraelon, and so to the foot of Mount Tabor.

We reached Ludd at 3½ o'clock, just as the first streaks of dawn were shooting up in the eastern sky, though not as yet enough to counteract the mild brilliancy of the declining moon. Ludd is a considerable village of small houses; but has nothing to distinguish it from ordinary Muhammedan villages, except the ruins of the celebrated church of St. George. It is still the nominal seat of a Greek bishop; who, however, resides at Jerusalem.¹ All was now hushed in silence and sleep. We proceeded directly to the ruins in the southern quarter of the town, and found access to them without difficulty. The edifice must have been very large. The walls of the eastern end are standing only in the parts near the altar, including the arch over the latter; but the western end remains more perfect, and has been built into a large mosk; the lofty minaret of which forms the landmark of Ludd. The intervening portions of the walls are gone; but several of the columns remain, and one lofty pointed arch on the south of the grand aisle. The columns along this aisle are of a peculiar construction; a square shaft or body, and then on each of the four sides a pilaster with a column attached. We measured the width of the grand aisle, between the centres of the columns, thirty-six feet; and the northern side aisle to the wall, twenty-one feet; which gives seventy-eight feet for the interior breadth of the church. The length we could not determine. We saw these noble ruins by the bright yet mellow light of the full moon; the lofty remaining arch towered in imposing majesty; and the effect of the whole, though mournful, was yet indescribably impressive. It transported me back to the similar, but far more perfect moonlight grandeur of the Colisæum.

The history of Lydda as a city may be soon told. It appears to have been first built by Benjamites, though lying out of the limits of that tribe; it bore in Hebrew the name Lod, and was inhabited again by Benjamites after the exile.² Demetrius Nicator, as we have seen, transferred it, with its district, from Samaria to Judea.³ After the death of Julius Cæsar, Cassius was for a time in Palestine, and greatly oppressed the land; reducing whole cities to servitude, and selling as slaves the

¹ See above, Vol. I. p. 424.

² See p. 239, above.

³ 1 Chr. 8, 12. Ezra 2, 33. Neh. 11, 35.

iii. 48-50

inhabitants of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamna; who at a later period were again set at liberty and restored to their homes, by a decree of Antony.¹ The next notice of Lydda is as the scene of Peter's miracle in healing Eneas.² Some years later, Cestius Gallus, the Roman proconsul under Nero, marching from Cæsarea against Jerusalem, took Lydda in his way, and laid it in ashes.³ It must have soon revived again; for we find it, not long after, as the head of one of the toparchies of the later Judea; as such it surrendered to Vespasian.⁴ At that time it is described by Josephus as a village not inferior in size to a city; and is also celebrated by the Rabbins as a seat of Jewish learning.⁵

In the general change of names which took place in Palestine under the Roman dominion, Lydda became Diospolis. As such its name is found on coins struck under Septimius Severus and Caracalla; and is often mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome.⁶ It was early a bishopric of the First Palestine, and at the different councils, its bishops subscribe themselves variously as of Lydda or Diospolis.⁷ In the Greek ecclesiastical Notitiæ it stands as Diospolis; in the later Latin ones, again as Lydda.⁸ In the earliest of all, it is placed of course under the metropolis Cæsarea; but is afterwards marked as a suffragan see; that is, as standing immediately under the patriarch of Jerusalem, without the intervention of a metropolitan. The latest bishop distinctly mentioned is Apollonius in A. D. 518.⁹—In A. D. 415 Pelagius appeared here before a tumultuous council.¹⁰

Lydda became early connected in history with the homage paid to the celebrated saint and martyr St. George, not less renowned in the east, than at a later period in the west. The earliest calendars and legends relate, that this saint was born in Lydda; suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia in the earliest persecution under Diocletian and Maximian, near the close of the third century; whence his remains were transferred to his native place, and a church afterwards erected in his honour.¹¹ Whatever

¹ Joseph. Ant. 14. 11. 2. ib. 14. 12. 2-5.

² Acts 9, 32, 35.

³ Joseph. B. J. 2. 19. 1.

⁴ Ibid. 3. 3. 5. ib. 4. 8. 1.

⁵ Jos. Ant. 20. 6. 2. Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 145.

⁶ For the coins, see Vaillant Numism. Imp. et Cæs. p. 350. Eckhel Nummorum. Doctr. III. p. 432. Mionnet Médailles Antiqu. V. p. 497. Belley in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. XXVI. p. 429 sq.—"Lyddam versam in Diospolim;" Hieron. Ep. 86, Epit. Paulæ p. 673. ed. Mart. Comp. Reland Palest. p. 877.—The time when this change of name took place is unknown. The Abbé Belley (p. 433) re-

fers to Josephus as already using the name Diospolis; B. J. 1. 6. 4. But in relating elsewhere the same event, the text of Josephus has Delion, another place; Antiqu. 14. 3. 3.

⁷ See Roland Pal. p. 888. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 582 sq.

⁸ Roland ibid. pp. 215, 220, 222, 227.

⁹ Labb. Concil. Coll. Tom. V. p. 194.

Le Quien ib. p. 585.

¹⁰ See above, Vol. I. p. 380.

¹¹ I follow here throughout the results of Papebroch the Bollandist; Acta Sanctor. April. Tom. III. p. 100 sq. See especially pp. 106-108. Whoever wishes to know more of St. George, will find enough of the

may be the variations of the legends respecting his origin and life, all seem to agree in making Lydda his place of sepulture. But at what time the church of St. George at Lydda was built, we have no means of ascertaining. William of Tyre indeed affirms, that it was founded by Justinian; but Procopius, who wrote a treatise on the edifices erected by that emperor, mentions a church of St. George only in Armenia.¹ This shows sufficiently that the renown of the saint was already widely extended; and that probably therefore the church, or at least his sepulchre at Lydda, is of a still earlier date.²

The earliest historical notices which connect Lydda with St. George, are found in Antoninus Martyr, Adamnanus, and St. Willibald; they speak of it as his city, where he lies buried, but make no express mention of the church.³ Meantime the Muhammedan dominion had spread over Palestine in the seventh century; Lydda had been laid in ruins by Suleimán, son of the Khalif 'Abd el-Melek, and Ramleh built up in the vicinity, in the early part of the eighth century.⁴ Towards the close of the ninth century, the monk Bernard speaks of the monastery of St. George, not far from Ramleh; it was probably connected with the church.⁵

The crusaders on their arrival at Lydda, found the splendid sepulchre of St. George; the church had just before been levelled to the ground by the Saracens, lest it should afford to the Christians materials and opportunity for assaulting the city itself. Hence, it appears, that the church then stood outside of the city.⁶ The crusaders established at once a bishopric of Lydda and Ramleh, as already related; and Latin bishops continued to bear this title for several centuries.⁷ The church appears to have been soon rebuilt; though I find no direct historical evidence to that effect.⁸ The crusaders, as we have seen, paid great honours to St. George, and invested him with the dignity of their

legends and Acta there collected. See also Heylin's Hist. of St. George, Ed. 2, Lond. 1633. 4.—The attempt of Gibbon to connect the St. George of England with the opponent of St. Athanasius, who was killed in a popular tumult in Alexandria in the fourth century, seems to proceed from his spirit, rather than from his judgment. Chap. XXIII.

¹ Will. Tyr. 7. 22. Procop. de Edific. Just. 3. 4, καὶ ἐπεὶ Γεωργίου τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν Βιζαντίῳ ἐδείματο. Procopius is here speaking expressly of Armenia; in enumerating the edifices erected in Palestine, he makes no mention of Lydda. See ib. 5. 7.

² Papebroch inclines to refer it to Constantine himself; l. c. p. 109. But the *iii.* 52, 53

lence of Eusebius is here a decisive objection; the flatterer of that emperor would not have passed over such a merit in his patron, taking place too almost under his own eye.

³ Antoninus Mart. about A. D. 600, Itin. 30. Adamnanus 3. 4. St. Willibald Hodepor. 21. p. 377, ed. Mabillon.

⁴ See p. 234, above.

⁵ De Locis Sanct. 10. See above, p. 234.

⁶ Will. Tyr. 7. 22.

⁷ Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 1271 sq. See generally above, p. 235, and n. 2.

⁸ In A. D. 1123, we have an act subscribed among others by "Rogerius Liddensis St. Georgii episcopus" Will. Tyr. 12. 25.

patron ; and from this time, apparently, his renown spread still more widely throughout Europe ; where he in like manner became the patron, not only of England, but also of several other states and kingdoms.¹

Lydda being situated thus near to Ramleh, appears to have followed very much the fortunes of the latter place during the wars of the crusades. About A. D. 1177 it was violently assaulted by the renegade Ivelin ; and the inhabitants all betook themselves to the church of St. George, now of course within the town.² It fell with Ramleh into the hands of Saladin after the battle of Hattin. That Sultan, on the approach of Richard in A. D. 1191, caused the church of Lydda, which was like a strong fortress, to be razed, along with the castle of Ramleh ; and Bohaeddin affirms expressly, that both still lay in ruins when he wrote.³ It afterwards reverted with Ramleh to the possession of the Christians ; at first only in part, and then wholly ; and probably fell back with that place under the Muhammedan dominion in A. D. 1266, if not earlier.⁴ In A. D. 1271 it was laid waste by the Mogols, with whom Prince Edward of England, (afterwards Edward I,) had made a league in aid of the Christians.⁵

From this time onward we hear little more of Lydda.⁶ Towards the middle of the fourteenth century Ludolph de Suchem speaks of the church of St. George, with marble and Mosaic work ; but does not say whether it was or was not in ruins, or whether he himself saw it.⁷ When Fabri visited it in A. D. 1483, the church, though broken down, was in part occupied by the Greeks ; and lamps were kept continually burning.⁸ The mosk had already been erected in the western part, with a lofty minaret ; indeed the language of Mejr ed-Din seems to imply, that the church, as such, had never been rebuilt after its destruction by Saladin.⁹ In the middle of the sixteenth century, we first find an intimation, that this church of St. George at Lydda was built by a king of England. This is asserted by Bonifacius ; who however was not able to determine the name of the monarch ; and the same is repeated from him by subsequent

¹ E. g. Malta, the republic of Genoa, the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, etc. Papebroch l. c. p. 160.

² Will. Tyr. 21. 21, "Contulerat sane se populus omnis super ecclesiam beati martyris Georgii."

³ Bohaeddin, pp. 258, 259. See above, p. 235, n. 5.

⁴ See above, p. 236.

⁵ Hugo Plagon p. 745. Marin. Sanut. p. 224. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. VII. p. 598.

⁶ Brocardus merely mentions Lydda, c.

10. p. 186. Marinus Sanutus calls it St. George, as the birthplace of that saint, p. 249. So too Jacob de Vitruv. c. 57. p. 1078.

⁷ Itin. p. 50.

⁸ Reissbuch p. 240.

⁹ Il y avait une église richement dotée des chrétiens et en grande renommée chez eux ; elle fut ruinée par Salaheddin. Aujourd'hui—il y a une mosquée qui était autrefois une église grecque avec un minaret très-levé ;" Mejr ed D.n, translated by Von Hammer, Fundgr. des Or. II p. 136.

writers.¹ The deficiency is however supplied by Cotovicus in the same century, who gives the name of Richard of England;² and the like rumour is current among the Franks in Palestine, unto the present day.

On this legend, for it is probably nothing more, I would remark, that it may easily have sprung up out of the high honour paid in England to St. George, as the patron saint of the country. It was also very natural to connect the rebuilding of the church with Richard, who had himself been in the Holy Land, and was distinguished as the most renowned and chivalrous of all the champions of the cross. Unfortunately, all the known facts in the case go to contradict the story. Vinisauf, the eyewitness and historian of Richard's deeds in Palestine, has not a word respecting the church of St. George;³ and we have just seen, that after the destruction of the edifice by Saladin, it was certainly not built up again for some time, and probably never. Hence, the utmost that can be supposed as a foundation for the report in question, seems to be, that funds might have been remitted from England, perhaps in aid of the church originally erected by the crusaders. But the first appearance of the story three or four centuries later, in a work notorious for its credulous narratives; and the fact that no other authority or testimony has ever yet been found; give to the whole account an air of fable. One is almost tempted to suppose, that the story, by a rule of contraries, may rather have sprung up from the actual connection of Prince Edward with the destruction of Lydda in A. D. 1271.

We left Ludd at 4 o'clock, crossing immediately a Wady, or low tract, running off northwards, where it goes to form a tributary of the river el-'Aujeh, (sometimes also called Butrus, St. Peter,) which enters the sea two hours north of Yâfa. From Ludd, the great camel road to Jerusalem leads directly by Jimzu; but our Mukâry, either by mistake or to get us upon another road, took us nearly half an hour out of the way, by going further south to Dâniyâl. The path led still along the plain. At 4.40 we reached the large well belonging to the latter place, still in the plain west of the hills; where a yoke of oxen were drawing water, travelling off with the rope in a straight line from the well, and then back. By measuring the ground thus passed

¹ Bonifacius de perenni cultu Terræ Sanctæ, lib. 2, "Perhibent Terræ Sanctæ Annales istam Ecclesiam fabricatam esse a quodam Rege Anglorum, cujus nomen non inveni;" quoted in Quaresmius II. p. 9. See Zuallart Viaggio, p. 110.

² Cotov. Itin. p. 138. The writer is careful to add the saving clause: "Ut
iii. 54-56

aliqui putant." The conjecture lay near a hand.

³ That Vinisauf was himself in Palestine with Richard, appears from lib. VI. c. 23, where he relates the visit of the second company of pilgrims to Jerusalem in the first person plural, as an eyewitness. Gale Hist. Angl. Scriptores, II. p. 425.

over, we found the depth of the well to be one hundred and sixty feet. Here we lost a few minutes. The village lies some five minutes further east, upon an eminence, in the very verge of the hilly region between the plain and mountains. It is small, and takes its name Neby Dāniyāl (Daniel) from a Wely near by.¹

We here entered the hill country, similar to that through which we had travelled south of Wady es-Sūrār, though somewhat less fertile; and like that full of villages, many of which are in ruins. We left Dāniyāl at 4.50 and reached Jimzu at 5.20, in half an hour. This is a common and rather large village; and so situated on an eminence, as to make quite a show at a distance. The road passes along under the village on the north side. Here were many threshing-floors in operation; and also many subterranean magazines for grain, like cisterns, such as we found in most villages.²

The name Jimzu appears hitherto to have escaped the notice of travellers; but it is impossible not to recognise in it the Gimzo once mentioned in the Old Testament, as having been occupied by the Philistines along with Beth-shemesh, Ajalon, and other cities of the hills and plain.³

Just beyond Jimzu, the great road divides into two branches; one passing on directly and ascending the mountain by Beit 'Ūr; the other diverging more to the south, and leading up through Wady Suleimān. The two unite again above, at or near el-Jib. Our purpose was to take the path leading by Beit 'Ūr; but the Mukāry, for reasons of his own, deceived us, and took the other road towards Wady Suleimān, probably as being the easiest. This led us at 6.20 to the village Berfilya, on our right. Soon afterwards, we began to descend gradually into a broad open valley or plain. Here, discovering our mistake, we determined to change our course, and cross over the fields towards the left to the other road. This the muleteer absolutely refused to do, and kept on his way; leaving us to follow or do as we pleased. We struck out into the fields, and soon found a cross-road leading in an easterly direction. This led us at 7.20 to a small village, called el-Burj; situated on an isolated hill surrounded by open valleys and plains. The name is modern; but there are here evident traces of an ancient site, apparently once fortified.

Half an hour further, in the same direction, brought us obliquely into the public road we were in search of, near a well and ruin called Ūm Rūsh, apparently once a Mukām or Wely.

¹ From Dāniyāl the bearing of Ludd was N. 3° W. Jimzu, S. 85° E.

² From Jimzu, Ludd bore N. 50° W.

³ 2 Chron. 28, 18.

Here at 7.50 we stopped for breakfast ; having lost about twenty minutes by our mistake in the road.¹

At this place we had our choice of three large and spreading trees, under which to breakfast ; a fig tree, an oak, and a Kharrûb.² We chose the oak, because the ground beneath it was more level and commodious. A man and boy were drawing water at the well ; from whom we got a supply for ourselves and also for our horses ; though as there was no trough or bowl at hand, we could let the latter drink only by pouring the water from the narrow leather bucket upon the ground.

We set off again at 9.20, and began almost immediately to descend into a valley running off towards the south. Here after eight or ten minutes was another well by the way side, where a peasant was watering his young cattle in a wooden bowl instead of a trough ; he rather ungraciously admitted our horses to a share. At 9½ o'clock we had on our left, about fifteen minutes distant, a village called Süffa. We had fallen in with two or three females travelling the same way ; and now in ascending the hill from the Wady, we found that they were from Rûmmôn. One of them was a mother, whose son had been seized as a soldier ; she had been down to Yâfa to visit him, and was returning in sadness, never expecting to see him again. At 10.20 we came to a village on the top of the low ridge, called Beit 'Ûr et-Tahta (the lower). It is small ; but the foundations of large stones indicate an ancient site, doubtless the nether Beth-horon of the Old Testament.³

This place is still separated from the foot of the high mountain by a Wady, which comes out from the mountain somewhat further to the left and turns south.⁴ This we crossed ; and then began the long and steep ascent. The way winds up along the extremity of a sort of promontory, jutting out between two deep valleys as they issue from the mountain ; one of them being that which we had just crossed. The ascent is very

¹ From this well, at Um Rûsh, we could see the following places : el-Burj, S. 85° W. Deir Ma'in, S. 50° W. Râs Kerker, N. 62° E. Deir Abu Mesh'al, N. 18° E. Deir Kadi's, N. 15° E. For these last three places, see other bearings at Beit 'Ûr, further on ; and also those at Ram-Allah, Vol. I. p. 453, n. 2.

² The *Ceratonia siliqua* of Linnæus, Engl. *Carob*, Fr. *Caroubier*, Germ. *Johannisbrodbaum*, common in Syria, Egypt, Greece, and all the southern parts of Europe, and sometimes growing very large. The tree produces slender pods, shaped like a horn or sickle, containing a sweetish pulp and several small shining seeds. These pods are sometimes eight or ten inches

long and a finger broad. They are eaten with relish by the common people ; and are used extensively by them as an article of sustenance. We had them dry on board of our boat on the Nile in January ; steeped in water they afforded a pleasant drink. These are the *κερδρια* of Luke 15, 16, (Engl. Version incorrectly "husks,") on which the swine were fed ; as is not uncommon at the present day. See Celsii Hierob. 1. p. 226. Hasselquist Reise, p. 531.

³ 1 Chron. 7, 24. See more on the next page.

⁴ This Wady, or the one next north, is the deep valley which passes down on the north of Ram-Allah.

rocky and rough ; but the rock has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps ; showing that this is an ancient road. At 10½ o'clock we reached the top of the first offset or step of the ascent ; here are foundations of large stones, the remains perhaps of a castle which once guarded the pass. At 11.20 we came out on the summit of the promontory, where stands the village Beit 'Ūr el-Fôka (the upper), on an eminence upon the very brow of the mountain, with a deep valley on each side, both north and south. Further east, towards the plain around el-Jib, the ground still rises in rocky hills ; but with a much more gradual ascent.

The village is small, but exhibits traces of ancient walls and foundations. Just below the little hill on which it stands, towards the east, is a small but very ancient reservoir. There can be no question, but that this village and the one at the bottom of the mountain, Beit 'Ūr the upper and lower, represent the ancient upper and nether Beth-horon.¹ In the name, we find the rather unusual change, from one harsh Hebrew guttural to one still deeper and more tenacious in the Arabic ;² in all other respects the name, position, and other circumstances agree.

The nether Beth-horon lay at the northwest corner of the territory of Benjamin ; and between the two places was a pass, called both the ascent and descent of Beth-horon, leading from the region of Gibeon (el-Jib) down to the western plain.³ Down this path Joshua drove the five kings of the Amorites, who made war upon Gibeon.⁴ Both the upper and lower town were afterwards fortified by Solomon.⁵ At one of them, Nicanor was attacked by Judas Maccabæus ; and the same was afterwards fortified by the Syrian Bacchides.⁶ Cestius Gallus, the Roman proconsul of Syria under Nero, on his expedition from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, after having burned Lydda, ascended the mountain by Beth-horon, and encamped near Gibeon.⁷ By the same road perhaps, the apostle Paul was conducted by night to Antipatris, on his way to Cæsarea.⁸ In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, the two Beth-horons were small villages ; and Jerome makes Paula pass by them both, in ascending from Nicopolis to Gibeon and Jerusalem.⁹ The distance from Jeru-

¹ 1 Chron. 7, 24. Josh. 16, 5, 17, 13.

² Heb. בֵּית הָרֹקַח ; the ר has passed over into the Arabic 'Ain, there being some affinity between these two sounds in the corruptions of the modern Arabic.

³ Josh. 18, 13, 14.—Josh. 10, 10, 11.

Heb. בֵּית הָרֹקַח. 1 Macc. 8, 16, 24, Gr. ἀράβας καὶ καρδίας Βαυδαίων.

⁴ Josh. 10, 1-11.

⁵ 2 Chr. 8, 5. 1 Kings 9, 17.

⁶ 1 Macc. 7, 33 sq. 9, 50. Joseph. Antiq. 12. 10. 5. ib. 13. 1. 3.

⁷ Jos. B. J. 2. 19. 1. Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 456.

⁸ Acts 23, 31, 32.

⁹ Onomast. art. *Bethoron*. Hieron. Comm. in Zeph. i. 15, 16 ; see above, Vol. I. p. 576. n. 5. Hieron. Ep. 86, Epitaph. Paula, p. 673, ed. Mart.

salem to (upper) Beth-horon, according to these writers, was twelve Roman miles; according to Josephus one hundred stadia, or fifty stadia from Gibeon. It took us five hours to reach Jerusalem; though as parts of the road are very bad, and our horses were weary and jaded, we did not here travel much if any faster than the rate with camels; which would coincide exactly with Josephus.

From all this it appears, that in ancient times, as at the present day, the great road of communication and heavy transport between Jerusalem and the sea-coast, was by the pass of Beth-horon. Whether the way through Wady Suleimân, the second valley south of Beit 'Ûr, which is only a branch of the same road, was then in use, we are nowhere informed; but such was not improbably the case. At present we understood this to be the easier route. Of old, as now, the direct road from Jerusalem to Yâfa by Kuryet el-'Enab and Wady 'Aly was probably used only by travellers without heavy baggage. That it anciently existed, can hardly be doubted; although I find no direct notice of it.¹ We heard of no other pass up the mountain between the Wadys Suleimân and 'Aly; but Pococke relates, that from el-Kubeibeh, (the Emmaus of the monks,) on the top of the mountain, he descended directly by a path which took him some distance north of Lâtrôn, though that place was in sight, and so to Ramleh.² This however could not have been a much travelled road.

From the time of Jerome, nothing more appears of Beth-horon until the present century. The crusaders seem not to have recognised the name, or at least do not mention it. Brocardus and Marinus Sanutus indeed speak of the lower town; but apparently only with reference to scriptural authority, and not as eye or ear witnesses.³ The long line of pilgrim travellers since the crusades, have almost uniformly taken the direct route between Ramleh and Jerusalem, and have heard nothing of Beth-horon. In A. D. 1801, by some chance, Dr Clarke wandered hither from Kuryet el-'Enab, and recognised the ancient appellation in the present name Beit 'Ûr.⁴ Since then it ap-

¹ The most direct intimation of such a road, is perhaps the notice of Eusebius and Jerome, that Kirjath-jearim lay nine miles from Elia on the way to Diospolis. If Kirjath-jearim was the same with the present Kuryet el-'Enab, this notice would be decisive. Onomast. art. *Curiathiarim*.—At any rate, the fact that Jerome makes Paula travel from Nicopolis to Jerusalem by way of Beth-horon, (see Text above,) is of no weight to prove that the direct road did not then exist; she took the longer route in order to visit remarkable

places, as she had already done in passing from Cæsarea to Nicopolis, travelling in various directions in the plain. It is hardly to be supposed, that there should not have existed a direct way between Nicopolis and Jerusalem, as now; though the easier road may still have been by Beth-horon.

² Descript. of the East, II i. p. 50; comp. p. 6.

³ Brocard. c. 9. p. 184. Marin. Sanut. p. 249.

⁴ Clarke's Travels, etc. Pt. II. Vol. I p. 628 sq. 4to.

pears not to have been visited again, until some of our friends took it in their way from Yafa to Jerusalem, a few days before we set off on this excursion.¹

The inhabitants of Beit 'Ūr seemed to be mostly absent, probably in the fields or the plain, at work during the harvest. We found several women, and at length also one active old man drawing water at a neighbouring well. He led us to the roof of a house, where we had a wide and very distinct view of the country around Beth-horon and towards the sea, with all of which he seemed well acquainted. The prospect included the hill country and the plain, as far on the right and left as the eye could reach. The prominent towns were Ramleh and Lydda; we could not make out Yafa. Towards the north were several places, which we had formerly seen from Rām-Allah; particularly Rās Kerker, a castle among the hills.² Between us and Ramleh we looked down upon a broad and beautiful valley at our feet, formed by the junction of Wady Suleimān, the Wadys on the north and south of Beit 'Ūr, and others. This valley, or rather plain, runs out W. by N. quite through the tract of hills, and then bends off towards the great western plain. It is called Merj Ibn 'Ōmeir; and we thought we perceived its further course to be on the right of the hills on which Khulda stands. This however was an error; for this Merj is drained by the Wady 'Atulla, which passes down just north of el-Kubāb and Lydda.³

The interest of this fine plain or valley is enhanced, by its probable connection with a remarkable event of biblical history. Upon the side of the long hill which skirts the valley on the south, we could perceive a small village in the W. S. W. called Yālo, which name cannot well be any other than the ancient Aijalon, the ancient city of that name in the tribe of Dan.⁴ We find that city coupled with Beth-shemesh and Zorah and Socoh and Ekron;⁵ which might seem to imply that it lay much further south; but it is at the same time in like manner coupled with Gimzo, which we had passed to-day.⁶ Jerome informs us, that the Hebrews of his day placed Aijalon about two Roman miles from Nicopolis, on the way to Jerusalem; and if this be reckoned on the road by Beth-horon, it would correspond well to the position of Yālo.⁷ Eusebius assigns the Aijalon of Dan to the same vicinity.⁸ There can therefore be little question, that

¹ Messrs Nicolayson and Paxton. See Paxton's Letters, Lett. XX. p. 227. Lond.

² Is this perhaps the *Calcalia* of the crusaders, to which the renegade Ivelin marched, after burning Ramleh and besieging Lydda for a time in vain? Will. Tyr. 21. 21.

³ See more in respect to Yālo in Vol. VOL. II.—22

III. Sect. III, under Apr. 26th, 1852.

⁴ The Sept. and Eusebius write this name Αἰῶλον. Epiphanius has it Ἰαῶλον, adv. Hær. lib. II. p. 702. Reland Pal. p. 553.

⁵ Josh. 19, 42. 2 Chr. 11, 10. 28, 18.

⁶ 2 Chron. 28, 18.

⁷ Onomast. art. *Aialon* (Αἰῶλον).

⁸ Ibid. art. *Aialon* (Αἰῶλον).

iii. 62, 63

this village marks the site of the ancient Aijalon; and that the broad Wady on the north of it, is the valley of Aijalon so renowned in the history of Joshua. Here it was, that this leader of Israel, in pursuit of the five kings, having arrived at some point near upper Beth-horon, looked back towards Gibeon and down upon the noble valley before him, and uttered the celebrated command: "Sun, stand thou still on Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon."¹

A little to the right of Yálo, and in the plain at some distance from the foot of the same hill, a village was pointed out to us called Beit Núbah. This probably represents the *Nobe* of Jerome; which also in his day was regarded by some as a Bethannaba, eight Roman miles eastward from Diospolis.² Jerome appears to refer to this place, when he makes Paula, in the vicinity of Lydda and Arimathea, see Nobe; where he seems to suppose the priests were slain; though, as we have seen, the Nob of the priests must have been in sight of Jerusalem.³ In the age of the crusades, Beit Núbah became celebrated; first, as the site of the "Castellum Arnaldi," erected by the patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem in order to protect the approaches to that city;⁴ and then as the place to which Richard of England, in June A. D. 1192, led his army from Askelon on their way to besiege Jerusalem. There, having lingered for several weeks ingloriously, the English monarch turned back with his troops to Ramleh and Joppa; and, after concluding a truce with Saladin, soon left the country.⁵ From the notices connected with this march, it appears that Beit Núbah lay near the western plain, on the great road between el-Jib and Ramleh. It is mentioned by Willebrand of Oldenberg upon the same road in A. D. 1211, and again by Brocardus;⁶ but seems to have been wholly lost sight of from that day to the present time.

Among the towns lying upon the mountains south of Beth-horon, one was pointed out to us (though doubtfully) towards the

¹ Josh. 10, 12. Eusebius and Jerome place the *valley* of Aijalon on the east of Bethel, and near Gibeah and Ramah of Benjamin; in a direction wholly opposite to that in which Joshua was pursuing the Amorites; Onomast. art. *Aialon*. (Αἰάλωμ). Yet Jerome, in relating that Paula ascended from Nicopolis to Jerusalem by way of the two Beth-horons, makes her leave on her right hand the Aijalon and Gibeon where Joshua commanded the sun and moon to stand still; Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 673, ed. Mart.

² Hieron. Ep. 86 ad Eustoch. Epit. Paulæ, p. 673, ed. Mart. Onomast. art. *4nob*. Reland Pal. p. 661.

iii. 63-65

³ See above, Vol. I. p. 464.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 14. 8. He speaks of the place as "*Nobe*, qui hodie vulgari appellatione dicitur *Bettenub'e*." Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. p. 615.

⁵ Gaufr. Vinisaufr 5. 49 sq. p. 399 sq. Also 6. 6, 9. p. 408 sq. This writer calls the place "*Betenoble*" and "*Betenopolis*." Jac. de Vit. 100. p. 1123. Bohaeddin Vit. Salad. pp. 203, 230, 243. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. IV. pp. 508-533.

⁶ Willebr. ab Oldenb. Itin. p. 146, in Allatii Symmikka, Col. Agr. 1653. Brocardus, c. 10. p. 186. Brocardus writes "*Bethnopolis*," and makes it the same as Nob of the priests.

south, as el-Kubeibeh, where it has formerly pleased the monks to fix the site of the village Emmaus of the New Testament; whither the two disciples were going from Jerusalem, as Jesus met them and went with them.¹ According to Pococke, who visited the spot, it lies about an hour in a westerly direction from Neby Samwil; and in travelling to it from the latter place, he left the village of Biddu on the right, and Beit Sūrik on the left; further west and more towards the north he saw Beit Enān, which we also could now see.²

To this hypothesis of the monks there is the objection, that its position is not in accord with the language of Luke, whether the latter ought to read sixty stadia, or more probably one hundred and sixty; el-Kubeibeh being at least three hours, or more than seventy stadia distant from Jerusalem.³ To this we may add, that there never was the slightest ground for connecting el-Kubeibeh in any way with Emmaus; nor is there any trace of its having been so connected, before the fourteenth century.⁴

The bearings of these and other places, as seen from the upper Beth-horon, are given in the note below.⁵

The land around upper Beth-horon is exceedingly rocky, affording little opportunity for tillage. We left the place at 12 o'clock, and continued to ascend gradually among rocky and desolate hills, having all the characteristics of a desert. The ground was in general so strewed with rocks, that it was sometimes difficult to find the way; once we missed the path, and

¹ Luke 24, 13-35.

² Descr. of the East. II. i. pp. 49, 50. Pococke says "three miles," which is his usual reckoning for an hour. Comp. also Nau, Voyage p. 502 sq.

³ See more in connection with 'Amwās, in Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 27th, 1852.

⁴ The crusaders and the pilgrims of the following centuries, appear to have fixed Emmaus and Nicopolis at Lātrōn, on the way from Ramleh to Jerusalem; near the church dedicated to the Maccabees, which may not improbably mark the traditional site of Modin; see above, p. 232; also pp. 6, 7. So Fulcher Carnot. 18, p. 396. Will. Tyr. 7. 24. Jac. de Vitry, c. 63. p. 1081. Brocardus, c. 10. p. 186. Marin. Saunt. pp. 146, 249. Tucher in Reiseb. p. 658. Breydenbach ibid. p. 105.—Yet in the fourteenth century there are traces, as if a new hypothesis had already begun to transfer the site up the mountain to Kubeibeh. Thus Ludolf de Suchem seems to speak of Emmaus as in the region of Neby Samwil; Itin. p. 92. Reissb. p. 850. So too Tschudi in 1519 places it expressly two hours from Jerusalem; p. 115. St.

Gallen, 1606. In the course of the sixteenth century, the transfer became complete; Kubeibeh appears henceforth as Emmaus, and the place at the foot of the mountain took the name of "Castellum boni Latronis;" whence the present Arabic name Lātrōn. So Zuallart, p. 242, comp. p. 113. Cotovicius, p. 315, comp. p. 143. Quaresmius II. p. 719 sq. comp. p. 12 sq.—All these writers and travellers, wherever they may place Emmaus, regard it as Nicopolis; making no distinction between the village and the city Emmaus, nor even inquiring whether it was 60 or 160 stadia from Jerusalem.

⁵ Bearings from upper Beth-horon, beginning in the southeast and proceeding towards the right: Biddu S. 24° E. (?) et-Tireh S. 10° E. Beit 'Enān S. 11° W. Yālo S. 66° W. Beit Nūbah S. 70° W. el-Kubāb W. Khūrbata N. 85° W. Ramleh N. 71° W. Ludd N. 64° W. Beit 'Ūr the lower, N. 60° W. Sūffa N. 57° W. Deir Kadi N. 30° W. Deir Abu Mesh'al N. 10° W. Rās Kerker N. Beit Ellu N. 8° E. Deir Bezi'a N. 10° E. Janieh N. 12° E. Abu Zeitūn, a Wely, E.

lost ten minutes in finding it again. Add to this, the way was winding, and our horses wearied ; so that from Beth-horon to el-Jib our rate of travel was not greater than with camels. At 1.50, we came out upon the top of the whole ascent, and reached the edge of the plain on the west of el-Jib. Here we had Beit 'Ur, el-Jib, and Neby Samwil, all in sight at once.¹ At this spot too was the site of a former village, the name of which we could not learn, as we had no guide and met no peasants. We could here look down into Wady Suleimān on our right, which begins to descend directly from the western end of the plain ; and could perceive the other road as it comes up that valley.

We kept on our way towards el-Jib ; and at 2.25 turned out of our path into the fields on our right, to visit the neglected well already mentioned, Bir el-'Özeiz.² It is nineteen feet in diameter, and nearly filled up with earth ; being only eight feet to the water, which also is very scanty. Losing ten minutes by this detour, we proceeded along under the northern side of the hill of el-Jib ; and at 2.50 stopped for a few minutes at the fountain in the cavern.³

From el-Jib to Jerusalem, our horses felt the impulse of travelling towards home ; and were somewhat more active, though still jaded. We did not care this time to climb the steep ascent to Neby Samwil ; and therefore took the road by Beit Hanina, which passes down the valley at the northeast end of the ridge of Neby Samwil. This is the drain of the whole plain around el-Jib, except at its western extremity ; and forms one of the heads of the great Wady Beit Hanina.⁴ Leaving the fountain at 3 o'clock, we soon entered and proceeded down the valley, which is narrow, rocky, and rugged. The path keeps along the bottom nearly to Beit Hanina, where it gradually ascends to the village. We reached this place at 3.50 ; it stands upon the rocky ridge running down between the Wady we had descended, and another similar one coming from the tract around er-Rām. The village is not large, and is tolerably well built of stone. The land around is exceedingly rocky, affording little room for tillage ; but there are many olive trees round about, which seemed flourishing. Neby Samwil here bore N. 72° W.

From Beit Hanina we again descended gradually into the valley ; and having passed the fork where the eastern branch comes in, after a while ascended obliquely the eastern hill, in order to cross over it in the direction of Jerusalem. This brought us to the upper part of the branch Wady, up which

¹ They bore as follows: Beit 'Ur, N. 65° W. el-Jib, S. 27° E. Neby Samwil, S. 5° E.

² For our former visit to el-Jib, see Vol. I. pp. 454-457.

³ See above, Vol. I. p. 455.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 455.

iii. 67, 68

the road from Neby Samwil leads ;¹ and falling into this road we ascended the rocky slope to the tombs of the Judges, which we passed at 4.50, and reached our tent before the Damascus gate at twenty minutes past 5 o'clock. Komeh had pitched the tent, according to our directions, not far from the gate, under the shade of the olive trees ; but in the midst of a ploughed field. Yet after long search, we too could find no better place.—The owner of the horses was awaiting our arrival before the gate ; but the refractory Mukâry did not make his appearance.

Here we were soon joined by Mr Lanneau and our companion in travel, who had put off coming out of the city until our arrival. They now came with bag and baggage, their own and ours ; Mr Lanneau intending to go down to Yâfa. They had kept a strict quarantine of a week in his own house, under the charge of a *guardiano*, or health officer of the government. This man, as we learned later at Beirût, was himself a few days afterwards taken with the plague and died.

SECTION XIV.

FROM JERUSALEM TO NAZARETH AND MOUNT TABOR.

WE spent three days in our tent before the gates of Jerusalem. The first was the Christian Sabbath ; which was never more welcome to us than now, after three and a half weeks of constant travel and exposure, accompanied often by high excitement and consequent exhaustion. It was to us a day of rest greatly needed ; and we passed it in recalling the thrilling associations, and renewing and fixing the impressions, connected with the consecrated scenes around us. It was our last Sabbath at Jerusalem.

The situation of affairs in the Holy City had not improved during our absence. It had been shut up the day after our departure ; and now, for more than three weeks, all direct communication with the country had been cut off. Ten thousand persons were thus confined within the narrow streets and their own still narrower and filthy dwellings, without fresh air and without fresh provisions or vegetables, except so far as a scanty supply of the latter was to be obtained at the gates. Under such circumstances the wonder was, not that the plague did not abate, but that it had not increased its ravages. Yet this seemed not to have been the case ; the instances of contagion were scattered and occasional, as before ; and the disease continued to exhibit the same character for some weeks longer ; the city not having been again thrown open until July.¹

A Hakim Bashi, a physician of the government, had arrived from Alexandria soon after the shutting up of the city ; to whom the management of the health department was intrusted. As a special favour, our friends had been permitted by him to perform the necessary quarantine in their own house, instead of the wretched public establishment ; and had thus escaped many

¹ The plague has since prevailed in Jerusalem, both in 1839 and 1840. In the former year at least, as I am informed, the city was again shut up during the month of March.

iii. 70, 71

of the privations and annoyances, to which they must otherwise have been subjected. We were struck with the pallid hue of the inhabitants whom we saw, and of our friends in particular. The latter presented a strong contrast to our own dark visages ; which, after so long an exposure to the burning suns of the 'Arabah and the glowing winds of the Sephela, had become scorched to a bronze, deeper even than the ordinary Arab complexion.

In the city, of course, all business was at a dead stand ; the stranger merchants had departed, and none could come in from abroad, either to buy or sell. The labours and schools of our missionary friends were wholly interrupted. Many of the inhabitants had preferred to quit the city, and were living in the fields or wandering among the villages. The evils attendant upon such a state of things may be imagined better than described ; they have already been sufficiently alluded to.¹ The Mutesellim, Sheikh Mustafa, who was absent at Dûra and Hebron when Jerusalem was shut up, had pitched his tent just outside of the Damascus gate, where he transacted all his business without entering the city. The markets too were held at the Damascus and Yâfa gates. A double fence, having an interval of six or eight feet, was erected around the gate on the outside, enclosing a considerable extent of ground. To this fence the inhabitants of the city could come on the inside, and the people of the country on the outside ; while health officers walked to and fro in the intervening space, each equipped with a stout staff. All the traffic was carried on through the lines of this fence and across the intervening interval of six or eight feet. Here the provisions brought by the country people were first handed in, and then passed to the other side by the *guardiano* ; and the money in like manner transferred from the city to the country side, after being dropped into water or vinegar. But, wo to the hands or fingers, on either side, that ventured too far within the pale ! The attendants were ever on the watch as to this point ; and a no very gentle thwack with the staff, seemed to be not less a matter of zest to them, than of pain to the offending party.

How it was possible for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and especially for the numerous poorer classes, to hold out under such a state of things, I am unable to conceive. The city had been shut up on a single day's notice, and for an indefinite time ; so that no one, of course, could make preparation for such an emergency. Nothing could come into the city but provisions, and little or nothing passed out except money ; and

¹ See Vol. I. p. 248 sq. Vol. II. pp. 1, 80, 211.

of this the vast majority of the inhabitants had little or none in store. Already the complaint was universal, that the daily purchases in the markets had exhausted the stock of small coins ; so that it was next to impossible to give or obtain change.

Nevertheless, permission could be obtained to enter the city by authority of the Hakim, preceded and followed by officials of the quarantine, to prevent all contact with the people and forbidden objects. The English travellers whom we had met at Hebron, and who were now encamped on the southwest of the city beyond the valley of Hinnom, availed themselves of such a permission, to visit the interior of Jerusalem ; but in our case there was no motive to do so, strong enough to counterbalance the accompanying risk and trouble. With our friends, who still remained in the city, we had frequent communications from the walls ; and once both Messrs Whiting and Nicolayson with their families came out, accompanied by a health officer, and met us for an hour or two under the terebinth at the northwest corner of the city. Here we bade each other farewell ; and I am sure I shall forget their affectionate kindness only when I forget Jerusalem.

Thus passed the days of our last sojourning at the Holy City. We made on Monday (June 11th) the excursion to Bethany, which has already been described.¹ In this, in writing up our journals, and in packing and preparing for our long journey northwards, the time was fully occupied. I had indeed hoped to be able to make the excursion to the convents of St. Saba and St. John, as formerly planned ;² but the necessity of reaching Beirût in time to meet the English steamer on the 8th of July, compelled us to forego this purpose, and bend our steps northwards without delay. We engaged seven spirited mules, to take us to Nazareth and Damascus, or wherever we might choose to go, at fifteen piastres a day, and half price when we did not travel. We obtained also a clean bill of health from the Hakim, which might enable us to avoid the quarantine regulations established in various places, against all comers from Jerusalem.

Wednesday, June 13th. Having made our arrangements, so far as possible, over night, we rose early, hoping to set off in good season. But the packing and loading of the first morning on a journey, always occupies more time than on the subsequent days ; because everything has to be first distributed, and the loads balanced and arranged, in the order which afterwards remains unchanged. As too we were now leaving Jerusalem for the last time, we took with us all our baggage ; which had not

¹ See Vol. I. p. 431.
iii. 72-74

² See above, p. 1.

been the case on our previous excursions. Mr Lanneau also was setting off for Yâfa at the same time, intending to take the camel road, and thus accompany us for an hour upon our way. We had this time but two muleteers, both owners and partners in the animals they drove; one, the elder and principal, from Jerusalem, and the other from Safed. Each took along also a donkey for his own occasional use; one of them a fine sleek animal, the other gaunt and shaggy, like a scarecrow. With all our exertions, it was 6½ o'clock before we were able to set off; and then the muleteers had to go to the gate of the city after grain. We passed on by the tomb of Sheikh Jerâfy at 6.55; and reaching the top of Scopus, stopped there for a quarter of an hour, to wait for our attendants, and to take our farewell view of the Holy City.

The emotions which crowd upon the mind at such a moment, I leave for the reader to conceive. The historical associations connected with the city and the various objects around, cannot but be deeply interesting even to the infidel or the heathen; how much more to the heart of the believer! What a multitude of wonderful events have taken place upon that spot! What an influence has proceeded from it, affecting the opinions and destinies of individuals and the world, for time and for eternity!

If my feelings were strongly excited on first entering the Holy City, they were now hardly less so on leaving it for the last time. As we had formerly approached, repeating continually the salutation of the Psalmist: "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces;" so now we could not but add: "For our brethren and companions' sakes we will now say, Peace be within thee!"¹ Her palaces indeed are long since levelled to the ground; and the haughty Muslim now for ages treads her glory in the dust. Yet as we waited, and looked again from this high ground upon the city and the surrounding objects, I could not but exclaim: "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King!"² One long last look; and then turning away, I bade those sacred hills farewell for ever.

We proceeded on our way.³ At 7½ o'clock we passed Sha'fât five minutes on our left; and at 8.10, the old foundations near the foot of the descent beyond.⁴ A few steps further, the camel road to Ramleh goes off obliquely towards el-Jib, passing on the right of the intervening hills. Here we parted from our friend and host Mr Lanneau, to whose unwearied

¹ Ps. 122, 7. 8.

² Ps. 48, 2.

³ At this point our direction from Jeru-

salem was about N. by E. ¼ E. while el Bireh bore N.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 577.

kindness and attention we had been so much indebted in Jerusalem ; he going towards Yâfa, and we keeping on towards el-Bireh. We passed the ruined Khân opposite er-Râm at a quarter before nine, having er-Râm on our right ; and at 9.35 the ruins of 'Atâra were on our left.¹ Twenty minutes later we were on the ridge which separates the valley we had ascended from that south of el-Bireh running to the Jordan ; and keeping around the head of this, we reached the fountain southwest of el-Bireh at 10 o'clock.²

We halted here for nearly half an hour, in order to procure a guide ; intending to take the way leading by the village of Jufna, which lies west of both the branches of the great Nâbulus road. We found a small caravan of camels resting at the fountain, laden with wheat, which they were transporting from Nâbulus to Bethlehem. The men were baking a large round flat cake of bread, in the embers of a fire of camel's and cowdung. Taking it out when done, they brushed off the ashes and divided it among the party, offering us also a portion. I tasted it, and found it quite as good as the common bread of the country. They had no other provisions. These were men of Bethlehem ; and this is the common fare of persons travelling in this manner.

Having obtained a guide, we set off again at twenty-five minutes past 10 o'clock ; proceeding along on the west side of the village of Bireh, without entering it. The Nâbulus road here divides into two branches ; one passing near Bethel and by 'Ain Yebrûd, the other lying more west ; they unite again further on, at or before 'Ain el-Harâmiyeh. We followed the western branch for ten minutes beyond the village ; and then at 10.40 diverged from it more towards the left, on a course N. N. E. At 11 o'clock the way led along the side of a small shallow pond on our left, called el-Bâlû'a ; it was now dry ; but in winter the water runs from it eastward towards the Jordan. Keeping on north, we very soon crossed the water-shed, where the land begins to decline gradually towards the northwest. At a quarter past eleven, a ruin called Kefr Murr was on a hill at our right ten minutes distant ; and we began to look down into the valley of Jufna, and to meet with a few stunted bushes. It is rather a peculiar feature of the whole region around Jerusalem, that while trees of various kinds are not infrequent, shrubs and bushes are rarely to be seen.

We were somewhat surprised to find here the evident traces of an ancient paved road, entirely similar to the Roman roads of

¹ For all these places and the aspect of the country, see Vol. I. pp. 575-579. also of our former visit to el-Bireh, see Vol. I. pp. 451-453.

² For an account of this fountain, and
iii. 75-77

Italy and other regions. It was obviously of old a public, and probably a military way, between the cities of Gophna and Jerusalem; the great road apparently, which in ancient times, as now, led along the summit of the high mountainous tract, from the plain of Esdraelon through Neapolis and Gophna to the Holy City. The pavement still remains entire for a very considerable distance. At 11½ o'clock a small ruin called Arnūtieh was on our right; and we soon began to descend by a branch Wady into the deep valley in which Jufna lies. After fifteen minutes, there was a fountain on our left with running water, and flocks round about. The great Wady before us here runs northeast, and has its beginning at some distance to the left, north of Rām-Allah, from which it is separated by another deep Wady passing down west. This of Jufna also afterwards curves around to the northwest and runs off to the western sea. It here spreads out into a small fertile plain, lying very deep, in which Jufna stands, surrounded by high hills. We reached the place at 12 o'clock, an hour and a half from el-Bireh.

We stopped for lunch a few rods short of the village, under a large walnut tree, like the English walnut, the first we had seen. Close by were also two *Meis* trees, (*Cordia myxa* of botanists,) tall and beautiful, with round tops and large leaves; from the berries of which bird lime is made. The walnut tree was growing within the precincts of an ancient church, which the Christian Sheikh of the village, whom we sent for, said was dedicated to St. George. It must have been quite large; and many limestone columns with which it was ornamented, are lying around, or their fragments standing upright; but there were not enough of the foundations remaining above ground to enable us to take the dimensions. Under the tree, a small enclosure contains an altar, on which mass is still sometimes celebrated; and also the ancient baptismal font of limestone, partly buried in the ground. This latter measured five feet in diameter, three and a half feet high, and two feet nine inches deep within; the inside being excavated in the form of a cross, with the corners rounded. In the village itself, which lies just across the bed of the Wady, are the ruined walls of a castle, which may perhaps be of the age of the crusades.

The whole valley, and the sides of the mountains around, are very fully cultivated, and abound in olives, vines, and fig trees, belonging to this and the neighbouring villages. Around the village itself are also numerous apple, pear, fig, pomegranate, apricot, and some walnut trees. The landscape on every side is rich, and indicates a high degree of fertility and thrift. The present inhabitants of Jufna are all Christians; they number only forty-two taxable men; which gives a population

of not more than two hundred souls. After the rebellion of 1834, twenty-six men were taken to Egypt and put into the public works, whence they have never returned. Not long since, one of their two priests went to Egypt to look after them, and died there.¹

In respect to Jufna, both the name and the position show conclusively, that it is the ancient Gophna of Josephus, Ptolemy, and the Peutinger Tables; a name which does not appear in this form in Scripture.² Eusebius places it fifteen Roman miles from Jerusalem on the way to Neapolis,³ and the Tables at sixteen; we travelled over the interval in rather more than four and a half hours, and found the traces of the ancient public road. It appears from Josephus to have been a strong place. Like Lydda, it was taken by Cassius, and the inhabitants sold into slavery; from which they were released by a decree of Antony.⁴ It became later the head of a Toparchy; was captured by Vespasian; and Titus passed through it on his march from Samaria to the siege of Jerusalem.⁵ But since the days of Eusebius, all memory of it seems to have perished. The writers of the times of the crusades appear not to mention the name; nor do I find a single notice of it in any tradition or traveller. The name Gophna stands indeed upon some modern maps, in this vicinity; but simply, as it would seem, on the authority of Eusebius.

We left Jufna at 1.40 without a guide; and following down the valley northeast twenty-five minutes, reached 'Ain Sinia at five minutes past two; another village, surrounded in like manner with vineyards and fruit trees. Near by were also gardens of vegetables, watered from a well. The bed of the valley had here some standing water; and a branch Wady came in from the southeast, up which we could see 'Ain Yebrûd on the top of a hill.

¹ From Jufna we took the following bearings: Bir ez-Zeit a small Christian village half an hour distant, N. 45° W. Tell 'Asûr with a Wely, N. 48° E. Yebrûd, half an hour distant on the western branch of the Nâbulus road, N. 63° E. 'Ain Yebrûd, on the eastern branch, about S. 70° E. Dûrah, S. 68° E.—Tell 'Asûr we had also seen formerly from 'Alya, al-Bireh, and Râm-Allah; see Vol. I pp. 448, 452, 453. Is this perhaps the Hazor of Benjamin, Neh. 11, 33? If so, there is here the same change from Heth (ח) to 'Ain, as in Beit 'ûr from Beth-Horon; see above, p. 251 and n. 1.

² Ptolem. 4. 16. Reland Palest. pp. 461, 816. There is a possibility that the iii. 78-80

name Gophna may come from the Ophni of Benjamin, Josh. 18, 24. In this case there must have been a change of the Hebrew Ain (א) into Gimel (ג), which sometimes, though rarely, took place. It may have come in this instance through the Greek, where the change was common. See Gesenius' Heb. Lex. letters ג and א.

³ Onomast. art. *Vallis Botri*, φάραξ βότρυος. This article is not translated by Jerome. It speaks for the ancient fertility of the valley, that it was then held by some to be the vale of Eschol.

⁴ See pp. 244, 245, above. Joseph. Ant. 14. 11. 2. ibid. 14. 12. 2 sq. B. J. 1. 11. 2.

⁵ Joseph. B. J. 3. 3. 5. ib. 4. 9. 9. ib. 5. 2. 1. Comp. 6. 2. 2, 3.

The main valley here bends north ; the cultivation continued as we advanced ; first chiefly olives, and then fig trees. At 2½ o'clock a side valley came in from the west ; and all the mountains around the wide space thus opened, presented the aspect of like cultivation. Fifteen minutes later, the large village of 'Atâra, appeared on the summit of a high hill, seen up through a small side Wady, bearing northwest and distant about half an hour. It might almost seem, as if this was the scriptural Ataroth of the border of Ephraim ; or at least that of which Eusebius speaks within that tribe.¹

We kept on down the valley ; and at 2.55 minutes a branch of considerable size came in from the E. S. E. We ought to have gone up this lateral Wady, and thus reached the usual Nâbulus road in a narrow valley called Wady el-Jib, in which is the fountain 'Ain el-Harâmiyeh on that road.² But our mule-teers professed to know the way, and kept on down the main valley until 3.20. Here it becomes very narrow, turns northwest, and, under the name of Wady el-Belât, soon begins to descend the mountain towards the western plain. We now discovered that we were out of our road ; and after a delay of ten minutes, by the direction of a peasant, we began to climb the steep hill on the north, along a small water-course, but without any path. The ascent was very difficult ; but we came out at length after half an hour on the top ; where we found table land and a fine plain, with people gathering the harvest. Here we struck a path ; and continuing on north, came at twenty minutes past four, to the large village of Jiljilia.

The poor people of this place had never before seen Franks in their village, and seemed frightened at our coming ; at first they even denied its name. The probable cause of this we afterwards found out at Sinjil. The place stands very high, near the western brow of the high mountain tract. It affords a very extensive view out over the great lower plain and sea ; while at the same time the mountains of Gilead are seen in the east. Far in the N. N. E. too, we could see for the first time a lofty dark blue mountain ; which we afterwards found to be no other

¹ Josh. 16, 2. 7. Onomast. art. *Atharoth*, Ἀρχιαραπὼθ. Eusebius says merely : πόλις φυλῆς Ἰωσάφ, which Jerome paraphrases : " juxta Ramam in tribu Joseph ; " probably confounding it with the present 'Atâra near er-Râm.

² This fountain is about an hour south of Sinjil. Maundrell in passing from Nâbulus to Jerusalem, mentions two villages, first 'Geeb' and then 'Selwid,' as lying west of the road in that vicinity. These are probably the Jîbia and Selwâd

of our lists ; and the name of Wady el-Jib doubtless comes from the former. See Maundrell under March 25.—Eusebius and Jerome speak of a Geba, five Roman miles from Gophna towards Neapolis, which is probably the same ; but they err in connecting it with the Gebim of Ia. 10, 31 ; Onomast. art. *Gebim*. It might rather be the Gibeah of Phinehas in Mount Ephraim ; Josh. 24, 33, in the Hebrew. Josephus Γαβαθ, Ant. 5. 1. 29.

than Jebel esh-Sheikh, the Hermon of Scripture, beyond Bânâs, still not less distant from us than eighty minutes of latitude.

Close on the north side of the village, is the broad valley which passes down on the north of Sinjil; here some two hundred feet deep, and more contracted as it begins to descend to the west, in order to unite with Wady el-Belât, which we had left. In the lower western region also, the large Wady el-Lubban was pointed out; which, coming from the small plain of that name on the Nâbulus road, runs down to join Wady el-Belât at a village Kurâwa, situated between the two. The united Wady is then called Wady Kurâwa; and runs into the 'Aujeh not far from Râs el-'Ain.

The form Jiljilia obviously corresponds to the ancient name Gilgal; but I find no mention of any ancient place of that name situated in this vicinity.¹

In order to regain the Nâbulus road, we found it necessary to go directly to Sinjil. There is indeed a path from Jiljilia to Nâbulus; but it was represented as being very bad; and must necessarily cross several very deep valleys. We now took a guide although Sinjil was in sight; because we wished to obtain various points of information respecting the region. Leaving Jiljilia at 4.40, we returned for a short time on our former path, in order to pass around the head of a short but deep branch Wady, running down into that on the north. Our way afterwards led over high table land. At 5 o'clock we passed the foundations of a former village; and then after a few minutes a cistern. The mountains around Nâbulus were in sight much of the way; and also Hermon far in the distance. We reached Sinjil at 5½ o'clock, lying on the high southern bank of the deep Wady running west, at least two hundred feet above its bottom. Here we encamped for the night, and were very kindly received by the Sheikh and people of the village.

Sinjil overlooks the broad fertile valley below it, which more towards the east spreads out into a rich basin or plain of considerable extent, surrounded by fine hills. In the midst of this basin the village Turmus 'Âya² is seen, situated upon a low mound. The great Nâbulus road does not pass directly through Sinjil, but descends to the valley by a side Wady some ten minutes further east; and crossing it, keeps on over the hills to Khân el-Lubban. On that road, following the eastern branch

¹ From Jiljilia various places were in sight, bearing as follows: Sinjil E. Abu el-'Auf, N. 70° E. el-Ghûrabeh, N. 58° E. 'Amûria, N. 15° W. Fûrkha, N. 50° W.

² This name might at first suggest the Ai of Scripture. But that place lay very near to Bethel, and none of the circumstances related of it correspond to Turmus 'Âya. Josh. 8, 9, 12, 17.

northwards from el-Bireh, the distances may be reckoned as follows :

	H. m.
To Bethel (Beitin)	45.
'Ain Yebrûd	1.
'Ain el- Harâmîyeh	1. 30.
Bottom of valley under Sinjil	1.
Khân el-Lubban ¹	1. 10.

Jiljilia, Sinjil, and Turmus 'Aya all lie within the province of Jerusalem. Further north all belongs to Nâbulus.²

We found the inhabitants of Sinjil in some commotion. A party of soldiers was now quartered in the village, in order to collect the price of a horse demanded by the government. A requisition, it seems, had been issued for a certain number of horses from each district ; and these again having been apportioned among the villages, it had fallen to the lot of Sinjil to furnish one. The Sheikh said it would cost the village at least nine purses, equivalent to two hundred and twenty-five Spanish dollars. A crier went about at evening, proclaiming in a loud voice, that all the men must be at home to-morrow ; and that whoever should be absent, would be beaten with so many blows. —According to the Sheikh, the village was originally registered as containing two hundred and six taxable men, or about eight hundred souls ; but since then more than one hundred had been taken as soldiers, and yet the village has to pay the taxes of the whole original number.

It was probably in consequence of this requisition, now going on in the region, that the people of Jiljilia had been alarmed at our appearance among them ; supposing us, at first, to have some connection with the government. We felt the same difficulty still more the next day, in passing through the country south of Nâbulus.

Thursday, June 14th. A prominent object of our inquiries in this region, was of course the ancient Shiloh, celebrated in the history of the Israelites, as the place where the ark remained from the time of Joshua to Samuel. Our guide from Jiljilia yesterday spoke of a ruin northeast from Sinjil, called Seilûn ; of which there was a saying among the people, that were the Franks to visit it, they would deem it of such importance, that

¹ For these last three distances I am indebted to the notes of Mr Smith in 1835.

² The bearings of the various places seen from Sinjil were as follows : Turmus 'Aya, N. 85° E. Jâlûd, N. 55° E. Kûriyût N. 42° E. Abu el-'Auf N. 15° E. 'Arik el-Ghûfir N. 4° W. Sekâkeh N. 13° W. Fûrkha N. 60° W. Jiljilia W.—Is Kûriyût perhaps the Coreæ (*Koptai*)

of Josephus? Pompey marching from Damascus to Jerusalem by way of Scythopolis, comes to Coreæ in the northern part of Judea ; Jos. Ant. 14. 3. 4. B. J. 1. 6. 5. Vespasian marches from Neapo'is to Coreæ the first day, and the next to Jericho ; B. J. 4. 8. 1. Both these specifications accord well with the position of Kûriyût.

they would not go away in less than a day. This man was a common peasant of Jiljilia, and could have heard this story only from the mouths of neighbours of his own class. On inquiring further at Sinjil, we found that the place in question lay not very far from the road, and might be visited by a small circuit. As the position seemed to answer well to that of Shiloh, we determined to go thither. We therefore sent off our servants, with the luggage, on the direct road by Khân el-Lubban ; and taking a guide, proceeded ourselves in the direction of Turmus 'Âya.

We were ready to set off early, but were delayed by our muleteers. The hospitality which we had found so common in the southwest of Judah, no longer exists on this great road ; too many Franks have passed here, not to have taught the people to take payment for everything. Yet we did not find them unreasonable in their demands. We finally set off at 6 o'clock, descending by a very steep path from the village to the bottom of the northern valley, where we crossed the Jerusalem road, and then proceeded eastward over the fine plain. We reached Turmus 'Âya at 6½ o'clock, situated on a low rocky mound in the level valley. The plain swells out beyond into a beautiful oval basin, extending towards the east for an hour or more, shut in by picturesque hills. It was now covered mostly with the deep green of the springing millet, interspersed with yellow fields of ripe wheat.

Leaving Turmus 'Âya at our right, we turned up a small Wady N. N. E., in which after fifteen or twenty minutes we passed the water-shed, and found the valley beginning to descend towards the north. We came at 7 o'clock to the ruins of Seilûn, surrounded by hills, but looking out through the small valley we had traversed, towards the plain on the south. Hardly five minutes before reaching the proper site, is an ancient ruin, a tower, or perhaps a small chapel, about twenty-eight feet square inside, with walls four feet thick. Within are three prostrate columns, with Corinthian capitals lying separate. The stone which forms the upper part of the doorway, is ornamented on the outside with sculptured work, an amphora between two chaplets. Along the outer wall, a defence or buttress of sloping masonry has been built up, obviously at a later period. The Arabs call this ruin the mosk of Seilûn. As we came up, three startled owls flew off in dismay.

The main site consists of the ruins of a comparatively modern village, covering a small Tell ; which is separated from the higher mountain on the north by a deep narrow Wady, coming from the east and running down towards Khân el-Lubban. On the east and west of the Tell are two small,

though wider Wadys, running down north into the former; while towards the south the Tell connects with the slope running up from the plain of Turmus 'Aya, but rises considerably above it. The position is in itself a fine one for strength, if it were ever fortified; though it is commanded by the neighbouring hills. Among the ruins of modern houses are many large stones, and some fragments of columns, showing the place to have been an ancient site. At the southern foot of the Tell is a small ruined mosk, standing partly beneath a noble oak tree.¹

Our guide told us of a fountain up through the narrow valley towards the east. We went thither, and found that the valley here breaks through a ridge, and is at first shut in by perpendicular walls of rock; then follows a more open tract; and here, at the left, fifteen minutes from Seilun, is the fountain. The water is excellent; and issues from the rocks first into a sort of artificial well, eight or ten feet deep; and thence into a reservoir lower down. Many flocks and herds were waiting round about. In the sides of the narrow valley are many excavated tombs, now much broken away; near the fountain are also several tombs, and one in an isolated block. We returned down the valley, and followed it through on the north side of Seilun.

The proofs that Seilun is actually the site of the ancient Shiloh, lie within a small compass; and both the name and the position are sufficiently decisive. The full form of the Hebrew name was apparently *Shilon*, as we find it in the gentile noun *Shilonite*; and Josephus writes it also both *Silo* and *Siloun*.² The position of Shiloh is very definitely described in the book of Judges, as "on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah."³ Eusebius and Jerome place it, one ten and the other twelve Roman miles from Neapolis, in the region of Acrabatene.⁴ With the exception of these confused and probably conjectural distances, all the other circumstances correspond exactly to Seilun; for we were here on the east of the great road between Bethel and Shechem (Nâbulus), and in

¹ The only bearings from Seilun were: Turmus 'Aya S. S. W. Sinjil S. 50° W. Abu el-'Auf, S. 82° W.

² The Hebrew exhibits various forms, e. g. שִׁילֹה 1 K. 2, 27. al. שִׁילֹה Josh. 18, 1. 8. al. שִׁילֹה Judg. 21, 21. al. שִׁילֹה Judg. 21, 19. al. Gentile noun שִׁילֹנִי 1 K. 11, 29, 12, 15. See Gesenius Lex. Heb. art. שִׁילֹה.—Josephus, *Σιλω* Antiq. 8. 7. 7. *ibid.* 8. 11. 1. *Σιλω* Antiq. 5. 1. 19, 20. *ibid.* 5. 2, 9, 12.

³ Judg. 21, 19.

⁴ Vol. II.—23*

⁴ Onomast. art. *Selo*. These distances are both incorrect; for the village of Lebonah (Lubban) is itself more than four hours or 12 Roman miles south of Nâbulus. Or Jerome may perhaps have estimated the distance on a straight course, passing on the east of Lubban; in which case his 12 miles would be less far out of the way, though still too short. The text also may have been corrupted; that of Eusebius is certainly so, for the word Neapolis has fallen out.

passing on towards the latter place, we came after an hour to the village of Lebonah, now el-Lubban.

Here then was Shiloh, where the tabernacle was set up after the country had been subdued before the Israelites; and where the last and general division of the land was made among the tribes.¹ The ark and tabernacle long continued here; from the days of Joshua during the ministry of all the Judges, until the close of Eli's life; and here Samuel was dedicated to God, and his childhood spent in the sanctuary.² In honour of the presence of the ark, there was "a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly," during which "the daughters of Shiloh came out to dance in dances;" and it was on such an occasion, that they were seized and carried off by the remaining Benjamites as wives.³ The scene of these dances may not improbably have been somewhere around the fountain above described. From Shiloh the ark was at length removed to the army of Israel; and being captured by the Philistines, returned no more to its former place.⁴ Shiloh henceforth, though sometimes the residence of prophets, as of Ahijah celebrated in the history of Jeroboam,⁵ is nevertheless spoken of as forsaken and accursed of God.⁶ It is mentioned in Scripture during the exile, but not afterwards; and Jerome speaks of it in his day as so utterly in ruins, that the foundations of an altar could scarcely be pointed out.⁷

From that time onward, the place of Shiloh appears to have been utterly forgotten in ecclesiastical tradition; and I find no further notice of its position until the time of the crusaders. These soldiers of the cross found Shiloh at Neby Samwil; and there too monks and pilgrims continued to find it, without much variation, until the middle of the sixteenth century.⁸ Yet early in the fourteenth century, R. Parchi rightly describes the place as on the left of the traveller proceeding towards Jerusalem; and as then called Sailun.⁹ It would seem, too, as if Bonifacius was acquainted with the true site. Speaking of the way from Jerusalem to Shechem (Nâbulus), he says: "At fifteen miles north of el-Biréh there is a large hospitium in a valley, with a fountain outside; and not far off on the right is Shiloh, where an altar and ruined church are seen."¹⁰ This certainly

¹ Josh. 18, 1-10.

² 1 Sam. c. 1-4.

³ Judg. 21, 19-23.

⁴ 1 Sam. c. 4-6.

⁵ 1 K. 11, 29, 12, 15, 14, 2 sq.

⁶ Ps. 78, 60 sq. Jer. 7, 12, 14, 26, 6.

⁷ Jer. 41, 5. Hieron. Comm. in Sophon. i. 14 sq. "Vix ruinarum parva vestigia in magnis quondam urbibus cernimus. Silo tabernaculum et arca Domini fuit; vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur."

iii. 87-89

Epitaph. Paulæ p. 676, ed. Mart. "Quid narrem Silo, in qua altare dirutum hodieque monstratur?"

⁸ Benj. of Tudela p. 78, "St. Samuel of Shiloh, the ancient Shiloh." Brocardus c. 9, p. 184. Marinus Sanut. p. 249. Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 130, 136 Adrichomius p. 30. See Vol. I. p. 459.

⁹ See in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 435.

¹⁰ De perenn. Cultu Terræ Sanct. quoted by Quaresmius Tom. II. p. 798.

accords well with the position of Seilûn relative to Khân el-Lubban; which itself is nearly five and a half hours from el-Bireh.

But if the true position was thus for a time known, it was again soon forgotten; for at the close of the same century, Cotovicus places Shiloh at twelve miles north of el-Bireh upon the top of a high mountain, the highest in Palestine;¹ and although Quaresmius professes to adopt the report of Bonifacius, yet it is easy to see from the confusion of his language, and the various other opinions which he rejects, that no certain and definite knowledge of the place was then extant.² Since that time, so far as I can find, no further attempts have been made to ascertain the site of Shiloh.³

Leaving Seilûn at 8 o'clock, we followed down the valley, which takes the name of Wady el-Lubban, by a rapid descent N. W. by W. for twenty minutes, passing a well on our left. The valley then turns west, and becomes level and fertile; the fields of millet were green and beautiful, perhaps a foot high; and here, for the first and only time, we saw people at work weeding the millet with a sort of hoe; but without loosening the earth around the plants. The valley lies lower than that by Sinjil; for our ascent to Seilûn was much less than our subsequent descent. At 8.35 was another well; and fifteen minutes later we were opposite the Khân el-Lubban, lying perhaps five minutes distant southwest, at the south end of the charming little plain into which the valley here enters, and at the foot of the mountain over which the direct road comes from Sinjil. We had avoided this mountain by taking the route of Seilûn, where the ridge is broken through by valleys. This Khân is now in ruins; near by it is a fine fountain of running water. From it the beautiful oval plain extends north about fifteen minutes, with perhaps half that breadth, lying here deep among high rocky hills. On the slope of the mountain in the northwest is seen the village of Lubban; while about the middle of the western side, a narrow chasm through the mountain, carries off the waters of the plain and surrounding tract. This is the Wady el-Lubban, which we had seen from Jiljilia as it runs to join Wady el-Belât, and so to the 'Aujeh in the lower western plain.⁴

Our course was now north through this fine basin; here we again fell into the Jerusalem road, and came up with our

¹ Cotovic. Itin. p. 336. The author here evidently confounds Neby Samwil with this more northern position of Shiloh.

² Quaresmius II. p. 796-799.

³ Troilo in 1667 says the site was utterly unknown; though the Greeks professed to

show it at Khân el-Lubban; p. 405. Schubert at Sinjil speaks of "Silun" as lying in the northeast, but he did not visit it; Reise III. p. 130.

⁴ See above, p. 266.

servants and luggage, waiting for us beneath the shade of some trees. We passed on, leaving them to load up and follow us. At 9 o'clock we were opposite the village of Lubban, situated on the northwest acclivity, considerably above the plain. It is inhabited; has the appearance of an old place; and in the rocks above it are excavated sepulchres. There can be little doubt of its being the Lebonah of the Old Testament, between Bethel and Shechem.¹ The coincidence was suggested by Maundrell; and has ever since been adopted without question by most of those who have noticed the village at all.² Yet R. Parchi early in the fourteenth century has likewise a correct mention of it as the ancient Lebonah.³ But from the days of the book of Judges till the time of the crusades, I am not aware that there occurs any mention of this name or place; unless perhaps it be the Beth-leban of the Talmud.⁴ Brocardus, and after him others, call it Lemna and Lebna; but appear to have had no suspicion of its connection with any ancient site.⁵

At the northeast corner of the plain, where we now were, another level valley comes in from the east, through which we issued from this fine basin. The valley is at first narrow; but expands more and more as the road follows it up, until it turns northwards and becomes an open plain. Our course was about E. by N. for twenty minutes; and then N. N. E. At 9½ o'clock the village es-Sâwieh was directly over us on the hill at our left, overhanging the road. A little further on, we stopped for ten minutes under the shade of a large tree, to let our servants and baggage come up. At 9.50 we passed a ruined Khân on the road, also called es-Sâwieh, at the upper part of the plain, just upon the water-shed, where the land begins to descend towards the north into the next great valley running west.

Here we made a very considerable descent along a steep narrow Wady; and at 10.5 reached the bottom of a large and very stony valley running from east to west or rather towards the W. S. W. Some men from Râm-Allah whom we met, said it runs down to the 'Aujeh in the western plain, uniting with it below the castle of Râs el-Ain. On our right, perhaps half an hour distant, were two villages; one on the south side of the valley, near the summit of a high conical hill, called Kûbalân, surrounded by vineyards and large groves of olive and fig trees; the other called Yetma,⁶ on the north side of the valley near

¹ Judg. 21, 19.

² Maundrell, March 24. Reland Palæst. pp. 871, 872.

³ See in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 435.

⁴ Reland l. c.

⁵ Brocardus places "Lemna, casale valde pulchrum," at four leagues from iii. 90-92

Nâbulus towards Jerusalem on the right, c. 7. p. 178. Breydenbach, copying Brocardus, writes Lepna; Reissb. p. 128. Cotovicus has Lebna: p. 337. Quaresmius makes no allusion to the name or place.

⁶ There is reason to doubt the correct-

the top of the mountain, almost in ruins. These names, however, were given to us some time after we had passed; for on the spot, we could find no one to inform us, nor could we learn the name of the valley.¹ This Wady again lies deeper than the plain of el-Lubban; for our descent into it was greater than our ascent from that plain to the water-shed.

From this valley we had a rather steep ascent to the summit of the high ridge on the north. We reached the top at 10.35, having just before passed the foundations of a ruined tower. Here we had our first view of the great plain of Mukhna, which stretches along for several hours on the east of the mountains among which Nâbulus is situated. Those mountains were now before us in all their beauty; Mount Gerizim, crowned by a Wely on its highest point, bearing north; just beyond it the entrance of the valley of Nâbulus bearing nearly N. N. E.; further north the rugged heights of Mount Ebal; and then the fine plain extending apparently still beyond towards the N. N. E. skirted on its eastern side in its whole length by tracts of picturesque though lower hills. Much as I had read of Palestine, and multitudinous as have been the travellers upon this very road, I must confess that the existence here of such an extensive plain, running in this direction from S. S. W. to N. N. E. was almost utterly unknown to me. We could perceive our road forming a waving line along the foot of the high western hills, and under Mount Gerizim, until it entered the valley of Nâbulus, still two hours distant.

A steep descent brought us in twenty minutes to the southern extremity of the plain, near a cistern; in this part indeed the plain comes almost to a point. At 11.25 we crossed the dry bed of a torrent, which in winter carries off the waters of the whole southern part of the plain towards the west, forming a deep Wady through the western hills; but we could neither learn its name, nor to what stream it runs in the great lower plain.² Fifteen or twenty minutes down this valley on our left, were two villages; one on the southern hills in ruins, called Kâza; the other on the northern side called 'Ain Abûs. Directly opposite on our right, upon the hills along the eastern side of the plain, perhaps forty minutes distant, was the large village of Beita. Just beyond this Wady we passed at 11.35 the large and old village of Hawâra, lying above us on the slope at our left.

ness of the name, as applied to this village. Our lists seem to give it on the west of the road.

¹ This Wady has its head at 'Akrabeh, and passes down into the western plain as Wady Ribîh. It passes north of Rîs el-'Ain, and so to the 'Aujeh. See in Vol.

III. Sect. VII, under May 12th; and Sect. III, under Apr. 26th, 1852.

² It proved to be the beginning of the deep Wady Kânah, which runs to the great plain south of Jiljilia, and so to the 'Aujeh. See in Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 24th and 26th, 1852.

Here the plain spreads out to a greater width ; the eastern hills retiring somewhat more. On that side they are quite irregular and rocky, and often jut out into the plain ; while on the western side the base of the slopes departs much less from a right line. The broad plain presented a beautiful appearance ; it is everywhere cultivated, and was now covered with the rich green of millet, mingled with the yellow of the ripe grain, which the peasants were harvesting. Yet the soil seemed less fertile than that of most of the plains we had visited. The average width of this plain, may be here not far from half an hour, or forty minutes.

In passing along this plain we fell in with many people ; but found more trouble in obtaining information from them, than we experienced in any other part of Palestine. They would hardly answer any of our questions ; and although my companion dismounted and walked with them a long distance, and entered into conversation with them, yet it was with the greatest difficulty that he could get them to tell even the names of the various villages. We had several times found something of the same reserve at first, and especially yesterday at Jiljilia ; but why it should be so much greater here than anywhere else, we were at a loss to conceive. We did not find it in Nâbulus itself, nor further north ; and it may not improbably have been connected with the general dread of the governmental requisitions now in progress. Perhaps too the appearance of our Egyptian servants, carrying muskets, may have led them to imagine, that we had some connection with the government, and were seeking for information which might injure them. The peasantry around Nâbulus, it may be remembered, as well as those around Hebron, had felt the stern vengeance of the Egyptian government, after the rebellion of A. D. 1834.

Another steep Wady, coming down from the left, we passed at five minutes before noon ; on which, high up and out of sight, is the large village or rather market town of Baurin. Half an hour later we had the little hamlet of Kefr Kûllin above us on the side of Mount Gerizim. Several villages were scattered along on the eastern hills ; on that side Haudela, 'Awerta, and Raujib, succeeded each other.

Instead of keeping along at the foot of the mountain quite to the entrance of the valley of Nâbulus, the road ascends and winds around the northeast corner of Mount Gerizim. We turned this point at 1 o'clock, and entered the narrow valley running up northwest between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal ; thus leaving behind us the plain, which extends still further north. Below us, on the right, and not far above the edge of the plain, are the ruins of a little hamlet called Belât ; further north and

nearly in the middle of the mouth of the narrow valley, stands a small white building, a Wely, called Joseph's tomb; while near the foot of Gerizim below Belât, is the ancient well, known as that of Jacob. Directly opposite to the mouth of the valley, among the eastern hills, a beautiful smaller plain runs up eastward from the larger one; and on the low hills near its entrance on the north, are seen the three villages of 'Azmût, Deir el-Hatab, and Sâlim.

After turning the point of the mountain, our path descended very little; yet so great is here the ascent of the narrow valley, that in a quarter of an hour we came out upon its bottom, near a fine copious fountain in its middle, 'Ain Difneh, furnished with a reservoir. Below the fountain, towards the east, a tract of ground of three or four acres had recently been enclosed as a garden; but as yet it contained no trees. Above this point, we soon came to the olive groves, where the ascent is less rapid, and the soil hard and stony. On the left, before reaching the city, at the foot of Gerizim, is a small tomb of a Muslim saint, called 'Amûd; but of recent construction, as we were informed, and containing nothing of antiquity. At 1½ o'clock we were opposite the eastern end of the long narrow town, which we did not now enter. Keeping the road along its northern side, we passed some high mounds, apparently of ashes; where, all at once, the ground sinks down to a valley running towards the west, with a soil of rich black vegetable mould. Here a scene of luxuriant and almost unparalleled verdure burst upon our view. The whole valley was filled with gardens of vegetables and orchards of all kinds of fruits, watered by several fountains, which burst forth in various parts and flow westwards in refreshing streams. It came upon us suddenly like a scene of fairy enchantment. We saw nothing to compare with it in all Palestine. Here, beneath the shade of an immense mulberry tree, by the side of a purling rill, we pitched our tent for the remainder of the day and night.

The city of Nâbulus¹ is long and narrow, stretching close along the northeast base of Mount Gerizim in this small deep valley, half an hour distant from the great eastern plain. The streets are narrow; the houses high and in general well built, all of stone, with domes upon the roofs as at Jerusalem. The valley itself, from the foot of Gerizim to that of Ebal, is here not more than some five hundred yards wide, extending from southeast to northwest. The city lies directly upon the water-summit in this valley; the waters on the eastern part, as we

¹ We follow in this name the orthography of Abulfeda, which is probably the most correct. According to the vulgar

pronunciation of the present day, it would be written Nâblus. Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 85.

have seen, flowing off east into the plain and so to the Jordan ; while the fine fountains on the western side send off a pretty brook down the valley northwest towards the Mediterranean. This somewhat remarkable circumstance, so far as I can find, has hitherto been noted by no traveller.

Mounts Gerizim and Ebal rise in steep rocky precipices immediately from the valley on each side, apparently some eight hundred feet in height.¹ The sides of both these mountains, as here seen, were to our eyes equally naked and sterile ; although some travellers have chosen to describe Gerizim as fertile, and confine the sterility to Ebal.² The only exception in favour of the former, so far as we could perceive, is a small ravine coming down opposite the west end of the town, which indeed is full of fountains and trees ; in other respects both mountains, as here seen, are desolate, except that a few olive trees are scattered upon them. The side of the northern mountain, Ebal, along the foot, exhibits many ancient excavated sepulchres. The southern mountain is now called by the inhabitants, *Jebel et-Tûr*,³ though the name Gerizim is known at least to the Samaritans. The modern appellation of Ebal we did not learn.

One of our first objects at Nâbulus, was to visit the Samaritans, that singular and feeble remnant of an ancient people, which to this day has survived the storms of ages and of adverse influences, upon their native soil. Some men formerly from *Beirût* soon came around us ; and an old Christian of the Greek rite undertook to conduct us to the Samaritans, to the summit of Mount Gerizim, and to Jacob's well. We repaired to the city, passing among luxuriant groves of fig and other fruit trees, and entering by a gate at the western end. The quarter occupied by the Samaritans is in the southwest part of the city, rising somewhat upon the acclivity of Gerizim. It is well built, and the houses seemed solid and comfortable. On coming to the synagogue we found it closed. Several of the Samaritans came to us ; but as the priest was not at hand to open the door, we could not now visit the synagogue. They offered us a guide, however, to the top of Mount Gerizim ; and we determined to go thither immediately, and see the priest on our return. We set off therefore at 4 o'clock on foot, attended by one of the younger Samaritans, an honest simple-minded man. Our old

¹ According to Schubert's barometrical observations, the town of Nâbulus is 1751 Par. feet above the sea, and the summit of Gerizim about 2500 feet, or about the same as the Mount of Olives. This gives 750 feet for the height of the mountain above the town. *Reise III.* p. 146.

² *Cotovicus* p. 338. *O. von Richter Wallfahrten* p. 56. This story goes back iii. 96. 97

to the time of *Benj. of Tudela* ; who says correctly, that there are fountains and fruit trees on Gerizim, that is, in the ravine described in the text ; but this is not true of the mountain in general, which is as barren as Ebal. *Itin I.* p. 68.

³ So too *Yakût* in *Schult. Ind. in Vit. Salad. art. Tourum.*

Christian we were willing to dismiss till we came back ; having discovered meantime, that his plan had been to take a Samaritan guide himself, besides demanding one of our mules to ride. We struck up the ravine above mentioned, which comes down from the southwest and is full of fruit trees and verdure. Just out of the city is a fine fountain, called 'Asal ; and still further up, an aqueduct and mill.

Above the ravine the ascent of the mountain is steep ; yet not so but that one might ride up without difficulty. When about two thirds of the way up, we heard a woman calling after us, who proved to be the mother of our Samaritan guide. He was her only son, and had come away, it seems, without her knowledge ; and she was now in the utmost terror at finding that he had gone off as a guide to Franks, to show them the holy mountain. She had immediately followed us, and was now crying after us with all the strength of her lungs, forbidding him to proceed, lest some evil should befall him. The young man went back to meet her, and tried to pacify her ; but in vain ; she insisted upon his returning home. This he was not inclined to do ; although he said he could not disobey his mother, and so transgress the law of Moses. This touching trait gave us a favourable idea of the morality of the Samaritans. After reasoning with her a long time without effect, he finally persuaded her to go with us. So she followed us up ; at first full of wrath, and keeping at a distance from us ; yet at last she became quite reconciled and communicative.

Twenty minutes of ascent from the city in the direction southwest led us to the top of Gerizim ; which proved to be a tract of high table land stretching off far towards the west and southwest. Twenty minutes more towards the southeast along a regular path upon the table land, brought us to the Wely we had seen before, standing on a small eminence on the eastern brow of the mountain, perhaps the highest point ; and overlooking the plain on the east, and indeed, all the country around, including Jebel esh-Sheikh or Hermon in the distance. Here is the holy place of the Samaritans, whither they still come up three times a year to worship. The spot where they sacrifice the passover, seven lambs among them all, was pointed out to us, just below the highest point and before coming to the last slight acclivity. It is marked by two parallel rows of rough stones laid upon the ground ; and a small round pit, roughly stoned up, in which the flesh is roasted.

On ascending the rise of ground beyond this spot, the first object which presents itself, are the ruins of an immense structure of hewn stones, bearing every appearance of having once been a large and strong fortress. It consisted of two adjacent

parts, each measuring about two hundred and fifty feet from east to west and two hundred feet from north to south, giving a length in all of about four hundred feet in the latter direction. The stones are the common limestone of the region, tolerably large, and bevelled at the edges, though rough in the middle. The walls in some places are nine feet thick. At the four corners of the southern division were square towers, and one in the middle of the eastern side. In the northern part is now the Muslim Wely, and also a cemetery. The stranger at first is very naturally struck with the idea, that these must be the remains of the ancient temple of the Samaritans upon Mount Gerizim; but the Samaritans of the present day attach no sanctity whatever to these ruins, and simply call them el-Kül'ah, 'the Castle.' We shall hereafter see, that they are probably the remains of a fortress erected by Justinian.

Just under the walls of the castle, on the west side, are a few flat stones, of which it is difficult to say whether they were laid there by nature, or by man. Under these, the guide said, are the twelve stones brought out of Jordan by the Israelites;¹ and there they will remain, until el-Muhdy (the Guide) shall appear. This, he said, and not the Messiah, is the name they give to the expected Saviour. He could not tell when he would appear; but there were already some tokens of his coming.

Soon after we passed the castle, towards the south, the guide took off his shoes, saying it was unlawful for his people to tread with shoes upon this ground, it being holy. After a few steps we came to a large naked surface of rock, even with the ground and occupying a considerable area, inclining somewhat towards a cistern in the western part. This he said was their holiest spot, the place where the tabernacle of the Lord with the ark of the covenant had been pitched. He seemed to have no tradition of any temple here; and although we inquired repeatedly, we could not perceive that he had ever heard of any. Around this rock are slight traces of former walls, perhaps of the ancient temple. We measured them, so far as they could be distinguished, fifty-eight feet from north to south and forty-five feet from east to west, but we were afterwards not sure whether this latter ought not to be doubled. This spot is the Kibleh of the Samaritans. On whatever side of it they may be, according to our guide, they always turn their faces towards it in prayer; but when upon the spot itself, it is lawful for them to pray in any direction.

Near by the same place, he pointed out the spot where they believed Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac. On being

¹ Benjamin of Tudela relates, that the altar of the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim was built of these twelve stones. Itin. I. p. 67.

iii. 99, 100

asked if there were Samaritans in any other part, he said there were others living beyond the river Sabt, which could be crossed only on a Saturday; but as the Samaritans do not travel on that day, nothing more was known about them.

Further south, and indeed all around upon this eminence, are extensive foundations, apparently of dwellings, as if the ruins of a former city. There are also many cisterns; but all were now dry.

This point commanded a wide view of the country, and especially of the great plain below, through which we had travelled on approaching Nâbulus. The region round about, bore an aspect different from that around Jerusalem; as we had already had occasion to remark upon our journey. Indeed, from Sinjil northwards, we had noticed, that the mountains in general were less lofty and steep, and also less naked; while the valleys spread themselves out into fertile plains or basins, stretching mostly from east to west, but also sometimes from north to south. This plain of Nâbulus is the largest of all upon the high tract between the western plain and the Jordan valley; and these mountains are the highest in this region. The length of the plain from S. S. W. to N. N. E. is not far from four hours; its breadth is somewhat variable in consequence of the irregularity of the hills along the eastern border; but may be taken on an average at from one half to three quarters of an hour. The southern part, as we have seen, which is apparently less fertile, is drained by a Wady running westwards to the Mediterranean. But from a point some distance south of the valley of Nâbulus, the land begins to incline towards the north, and the waters are carried off at the northeast extremity towards the Jordan, by a branch of the great Wady el-Fâri'a.— Across the valley of Nâbulus, we could see the summit of Mount Ebal spreading out into table land, not unlike that of Gerizim.

But the feature in the prospect which struck us most, was the smaller plain already alluded to, which runs up E. S. E. from the eastern side of the Mûkhna, overagainst the valley of Nâbulus. It is properly separated from the Mûkhna by a low ridge of rocky hills, through which runs an open Wady connecting the two plains, and draining off the waters of the smaller one westwards, where they then flow northwards and so to the Jordan. On the hills along the north side of this Wady, are seen the three villages of 'Azmût, Deir el-Hatab, and Sâlim; the latter lying furthest east. This may not improbably be the Shalim, a city of Shechem, to which Jacob came on his return from Padan-aram.¹ The plain beyond extends eastwards.

¹ 1 Gen. 33, 18. The existence of this bulus or Shechem, shows at least that it is not necessary to suppose the name Sha-

for an hour or more, bearing the same characteristics of fertility and beauty as the Mûkhna itself. On its further side, on the low hills, was seen a village called Beit Dejan ;¹ and beyond the southeast part, appeared the high peak of a mountain looking towards the Jordan, along the foot of which passes a road leading from Nâbulus through this plain to the Jordan. This was Kûrn Sûrtabeh, which we had so often seen from the neighbourhood of Jericho.² On the nearest part of the southern side of the plain, lay another village called Beit Fûrik, not two hours from Nâbulus. The ruined village Kefr Beita lies twenty minutes further west.³

In the same region (southeast) our lists contained the name of 'Akrahah as a village still existing ; it follows immediately five of the villages just enumerated, and those of Beita, Haudela, 'Awerta, and Raujib, which are situated along the eastern side of the large plain. It would seem therefore to stand somewhere south of the five former, and east of the four latter. We however did not see it, nor was it here mentioned nor pointed out to us by any one. Wherever it may be situated, it is doubtless the ancient Acrabi of Eusebius and Jerome.—At about twelve Roman miles from Neapolis, in the same quarter, the Onomasticon places a village called Edumia ; and in our lists of that region stands the name Daumeh, which probably marks the same site.⁵

We returned down the mountain by the same route ; occupying twenty minutes to the brow of the descent, and twenty minutes thence to the city. We now found the Samaritan priest and several of his people waiting for us, in the little court before their synagogue and school room. The priest seemed about sixty years old, with a shrewd intelligent expression of countenance, and a manner which would command influence anywhere.⁶ His son, now sub-priest, perhaps thirty-five years of age, seemed in all respects to be of a more ordinary charac-

lim (Salem) to be applied in this passage to Shechem itself : as is done by Eusebius and Jerome and others after them. Onomast. art. *Salem* and *Sichem*. Equally unnecessary is the other mode of interpretation, which regards it as an adjective, in the meaning *safe*, *prosperous*. See generally, Reland's *Dissertat. Miscell.* I. 3. p. 143.

¹ This implies another ancient Beth Dagon, of which we have no account. Comp. above, p. 232, n. 2.

² See Vol. I. p. 536

³ Irby and Mangles p. 329. [100].—From Mount Gerizim we took the following bearings : Nabulus, the west end
iii. 102-104

just visible, N. by W. Mount Hermon N. 30° E. 'Azmût N. 55° E. Deir el-Hatab N. 70° E. Salim N. 80° E. Beit Dejan S. 80° E. Raujib S. 50° E. 'Awerta S. 15° E.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Aorabi*, 'Αραββελυ.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Edomia*. — We visited both 'Akrahah and Daumeh in 1852 ; see Vol. III. Sect. VII, under May 11th and 12th

⁶ Our notes do not contain the name of the priest ; but he is probably the same Selimeh, who wrote to De Sacy and others in 1808, 1820, and 1826. See *Notices et Extr. des Mss. etc.* Tom. XII. pp. 15, 17, 234.

ter. The priest wore an external robe of red silk, with a white turban ; the others had mostly red turbans. In other particulars their dress was similar to the usual costume of the country. Their common language of intercourse, among themselves and with others, is the Arabic. They were very civil and polite ; answered readily all our inquiries respecting themselves, their customs, and their faith and asked many questions, especially the priest respecting America, and particularly whether there were any Samaritans in that country. We did not understand them as believing, that other colonies of Samaritans actually exist there or elsewhere ; but they seemed to have the idea that such a thing was possible, and were anxious to learn the true state of the case.

The priest said, they have many books of prayers, commentaries, and the like, in their ancient language and character ; which character they call el-'Ebry (the Hebrew), in distinction from that used by the Jews, which they call el-Kashury. They have a copy of the first volume of Walton's Polyglott ; and in the course of conversation, the priest acknowledged to us the correctness of the Samaritan Pentateuch contained in it. They complained, as usual, of the Jewish corruptions of the text ; and dwelt upon the superior purity, both of their text and of their observance of the law.

After considerable conversation, the priest at length rose and opened the door of their *Keniseh*, (the Arabic word for both church and synagogue,) and we all entered, taking off our shoes. It is a small plain arched room, with a recess on the left hand at entering, where their manuscripts are kept, before which a curtain is suspended. We noticed no figure of a dove or of other objects. We inquired after the noted manuscript, which they professed was now 3460 years old ; referring it to Abishua the son of Phinehas.¹ The priest brought out a manuscript from the recess, rolled on two rods in the usual Jewish form ; but it turned out to be written in a modern hand and on new parchment. When this was pointed out, the old man laughed, and produced another, which he and the rest all said was the true one. It was certainly very much worn, and somewhat tattered with use and much kissing, and here and there patched with shreds of parchment ; but the handwriting appeared to me very similar to the former, and the vellum seemed in like manner not ancient. Of course we were not permitted to handle or touch it ; and whatever may be its real age, it is very probably the manuscript which has usually been shown to former travellers and excited their wonder. They professed to have about a hundred

¹ 1 Chron. 6, 3. 4. This manuscript is often mentioned in their letters ; e. g. De Sacy Corresp. p. 125, and Note.

manuscripts ; and the priest said, that he employs himself in writing out copies of the law. When asked if they would sell a copy, the answer was : Yes, for fifty thousand piastres.

The Samaritans are now reduced to a very small community ; there being only thirty men who pay taxes, and few, if any, who are exempt ; so that their whole number cannot be reckoned at over one hundred and fifty souls. One of them is in affluent circumstances ; and having been for a long time chief secretary of the Mutesellim of Nábulus, became one of the most important and powerful men of the province. He had recently been superseded in his influence with the governor by a Copt ; and now held only the second place. He was called el-'Abd es-Sâmâry. The rest of the Samaritans are not remarkable either for their wealth or poverty. The physiognomy of those we saw was not Jewish ; nor indeed did we remark in it any peculiar character, as distinguished from that of other natives of the country. They keep the Saturday as their Sabbath with great strictness, allowing no labour nor trading, not even cooking nor lighting a fire, but resting from their employments the whole day. On Friday evening they pray in their houses ; and on Saturday have public prayers in their synagogue at morning, noon, and evening. They meet also in the synagogue on the great festivals, and on the new moons ; but not every day. The law is read in public, not every Sabbath day, but only upon the same festivals.

Three times a year they go up to Mount Gerizim (Jebel et-Tûr) in solemn procession to worship ; and then they begin reading the law as they set off, and finish it above. These seasons are : The feast of the Passover, when they pitch their tents on the mountain all night, and sacrifice seven lambs at sunset ; the day of Pentecost ; and the feast of Tabernacles, when they sojourn there in booths built of branches of the arbutus.¹ They still maintain their ancient hatred against the Jews ; accuse them of departing from the law in not sacrificing the passover, and in various other points, as well as of corrupting the ancient text ; and scrupulously avoid all connection with them. If of old "the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans,"² the latter at the present day reciprocate the feeling ; and neither eat nor drink, nor marry, nor associate with the Jews ; but only trade with them.

¹ Ex. 23, 14-17. For many years at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, the Samaritans were unable to perform their devotions on Mount Gerizim, on account of the exactions and oppressions of the government and Sheikhs. Writing to France in 1810, they say that for twenty-five years they had ceased to

offer sacrifices on the mountain, and performed their rites only in the town. Yet from their letter in 1820, it would appear, that they had already been able to resume their pilgrimages to the summit of Gerizim. De Sacy *Corresp. des Samar.* pp. 126, 157 158.

² John 4, 9.

We inquired of the Samaritans respecting Jacob's well. They said they acknowledged the tradition, and regarded it as having belonged to the patriarch. It lies at the mouth of the valley, near the south side ; and is the same which the Christians sometimes call Bires-Sâmiriye, 'Well of the Samaritan woman.' They acknowledge also the tomb near by as the place of Joseph's burial ; though the present building is only a Muhammedan Wely.¹

Late as it was, we took a Christian guide, our first old man not having again made his appearance, and set off for Jacob's well. We now passed down on the north of the fountain in the valley and the enclosed gardens below ; so that we came to the opening of the valley on the north side. Our guide had professed to know all about the well ; but when we had got thus far, he could not tell where it was. We met, however, a Muhammedan, who also acknowledged the tradition respecting Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb. He led us by the latter, which stands in the middle of the mouth of the valley ; and then to the well, situated south of the tomb and just at the base of Gerizim, below the road by which we had passed along this morning. We were thirty-five minutes in coming to it from the city. The well bears evident marks of antiquity, but was now dry and deserted ; it was said usually to contain living water, and not merely to be filled by the rains. A large stone was laid loosely over, or rather in, its mouth ; and as the hour was now late and the twilight nearly gone, we made no attempt to remove the stone and examine the vaulted entrance below. We had also no line with us at the moment, to measure the well ; but by dropping in stones, we could perceive that it was *deep*.² Adjacent to the well are the ruins of an ancient church, forming mounds of rubbish ; among which we remarked three granite columns.³

What we thus could not do, had however been done long before by Maundrell. He describes the well as covered by "an old stone vault," into which he descended by a narrow hole in the roof, and there found the proper mouth of the well with a broad flat stone upon it. He removed the stone and measured the well. "It is dug in a firm rock, and contains about three yards in

¹ We heard nothing of the tombs of Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, and others, which the Samaritans have formerly professed to show at Nâbulus. See De Sacy *Corresp. des Samar.* pp. 181, 210, etc. — In the address of Stephen, Acts 7, 16, the twelve sons of Jacob are spoken of as buried at Shechem ; and historical notices of a Jewish tradition to the same effect, are found in the Rabbins and in Jerome ; see Lightfoot *Hor. Heb.* in Act. 7, 16.

Wetstein *Nov. Test.* in Act. 1. c. Hieron. Ep. 86, Epitaph. Paula, p. 677, "atque inde [Sichem] divertens vidit duodecim patriarcharum sepulchra." Yet a different tradition is also preserved by Josephus, which makes them to have been buried at Hebron ; *Antiq.* 2. 8. 2.

² John 4, 11.

³ For a subsequent visit to the well, see in Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 23d, 1852.

diameter, and thirty-five in depth ; five we found full of water."¹ It was near the end of March when Maundrell thus found fifteen feet of water in the well. In April, 1839, the Rev. S. Calhoun found the well to be only seventy-five feet deep below the vault, with ten or twelve feet of water. This measurement was verified by Dr Wilson in April, 1843 ; but at that time the bottom was scarcely covered with water.² According to Bonifacius about 1555, there was then an altar in this vault, on which mass was celebrated once a year ; but Quaresmius in the next century remarks, that this practice had been already discontinued many years by the Latins ; although the altar still existed in the vault, where the Greeks sometimes yet read mass.³

This tradition respecting both Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb, in which by a singular coincidence Jews⁴ and Samaritans, Christians and Muhammedans, all agree, goes back at least to the time of Eusebius in the early part of the fourth century. That writer indeed speaks only of the sepulchre ; but the Bourdeaux pilgrim in A. D. 333, mentions also the well ; and neither of these writers has any allusion to a church.⁵ But Jerome in his letter on Paula, which is referred to A. D. 404, makes her visit the church erected at the side of Mount Gerizim around the well of Jacob, where our Lord met the Samaritan woman.⁶ The church would seem therefore to have been built during the fourth century ; though not by Helena, as is reported in modern times. It was visited and is mentioned, as around the well, by Antoninus Martyr near the close of the sixth century ; by Arculfus a century later, who describes it as built in the form of a cross ; and again by St. Willibald in the eighth century.⁷ Yet Sæwulf about A. D. 1103, and Phocas in 1185, who speak of the well, make no mention of the church ; whence we may conclude that the latter had been destroyed before the period of the crusades.⁸ Brocardus speaks of ruins around the well, blocks of marble and columns, which he held to be the ruins of a town, the ancient Thebez ; they were probably those of the church, to which he makes no allusion.⁹ Other travellers, both of that age and later,

¹ Maundrell, March 24.

² Lands of the Bible II. p. 55 sq. Comp. Narrat. of the Scotch Deputation in 1829, June 20th.

³ "Tantum in ore putei remanet altare ;" Bonifacius, quoted by Quaresmius, II. p. 801, col. a. b.

⁴ Lightfoot Hor. Heb. in Act. 7, 16.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Sichem*. Itiner. Hieros. ed. Wess. p. 587 sq.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. 86, Epit. Paulæ, p. 676. ed. Mart. "Et ex latere montis Garizim

extractam circum puteum Jacob intravit Ecclesiam," etc.

⁷ Anton. Mart. Itin. 6. Adamnanus 2. 21. St. Willib. Hodæpor. 22. p. 378. ed. Mabill. See these writers cited in full, Reland Palest. p. 1007 sq.

⁸ Sæwulf Peregrinat. p. 269. Phocas d. Locis Sanct. 13. Reland l. c.

⁹ Brocardus c. 7. p. 177. Comp. Marin. Sanut. p. 248, who also mentions the tomb of Joseph.

speak of the church only as destroyed, and the well as already deserted.¹

Before the days of Eusebius, there seems to be no historical testimony to show the identity of this well, with that which our Saviour visited; and the proof must therefore rest, so far as it can be made out at all, on circumstantial evidence. I am not aware of anything in the nature of the case, that goes to contradict the common tradition; but on the other hand, I see much in the circumstances, tending to confirm the supposition, that this is actually the spot where our Lord held his conversation with the Samaritan woman. Jesus was journeying from Jerusalem to Galilee, and rested at the well, while "his disciples were gone away into the city to buy meat."² The well therefore lay apparently before the city, and at some distance from it. In passing along the eastern plain, Jesus had halted at the well, and sent his disciples to the city situated in the narrow valley, intending on their return to proceed along the plain on his way to Galilee, without himself visiting the city. All this corresponds exactly to the present character of the ground.³ The well too was Jacob's well, of high antiquity, a known and venerated spot; which, after having already lived for so many ages in tradition, would not be likely to be forgotten in the two and a half centuries, intervening between St. John and Eusebius.

A very obvious question presented itself to us upon the spot, viz. How it can be supposed, that the woman should have come from the city, now half an hour distant, with her water-pot, to draw water from Jacob's well, when there are so many fountains just around the city, and she must have also passed directly by a large one at mid-distance? But, in the first place, the ancient city probably lay in part nearer to this well than the modern one; and then too it is not said, that the woman came thither *from* the city at all. She may have dwelt, or have been labouring, near by the well; and have gone into the city only to make her wonderful report respecting the stranger prophet.⁴ Or, even granting that her home was in the city, there would be nothing improbable or unusual in the supposition, that the inhabitants may have set a peculiar value on the water of this ancient well of Jacob, and have occasionally put themselves to the trouble of going thither to draw. That it was not the ordinary public well of the city, is probable from the circum-

¹ So Will. de Baldensel in Basnage Thesaur. IV. p. 353. Sir J. Maundeville p. 105. Lond. 1839. Lud. de Suchem. Itin. p. 93. Reissb. p. 850. Cotovic. p. 337. Quaresmius II. p. 801. etc. etc.

² John 4, 3-8.

³ The present usual road from Nâbulus

northwards, ascends and crosses the ridge of Mount Ebal at a point west of the town. But there is, and doubtless was, also a road along the plain.

⁴ John 4, 7. 28. 29. "Woman of Samaria" is here only equivalent to "a Samaritan woman," one of the Samaritans.

stance, that there was here no public accommodation for drawing water.¹

More difficult is it to account for the fact, that a well should ever have been dug here at all, on a spot in the immediate vicinity of so many natural fountains; and irrigated, even at the present day, by rills of running water, brought down from the source higher up the valley, and of sufficient volume to drive a mill. I can solve this difficulty only by admitting, that this is probably the actual well of the patriarch; and that it was dug by him in some connection with the possession of the "parcel of ground," bought of Hamor the father of Shechem; which he gave to his son Joseph, and in which Joseph and possibly his brethren were buried.² The practice of the patriarchs to dig wells wherever they sojourned, is well known;³ and if Jacob's field, as it would seem, was here before the mouth of the valley of Shechem, he might prefer not to be dependent for water on fountains, which lay up that valley and were not his own. Or, very possibly, the fountain itself may be of later date; the effect of earthquakes, to which the land is subject.

I think we may thus rest with confidence in the opinion, that this is Jacob's well, and here the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. Here the Saviour, wearied with his journey, sat upon the well, and taught the poor Samaritan woman those great truths, which have broken down the separating wall between Jews and Gentiles: "God is a spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." Here, too, as the people flocked from the city to hear him, he pointed his disciples to the waving fields which decked the noble plain around, exclaiming: "Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest!"⁴

It was half past 8 o'clock when we returned to our tent; wearied indeed in body, but refreshed in spirit, as we read anew, and in the midst of the very scenes, the account of our Saviour's visit and sublime teaching.⁵

In our interview with the Samaritans, we had forgotten to inquire respecting the general statistics of Nábulus; and we had no other acquaintance on whose information we could depend. The only Christians here are Greeks, numbering 120 taxable men, or about 500 souls. There is a Greek bishop of

¹ John 4, 11.

² Gen. 21, 25. 30. 26, 15. 18-32.

³ Gen. 33, 19. Josh. 24, 32. John 5, 5. Acts 7, 15. 16. Comp. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. in Act. 7, 16. See also above, p. 283. n. 1.

⁴ John 4, 20-24. 30. 35.

⁵ We visited Nábulus again in 1852 see Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 23.

Nâbulus ; but he resides in the convent at Jerusalem.¹ The Samaritans count some 150 souls, as we have seen ; and there were said to be about as many Jews. From various data, we were led to estimate the whole population at about 8000 souls ; all Muhammedans, with the exceptions above specified. The present governor of the province of Nâbulus was a son of Hussein, the former Mudir of 'Akka.²

It would be useless to spend time here, in showing that the Nâbulus of the present day is the Neapolis of the Roman age ; or that the latter appellation took the place of the more ancient name Shechem. It is one of the very few foreign names imposed by the Romans in Palestine, which have survived to the present day. The historical testimonies to the general identity of Neapolis and Sichem are hardly less definite and numerous, than in the case of Ælia and Jerusalem ;³ while the situation of Nâbulus in the mountains of Ephraim and beneath Mount Gerizim, of which tradition has never lost sight, corresponds entirely to the ancient accounts of the position of Shechem.

Shechem was a very ancient place, though we do not find it mentioned as a city, until the time of Jacob. Abraham indeed first came, in the land of Canaan, "unto the place of Shechem, unto the oaks of Moreh ;"⁴ and Jacob on his return from Padan-Aram, came to Shalim, a city of Shechem, "and pitched his tents before" (east of) the latter city. This corresponds to the present village of Sâlim, which lies east of Nâbulus across the great plain. In this plain the patriarch encamped, and purchased the "parcel of ground," still marked by his well and the traditional tomb of Joseph.⁵ It was here that Dinah was defiled by Shechem the son of Hamor, prince of the country ; and the city Shechem with its gates is spoken of, named probably after that prince. It would seem not then to have been large ; inasmuch as the two sons of Jacob were able to overcome and to slay all the males.⁶ Jacob's field, as we have seen, was a permanent possession ; and the patriarch, even when residing at Hebron, sent his flocks to pasture in this neighbourhood. It was on a visit to them in this region, that Joseph was sold by his brethren.⁷

¹ See Vol. I. p. 425.

² There are said to be leprosy persons at Nâbulus, as well as at Jerusalem ; but we did not here meet with them. Paxton's Letters, xv. p. 173. Lond.

³ Josephus has usually Sichem ; but also once Neapolis, B. J. 4. 8. 1. Epiphanius adv. Hær. lib. iii. p. 1055, 'Ἐν Σικίμοις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐν τῇ νυνὶ Νεαπόλει. ib. p.

1068. Hieron. Ep. 86, Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 676, "Transivit Sichem,—quæ nunc Neapolis appellatur," etc. See also other authorities, Reland Pal. p. 1004 sq.

⁴ Gen. 12, 6.

⁵ Gen. 33, 18, 19. See above. p. 279. n. 1 ; also p. 286.

⁶ Gen. 34, 1. 2. 20. 24. 25.

⁷ Gen. 37, 12-14.

On the return of the Israelites from Egypt, after they had passed over Jordan, they were directed to set up great stones and build an altar on Mount Ebal; and to station six of the tribes upon Mount Gerizim to bless the people, and six upon Mount Ebal to curse.¹ Between these two mountains, according to Josephus, lay Shechem, having Ebal on the north and Gerizim on the south.² In the division of the land, Shechem fell to the lot of Ephraim, but was assigned to the Levites and made a city of refuge.³ Here Joshua met the assembled people for the last time.⁴ In the days of the Judges, Abimelech treacherously got possession of the city, which gave occasion for the beautiful parable of Jotham, delivered from Mount Gerizim; in the end the people proved treacherous to the usurper, and the city was destroyed by him.⁵ At Shechem all Israel came together to make Rehoboam king; here the ten tribes rebelled; and the city became for a time the royal residence of Jeroboam.⁶ We hear nothing more of it before the exile; during which it seems still to have been inhabited.⁷

After the exile, Shechem is mainly known as the chief seat of the people, who thenceforth bore the name of Samaritans. Of the origin of this people we have no ancient account, except in the Scriptures and in Josephus. It appears that after the carrying away captive of the Israelites from Mount Ephraim and the region of Samaria by the Assyrian Shalmaneser, the same monarch brought men from Babylon, and from other eastern countries, "and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria and dwelt in the cities thereof."⁸ Visited and disturbed by lions, this people applied to the king of Assyria for one of the Israelitish priests, to "teach them the manner of the God of the land;" and one was sent accordingly, and took up his abode at Bethel, the former scene of Jeroboam's idolatry. So, "they feared the Lord, and served their own gods," each his own national idols; "and made unto themselves of the lowest of them priests of the high places." This continued to be the case down to the time when the scriptural account was written; and it was this people, according to Josephus, who were called in Hebrew Cutheans, and in the Greek language Samaritans.⁹

¹ Deut. 27, 1-13. The altar in verse 4, according to the present Hebrew text, was to be on Ebal. The Samaritan text reads here Gerizim; and this is the main point, in which they charge the Jews with corrupting the text.

² Joseph. Ant. 4. 8. 44. Comp. Judg. 9, 7.

³ Josh. 20, 7. 21, 20. 21.

⁴ Josh. 24, 1. 25.

iii. 114-116

⁵ Judg. 9, 1-49.

⁶ 1 Kings 12, 1. 12-16. 25.

⁷ Jer. 41, 5.

⁸ 2 Kings 17, 3. 8. 24. Joseph. Antiq. 9. 14. 1, 3. ib. 10. 9. 7.—The Samaritans themselves afterwards refer their transportation into the land to Esar-haddon, Ezra 4, 2. This may have been a later emigration.

⁹ 2 Kings 18, 25-34. 41. Joseph. Ant. l. c.

According to these accounts, it appears that the Samaritans were originally foreigners, having nothing in common with the Jews; and not a mixed race, as is commonly assumed, except so far as a comparatively few straggling Israelites of the lower classes may not improbably have remained in their homes.¹ The introduction of the Pentateuch among them is sufficiently accounted for, by the return of the Israelitish priest to Bethel, and the partial renewal of the Israelitish worship. When the Jews returned under Zerubbabel from their exile, and began to rebuild Jerusalem and their temple, the Samaritans also desired to aid them in the work: "Let us build with you; for we seek your God as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esar-haddon."² It was the refusal of the Jews to admit them to this privilege, that gave rise to the subsequent hatred between the two races; and from that moment the Samaritans did all they could, to hinder the rebuilding both of the temple and the city.³

It was the same refusal, probably, and subsequent acts of mutual hatred, that stimulated the Samaritans to erect a temple of their own upon Mount Gerizim. The immediate occasion appears to have been the circumstance related by Nehemiah, that a son of Joiada the high priest had become son-in-law to Sanballat, and had on this account been expelled from Jerusalem.⁴ According to Josephus, this person was Manasseh, a brother of the high priest Jaddus, and was expelled as having married the daughter of Sanballat, the Persian governor of Samaria under Darius Codomanus and Alexander the Great, about 330 B. C. some eighty years later than the time of Nehemiah.⁵ The same writer relates, that Manasseh withdrew to the Samaritans; and that Sanballat, his father-in-law, having joined Alexander the Great before Tyre, obtained from that monarch permission to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim, in which he constituted Manasseh high priest.⁶ Sichem, at the foot of Gerizim, now became the metropolis of the Samaritans, and was inhabited by apostate Jews; and according to Josephus, if a Jew at Jerusalem was called to an account for eating unclean food, or for breaking the Sabbath, or for any

¹ The common view is perhaps most strongly stated by De Sacy, *Corresp. des Samaritains*, p. 3, in *Notices et Extr. des Mss. de la Biblioth. du Roi*, Tom XII. For the opposite view, see Hengstenberg *Authentie des Pentat.* I. p. 1 sq.

² Ezra 4, 2.

³ Ezra c. 4. Nehem. cc. 4. 6. Joseph. Ant. 11. 4. 9.

⁴ Neh. 13, 28.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. 11. 7. 2. This would

seem most probably to be a chronological error on the part of Josephus; since it is hardly supposable, that the very same fact, with the like circumstances, should occur at two different times to different persons bearing the same names. Hence too the building of the temple on Gerizim, is probably to be placed earlier than the time of Alexander.

⁶ Joseph. Ant. 11. 8. 2, 4.

similar crime, he fled to the Sichemites, declaring himself to be unjustly accused.¹

The mutual hatred continued to increase, each party contending for the sanctity of their own temple;² though the Jewish historian, with apparent justice, accuses the Samaritans of professing to be Jews and descended from Joseph, when this might tend to their advantage; or of disclaiming all kindred and connection with them, when this would better serve their turn.³ Broils sometimes ensued;⁴ and at length the temple on Gerizim was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, about 129 B. C. having stood, according to Josephus, about two hundred years.⁵ The broils continued, and the hatred increased. Under the procurator Coponius, who followed Archelaus, a Samaritan entered Jerusalem secretly, and polluted the whole temple, by scattering in it human bones.⁶ The name Samaritan had now become among the Jews a by-word and term of reproach; and all intercourse with them was avoided. Of this we find various traces in the New Testament. Jesus himself was called a Samaritan in scorn; and the seventy disciples, when first sent out, were not to go to the cities of the Samaritans, since they did not belong to the house of Israel.⁷ They still clung to their worship on Mount Gerizim; and lived in expectation of a Messiah.⁸ In consequence of this hatred, and in allusion to this idolatry, the town of Sichem probably received among the Jewish common people the by-name Sychar, which we find in the Gospel of St. John; while Stephen, in addressing the more courtly Sanhedrim, employs the ancient name.⁹ Yet many of the Samaritans believed on Christ in Sichem itself; and afterwards, churches were gathered in their towns and villages by the apostles.¹⁰

¹ Jos. Ant. 11. 8. 6, *Σαμαρείται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σικίμα ἔχοντες, κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζὲν ὄρει καὶ κατακτημένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου Ἑλίου.* Ib. 11. 8. 7.—Comp. Jahn Bibl. Archæol. Th. II. Bd. II. p. 303.

² Jos. Ant. 12. 1. 1. ib. 13. 3. 4.

³ Jos. Ant. 9. 14. 3. Thus towards Alexander they professed to be Hebrews, ib. 11. 8. 6. With Antiochus they claimed to be Medes and Persians, and asked permission to dedicate their temple to Jupiter Hellenius; ib. 12. 5. 5. Comp. 2 Macc. 6, 2.

⁴ Jos. Ant. 12. 4. 1, ib. 13. 3. 4. ib. 13. 10. 2. ib. 14. 6. 2.

⁵ Ibid. 13. 9. 1. B. J. 1. 2. 6.

⁶ Jos. Ant. 18. 2. 2. Comp. 20. 6. 1.

⁷ John 8, 48. 4. 9. 27. Matt. 10, 5. Luke 17, 16. 18. See also Sirac. 50, 25.

iii. 117–119

26, *ὁ λαὸς μωρὸς δ κατοικῶν ἐν Σικίμῳ.* Testam. XII Patriarch. p. 564.

⁸ John 4, 20, 25.

⁹ John 4, 5. Acts 7, 16.—This name Sychar (Συχάρ) might come from Heb. *שָׁחַר* *falsehood*, spoken of idols, Hab. 2, 18; or also from *שָׂכַר* *drunkard*, in allusion to Is. 28, 1. 7. Comp. Sirac. 50, 26. Test. XII Patr. p. 564, *ἔσται γὰρ ἀπὸ σήμερον Σικίμ λεγομένη πόλις ἀσυνέτων.* The Jews were fond of such slight like-sounding perversions of proper names; so the change between *שָׂכַר* *Beelzebub*, 2 K. 1, 2. 3, and *Βεελ(ε)βοὺλ Beelzebub*, applied in the N. T. to Satan, Matt. 10, 25. etc. So too *Bethaven* for *Bethel*, Hos. 4, 15. 5, 8; comp. Amos 5, 5. See Reland Dissert. Miscell. I. p. 140 sq. Hengstenb. Auth. des Pentat. I. p. 25 sq.

¹⁰ John 4, 39–42. Acts 8, 5–25. 9, 31

Not long after the times of the New Testament, the city of Sichem received the new name of Neapolis, which remains to the present day in the Arabic form Nâbulus. This took place apparently under Vespasian; for the coins of the city, of which there are many from Titus to Volusianus, bear the inscription "Flavia Neapolis;" the former epithet being adopted in honour of Flavius Vespasian, probably in consequence of some benefit conferred by him.¹ The name Neapolis is already mentioned by Josephus, and also by Pliny, who died A. D. 79; and both these writers affirm, that the place was before called Mabortha or Mamortha by its inhabitants; a circumstance of which there seems to be no further historical trace, and no very satisfactory solution.²

There is also a question, whether Neapolis occupied, or now occupies, precisely the same spot as Sichem; though the fact of their general identity does not appear to be doubtful.³ The difficulty has apparently arisen, from what seems to have been a mere hypothesis current in the days of Eusebius, when the rage for pilgrimages and the finding out of scriptural places was just beginning. At that time Sychar and Sichem were regarded as two distinct places, and both of them different from Neapolis. Eusebius says expressly, that Sychar lay before (east of) Neapolis by the field of Joseph with Jacob's well; while Sichem was pointed out as a deserted place in the suburbs of Neapolis, where was also Joseph's tomb.⁴ The Bourdeaux pilgrim in the same age (A. D. 333) is more specific. According to him, by Neapolis at the foot of Mount Gerizim lay the place called Sichem, where was the monument of Joseph; and at one Roman mile further was Sychar, whence the Samaritan woman came to draw water at Jacob's well.⁵

It is hardly necessary to remark upon the confusion and inconsistency of all this, and how strongly it savours of the

¹ For this custom of cities adopting the names of their benefactor on coins, see above, p. 60 and n. 3. For the coins of Neapolis, see Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p. 433 sq. Mionnet Médailles Antiques, Tom. V. p. 499. Suppl. VIII. p. 344 sq.

² Jos. B. J. 4. 8. 1, *παρὰ τὴν Νεάπολιν καλουμένην, Μαβορθὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων*. Plin. H. N. 5. 13, "Neapolis, quæ ante Mamortha dicebatur." Harduin professes to give a coin of Marcus Aurelius with the reading: NEA. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ. ΜΟΡΘΙΑ, (to which he prefixes ΦΑ.) which last word ΜΟΡΘΙΑ Cellarius and Reland take for the name Mamortha, and attempt to explain it. But I find no such inscription among all the coins in Eckhel and Mionnet; and there certainly is no sufficient ground to

make out of it *Flavia Neapolis*, which was not a metropolis. See Harduin Nummor. antiq. populorum et urbium illustr. p. 341. Cellarius Collectanea Hist. Samar. p. 10. Reland Dissert. Miscell. I. p. 137 sq.

³ See above, p. 287. n. 3.

⁴ Onomast. arts. *Sychar, Sichem*. See also arts. *Luza, Terebinthus*. Reland Palest. p. 1004.

⁵ Itin. Hierosol. ed. Wesseling. p. 587, "*Neapoli*.—Inde ad pedem montis ipsius locus est, cui nomen Sechim; inde positus est monumentum, ubi positus est Joseph in villa, quam dedit ei Jacob pater ejus.—Inde passus mille, locus est cui nomen Sechar, unde descendit mulier Samaritana ad eundem locum, ubi Jacob puteum fodit," etc.

spirit of the age. Nor did this hypothesis continue long. Jerome, who had more of critical acumen than most of his cotemporaries; and who in his version of the *Onomasticon*, had contented himself with simply translating Eusebius' account of a distinct Sychar and Sichem; comes out boldly in other places, and pronounces Sychar to be merely an erroneous reading for Sichem, which latter he declares to be identical with Neapolis.¹ From that time onwards, this identity does not appear to have been again drawn in question. Yet in all probability, the ancient city was much larger than the Neapolis of Eusebius; and there is nothing incredible in the idea, that a portion of its ruins may still be seen on the east of the latter place, stretching down for some distance towards Jacob's well, or even near to it. Jerusalem itself extended anciently much further north and south, than at the present day. That such ruins should now have disappeared around Nâbulus, is not surprising; the stones would very naturally be used in the structures of the modern city.²

Indeed, if we may credit the accounts of Josephus, the Neapolis of his day appears to have had a population far greater than that of the present city; and the people continued long to be known chiefly by the name of Samaritans. So early as the time of Pilate, we read of a tumult and sedition excited among them by an adventurer, who persuaded the common people to follow him to the summit of Mount Gerizim, where he proposed to show them the golden vessels which Moses in ancient times had buried there. But Pilate ordered troops to attack this multitude; and having dispersed them, caused many of the leaders to be put to death. The Samaritans complained of him before Vitellius, then proconsul of Syria; and this was the occasion of Pilate's being deposed and sent to Rome.³ In general, the Samaritans would seem to have been no less hostile to the Romans, than were the Jews themselves. While Vespasian was engaged in subduing various portions of the country, a great multitude of the Samaritans collected and posted themselves upon Mount Gerizim. Vespasian, anticipating their movements, sent against them Cerealis with a body of troops;

¹ "Transivit Sichem, non ut plerique errantes legunt Sichar, quæ nunc Neapolis appellatur;" Ep. 86, Epit. Paulæ, p. 676. ed. Mart.—"Hebraice Sichem dicitur, ut Johannes quoque Evangelista testatur; licet vitiose, ut Sichar legatur, error inolevit;" Quæst. in Gen. cap. xlviii. no. 22.—It may be proper to remark, that this opinion of Jerome as to the reading Sychar, is contradicted by all the Greek manuscripts of the N. T.

iii. 120-122

² Maundrell mentions "some pieces of a very thick wall still to be seen not very far from hence," i. e. from the well; March 24. Schubert speaks of the "supposed walls of ancient Sichem" as visible in several places between the present city and Jacob's well; Reise III. p. 153. We were not able to make out anything of this sort; and saw only the ruins of the church and of the hamlet Belit.

³ Joseph. Ant. 18. 4. 1, 2.

who ultimately surrounded them, and having in vain proposed terms of submission, attacked them and slew to the number of eleven thousand six hundred persons.¹ Whether the city itself was destroyed or rebuilt by Vespasian, we are not informed.

The Samaritan worship would appear to have long continued predominant at Neapolis; for upon the coins of the subsequent centuries, we find Mount Gerizim with its temple depicted as the symbol of the city. There is indeed no historical testimony, that the former temple was ever rebuilt; yet there was doubtless an altar, or some kind of structure, where their worship was held. The Samaritans are not mentioned in connection with the Jewish war and catastrophe under Adrian; but under Septimius Severus, about A. D. 200, they appear to have made common cause with the Jews against that emperor; and Neapolis was deprived by him of its rights as a city.² In that and the following centuries, the Samaritans were spread extensively not only in Egypt and the east, but also in the west as far as to Rome itself; where they had a synagogue in the time of Theodoric, after A. D. 493.³ Their occupation appears to have been chiefly that of merchants and money changers, much like the Jews.⁴

There had already been converts to the Christian faith in Neapolis under our Saviour; and in all probability a church had been gathered here, during the ministry of the apostles.⁵ The celebrated Justin Martyr, who suffered at Rome about A. D. 163, was a native of this city.⁶ It also became early the seat of a Christian bishop. The name of Germanus, bishop of Neapolis, appears among the subscriptions to the councils of Nicaea and Neocæsarea A. D. 314, and to that of Nicea A. D. 325; while the names of four others are also preserved, the last of whom, John, was a signer at the synod of Jerusalem A. D. 536.⁷ The general condition of the city in the fourth and fifth

¹ Joseph. B. J. 3. 7. 32.

² Euseb Chron. "Judaicum et Samariticum bellum motum est" Spartian. in Sept. Sev. c. 16, "Neapolitanis Palestinianis jus civitatis tulit, quod pro Nigro [Severi æmulo] diu in armis fuerant." This right was probably restored; for the same writer remarks, c. 15, "Palestinis penam remisit, quam ob causam Nigri meruerant." See Cellarii Collectan. Hist. Samar. I. 7. p. 22.

³ This appears from the laws of the Cod. Theodos. especially XVI, XXVIII, de Judæis, Cœlicolis, et Samaritanis; XVIII de Noviculariis; CXXIX, CNLIV, de Samaritis. Cellarius l. c. pp. 16, 22, 23, 25.—For the synagogue, see Cassiodor. Variar. Epist. lib. III. 45. Cellarius, l. c. p. 23.

VOL. II.—25*

⁴ See the edict of Justinian, Περὶ ἀργυροπρατικῶν συναλλαγμάτων, where it is said: Εἰ γράμματα φέροι αὐτοῦ τοῦ τῆς τραπεζῆς προεστηκότος, τοῦ γε ὑπογραφέως αὐτοῦ, οὗς Σαμαρείτας καλοῦσι. Cellarius, l. c. pp. 23, 25.

⁵ John 4, 39–42. Acts 8, 25. 9, 31. 15, 3.

⁶ Apol. 2. p. 41, Ἰουστίνος—ἀπὸ Φλαουίας Νέας πόλεως Συρίας τῆς Παλαιστίνης. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. 4. 12.

⁷ Labbé Concil. general. Coll. Tom. I. pp. 1475, 1488. Tom. II. p. 51. Tom. V. p. 286. See generally, Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. col. 647 sq. Reland Palest. p. 1009. See above, Vol. I. p. 383. Neapolis stands also in the Greek ecclesiastical Notitie; see Reland Pal. pp. 215, 220.

centuries, as reported by Eusebius, the Bourdeaux pilgrim, and Jerome, we have already seen.¹ Nearly a century later, the hatred of the Samaritans broke out against the Christians, and gave rise anew to scenes of tumult and slaughter.

The historian Procopius relates, that under the reign of Zeno (after A. D. 474) a tumult arose at Neapolis, in which the Samaritans rushed in great numbers into the church, where the Christians were celebrating the festival of Pentecost, killed many, maimed the bishop Terebinthus by cutting off his fingers, and committed other horrible atrocities. The bishop himself repaired to Constantinople, and made complaint to the emperor; who immediately took measures to punish the guilty. The Samaritans were driven from Mount Gerizim, which was made over to the Christians; and Zeno erected there a church in honour of the virgin, which he surrounded by what in appearance was a wall, though in reality only a fence;² stationing a strong garrison below in the city, but only a small guard at the church above.

The Samaritans smothered their indignation for a time;³ but it broke out again under Anastasius and Justinian. During the reign of the former, a band of this people, under the guidance of a woman, ascended Mount Gerizim from a different side, seized upon the church, and slew the guard; but the troops in the city were able to prevent their being supported by the inhabitants, and the ringleaders were seized and punished. In respect to the troubles under Justinian, Procopius only remarks, that this emperor erected outside of the former wall or fence around the church on Mount Gerizim, a second wall, which, while it left the appearance of the work unchanged, rendered it wholly impregnable. This was probably the fortress, the ruins of which are still seen upon the mountain, bearing every mark of a Roman origin.⁴ The emperor also caused the five Christian churches, destroyed by the Samaritans in the city itself, to be rebuilt.

The Samaritan insurrection under Justinian, is more fully described by Cyril of Scythopolis in his life of St. Sabas. According to him, the whole race of the Samaritans in Palestine rose upon the Christians, in May, A. D. 529, the third year of Justinian's reign. They perpetrated many atrocities, plundering and burning churches, torturing Christians to death, and setting on fire whole villages, especially in the vicinity of Ne-

¹ Pages 291, 292.

² *Τεχνισμέυος τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀποτριγχώσας.*

³ According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, A. D. 484, the Samaritans under a leader Justusa, made an attempt in that year to

drive out the Christians from Cæsarea. Reland Pal. p. 673.

⁴ Procop. de Edific. Justin. 5. 7. Id. *Historia Arcana* (Anecd.) § 11.—See above, p. 277 sq.

apolis, their head quarters. Here they put the bishop Ammonas to death, and set up a leader of their own, Julian, whom they crowned as king. The emperor immediately sent troops against them; a battle took place; and Julian with an immense number of the Samaritans was slain. The holy Sabas now repaired to Constantinople in the name of the Christians of Palestine, to ask for a remission of tribute on account of the devastations of the Samaritans, and protection against their future machinations. The emperor granted all his requests; remitted the tribute; ordered the churches to be rebuilt; and by an edict took away from the Samaritans all their synagogues, and declared them incapable of holding any public employment, or of acquiring property by inheritance or by gift among themselves.¹ This testimony is borne out also by the laws of Justinian.² The same general account is likewise given by Theophanes and Eutychius; from the former of whom it appears, that many of the Samaritans fled to Chosroes king of Persia, who was induced by their persuasion not to make peace with Justinian.³ Many also became Christians.⁴ From that time onwards, the existence of the Samaritans is rarely mentioned in history.

On the invasion of the Muhammedans, and while the siege of Jerusalem was going on, Neapolis, Sebaste, and other smaller towns, were brought under the power of the conquerors.⁵ From that time until the crusades, we hear nothing further of Neapolis; except the slight notices of the few pilgrims, who mention only Jacob's well and Mount Gerizim.⁶ Immediately after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, some of the chiefs from the mountains of Samaria around Neapolis came to the Christian camp, bringing presents, and inviting the Franks to take possession of those towns; which was done by Tancred without resistance.⁷ In A. D. 1113 Neapolis was laid waste during a temporary incursion of the Saracens.⁸ Under king Baldwin II in A. D. 1120, an assembly of prelates and nobles was held at

¹ Cyrill. Scythop. Vita St. Sabæ § 70 sq. in Cotelierii Eccles. Græc. Monum. Tom. III. p. 339 sq. Reland Pal. p. 674. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 190 sq.

² Cellarii Collectanea Hist. Samar. II. 11. p. 25. Procop. Hist. Arcan. Notes p. 131, ed. Paris. pp. 405, 406, ed. Bonn.

³ Περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν προφυγόντων ἀπορίας, Theophanis Chronogr. p. 152, ed. Paris. Eutychii Annales II. p. 156. Oxon. 1658. Comp. Reland Pal. p. 673.—Theophanes places this war in A. D. 548; but his account and that of Cyril' probably refer to the same events.

⁴ Chron. Paschal. Also Procop. Notes p. 131, ed. Par. p. 406, ed. Bonn.

⁵ Abulfeda Annales ed. Adler Tom. I. p. 229. Hafniae 1789. 4.

⁶ See above, p. 284. Reland Pal. p. 1007 sq.—Neapolis is also found in the Latin ecclesiastical Notitia appended to the work of William of Tyre, referring to the period before the crusades; Reland Pal. p. 227. But in another very corrupt one, referring evidently to the time of the crusades, it is omitted; Reland ib. p. 222. Both these Notitiæ are obviously made up of heterogeneous materials.

⁷ Will. Tyr. 9. 20. Guibert Abbot 14. p. 540.

⁸ Fulcher. Carnot. 40. p. 424.

Neapolis to consult upon the state of the country, then visited with the judgments of God for the sins of the people, and suffering not only from the assaults of the common enemy, but also from frequent earthquakes, and from the plague of locusts and mice during four successive years. The decisions of this assembly were directed against the enormous lewdness and other vices prevalent among the crusaders; and copies of them were everywhere deposited in the churches.¹

Neapolis was not itself made a Latin bishopric, but belonged probably to that of Samaria; and the property of it was assigned to the abbot and canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre.² The city did not escape the calamities of those days. In A. D. 1184 it was plundered by Saladin after his repulse from Kerak.³ It remained however in the hands of the Christians; for two years later, A. D. 1186, Count Raymond and the priests and barons who opposed the usurpation of Sibylla and her husband Guy of Lusignan, made it their rendezvous.⁴ Immediately after the fatal battle of Hattin in 1187, Neapolis was laid waste, and the holy places around it polluted, with many atrocities, by a portion of the troops of Saladin.⁵ In A. D. 1242 it appears again to have fallen into the hands of the Christians; but two years later was captured by Abu 'Aly, the colleague of Bibars.⁶ Since that time it has remained in the hands of the Muhammedans, apparently without great change; and is mentioned by all travellers who have passed by the direct route, between Jerusalem and Nazareth or 'Akka.

It is singular that the Christian historians of the crusades, appear to make no allusion whatever to the existence of the Samaritans at Nâbulus; they probably regarded them as Jews, of whom in like manner they make little mention. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, in the last half of the twelfth century, was the first to bring them again into notice. He speaks at Nâbulus of the Cutheans, who amounted to about one hundred persons, and were called Samaritans; they professed to be of the tribe of Ephraim, and had priests descended from the family of Aaron. He describes them much as they are at the present day; they had their synagogue, and sacrificed on Mount Gerizim on the day of the passover and other festivals.⁷ Ara-

¹ Will. Tyr. 12. 13. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. I. p. 310. II. p. 457 sq.—The acts of this assembly are contained in Mansi Concil. Tom. XXI. pp. 261–266.

² Jac. de Vit. 58. p. 1078. Notitia in Reland Pal. p. 222.

³ Bohaedd Vit. Salad. p. 59. Abulf Annal. A. H. 580

⁴ Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 252. iii. 126–128

⁵ Rad. Coggesh. in Martene et Durand Tom. V. p. 560 sq. Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr des Or. III. p. 81. Wilken ibid. p. 294

⁶ Makrizi in Wilken Comment. de Bell. Cruc. p. 204.

⁷ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 66–68. Benjamin asserts, that in his day there were also two hundred Samaritans in Caesarea; ib. p. 65.

bian writers of the same period speak also of the Samaritans, whom they confound with the Jews.¹

The first Christian travellers who appear to have noticed this people, are William of Baldensel in A. D. 1336, and Sir John Maundeville about the same time; the former describes the Samaritans as a singular sect, differing alike from Christians, Jews, Saracens, and Pagans; and distinguished from all by their red turbans, as at the present day.² The pilgrims of the following centuries appear seldom to have taken this route; and I find no further mention of the Samaritans until Cotovicus in A. D. 1598, who speaks of them as a sect of the Jews, but without affording any particulars concerning them.³ Della Valle, in the early part of the next (seventeenth) century, was the first to give some account of them; Maundrell in A. D. 1697 visited and describes them; and Morison also slightly mentions them in the following year.⁴ During the eighteenth century, they appear to have been noticed by very few if any travellers; indeed almost no Frank passed on this route. Within the present century they have again been brought more into notice; although few travellers have taken the pains to visit them.⁵

A greater interest however has been excited in behalf of the Samaritans, and more information acquired respecting them, in consequence of their correspondence with several learned Europeans, and the publication of their copies of the Pentateuch. The existence of the Pentateuch among them appears to have been early known to scholars; and Julius Scaliger, in the sixteenth century, was the first, according to De Sacy, to point out the importance of obtaining copies of it in Europe.⁶ This wish was first fulfilled by the traveller Della Valle in A. D. 1616. When at Constantinople on his way to the east, he was commissioned by De Sancy, then French ambassador in that city, to purchase Samaritan manuscripts; and after attempting

¹ So the Arabian geographer Yakût about A. D. 1200; see Schultens Ind. geogr. in Vit. Salad. art. *Napoli*. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. p. 85. Mejr ed-Dîn in Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 139.

² Guil. de Baldensel Hodæpor. p. 353, in Canisii Thesaur. ed. Basnage, Tom. IV. Sir J. Maundeville gives much the same account; p. 108. Lond. 1839.—See above, p. 281.

³ Cotovic. Itin. p. 342.

⁴ Della Valle Voyages Tom. II. p. 103 sq. Paris 1745. Maundrell March 24 Morison Relation, etc. pp. 234, 240.—It is perhaps worth observing, that Quaresmus, who lived several years in Palestine, and

devoted two folio volumes to an "historical, theological, and moral elucidation" of the Holy Land, in which he describes Nabulus and recounts the ancient history of the Samaritans, makes nevertheless not the slightest allusion to their present existence.

⁵ Dr Clarke speaks of the Samaritans, but only from Benjamin of Tudela and Maundrell; p. 511 sq. 4to. Buckingham does the same, also without having seen them; p. 528 sq. Within the last twenty years they have been visited by Messrs Jowett and Fisk, Connor, Elliott, and others.

⁶ De Sacy Corresp. des Samar. p. 7, in Notices et Extr. Tom. XII.

it in vain at Cairo, Gaza, and Nâbulus, he was able to procure at Damascus two copies of the Pentateuch. One, on parchment, exhibiting the Hebrew text in Samaritan characters, he transmitted to the ambassador; the other, on paper, containing the Samaritan version, he retained for himself.¹ The former was sent by De Sancy to the library of the Oratoire in Paris, and was published by J. Morin in the Paris Polyglott; the latter was loaned by Della Valle to the same editor, and appeared also in the same work.² Both were afterwards reprinted with slight corrections in the London Polyglott. The munificence of archbishop Usher was able to procure, not long after, no fewer than six additional manuscripts of the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch; another was sent to England by Robert Huntington about A. D. 1672; and the number continued to increase, so that Kennicott was able to collate, for his great work, not less than sixteen manuscripts more or less complete. Of these, six are in the Bodleian Library, and one in the British Museum.³—The Samaritan-Arabic version of Abu Sa'id has never yet been fully printed; but lies in seven manuscripts in the libraries of Rome, Oxford, Paris, and Leyden.⁴ The general merits of all these copies of the Pentateuch, have been investigated by able scholars.⁵

Long before the wish of the elder Scaliger had thus been fulfilled, in the acquisition and publication of the Samaritan Pentateuch, his son Joseph Scaliger had attempted to open a direct correspondence with that people themselves; and had written to their communities in Nâbulus and Cairo. Answers were sent from both these places; but although dated in the year 998 of the Hejra, A. D. 1589, they never reached Scaliger, who died A. D. 1609. After passing through several hands, they came into the possession of J. Morin, who made a Latin translation of them, which was published after his death.⁶ The

¹ Della Valle Voyages Tom. II. p. 105 sq. 128 sq. Paris 1745.

² De Sacy Corresp. des Samar. I. c. p. 8. Cellarius Collect. Hist. Samar. p. 46. See the correspondence between Morin and P. della Valle in the little work published anonymously by R. Simon: "Antiquitates Ecclesie Orientalis," Lond. 1682. 8. pp. 156–205. Also the Life of J. Morin, in the same volume, p. 18 sq.

³ See Kennicott Diss. General. ed. Bruns p. 259 sq. De Rossi Var. Lect. in V. T. Tom. I. p. clvii. Bertholdt's Einl. II. p. 476 sq.

⁴ Van Vloten Specimen philol. cont. Descr. Codicis Ms. Vers. Sam. Arabicæ Pentat. Lngd. Bat. 1803. 4. The portions published are enumerated in Eich-

horn's Einleit. ins. A. T. Vol. I. p. 595.

⁵ See Gesenius Comment. de Pentat. Samaritani Origine, Indole, etc. Halle 1815. 4. On the Samaritan version, see ibid. pp. 18, 19. Bertholdt Einleit. II. pp. 608–612. The Samaritan-Arabic version is fully treated of by De Sacy, Comment. de Versione Sam. Arabica libror. Mosi, in Eichhorn's Allgem. Biblioth. der bibl. Literatur. Th. X. pp. 1–176. Enlarged and reprinted in Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres Tom. XLIX. pp. 1–199.—On the value of the Samaritan Pentateuch in general, see also Hengstenberg Authent. des Pentat. I. p. 1 sq.

⁶ In the work above mentioned, published by R. Simon: Antiquitates Ecclesie Orientalis, Lond. 1682. 8.

originals are in the Royal Library at Paris ; and the text, with a more accurate version, has been published by De Sacy.¹

In A. D. 1671, Robert Huntington, who was then chaplain of the English Factory at Aleppo, and died in 1701 as bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, visited the Samaritans at Nâbulus on his way to Jerusalem. They appear to have received from him, through some misapprehension, the impression, that there were Samaritans in England ; and he proposed to them to write to their brethren in that country, giving a summary of their doctrines and rites, and to transmit at the same time a copy of their law. A manuscript of the Pentateuch was accordingly put into his hands, and a letter sent after him to Jerusalem ; both of which he forwarded to England. The letter was answered by Thomas Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford ; and the correspondence thus commenced, continued until A. D. 1688, chiefly through Huntington at Aleppo. This correspondence, extending to six letters from the Samaritans, so far as it has been preserved in passing piecemeal through various hands, has been first fully published by De Sacy.²

In the mean time, another correspondence had been commenced with the Samaritans of Nâbulus, by the celebrated Ludolf. Taking advantage of the return of a Jewish agent to Palestine in A. D. 1684, he sent by him a letter, written in Hebrew with Samaritan characters ; and received from the Samaritans two letters in reply, in the same language and character, dated in 1685. These were soon published by Cellarius.³ Ludolf wrote again, and received another letter in 1691, which was not published until long afterwards.⁴

For more than a century, these various letters continued to be the only source accessible to the scholars of Europe, from which a knowledge of the tenets and ceremonies of the Samaritans could be derived. In A. D. 1807, the French bishop and senator Gregoire again took up the subject ; and, by his influence, instructions were sent to the French consuls in the Levant, to make inquiries respecting the Samaritans. The consul at Aleppo opened a communication with those at Nâbulus, and received from them a letter in 1808, which was forwarded to Europe, written in Arabic by the priest Selâmeh, son of Tobias, probably the same person whom we saw. This letter

¹ In Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Literat.* Bd. XIII. See also De Sacy *Corresp. des Samarit.* p. 9, in *Notices et Extr. des Mss. Tom. XII.*

² *Correspond. des Samar.* pp. 9-11, 162-225.

³ *Epistolæ Samaritanæ Sichemitarum ad J. Ludolfum, Cizæ 1688.* 4.

⁴ Cellarius gave some extracts from it

in the new edition of his *Collectan. Hist. Samar.* Halæ 1699. Brauns first published it in full : *Epistola Samar. Sichem. tertia ad J. Ludolfum*, ed. P. J. Bruns, Helmst. 1781. 4.—The full correspondence is given in Eichhorn's *Repertorium* Bd. XIII, in connection with the letters to Scaliger. See De Sacy *Corresp. des Samar.* l. c. pp. 11, 12.

came into the hands of De Sacy, who answered it for Gregoire ; and received in 1811 a reply in Hebrew, written with Samaritan characters. Another letter arrived for De Sacy in 1820, and also one addressed to a supposed Samaritan community in Paris ; for which likewise a second letter came in 1826. These five letters have been published by this learned orientalist, in the collection so often referred to.¹

The published literature of the Samaritans, therefore, consists of the various copies of the Pentateuch in whole or in part ; and of this series of their letters at four different periods, stretching through an interval of nearly two and a half centuries.² In addition to this, Gesenius discovered, in a Samaritan manuscript in England, a curious collection of hymns, chiefly of a doctrinal nature, which he has published with a commentary.³ They possess also manuscripts of a work professing to be the book of Joshua, often mentioned in their letters. It has never yet been printed ; but a manuscript of an Arabic version, written in the Samaritan character, was procured by Joseph Scaliger for the library of the university of Leyden. The work is a sort of chronicle extending from Moses to the time of Alexander Severus ; and, in the period parallel to the book of Joshua, has a strong affinity with that book.⁴ Accounts of their tenets and rites have been often drawn up from these various sources, to which I can here only refer.⁵

From the earliest letters of the Samaritans and from the accounts of Della Valle, it appears, that, two centuries ago, they had small communities in Cairo, Gaza, Nâbulus, and Damascus. The three former are mentioned repeatedly in their letters ; the latter we know only from Della Valle, who purchased at Damascus his copies of the Pentateuch. They seem to have been only a few families, in the gardens outside of the city ; perhaps a temporary establishment ; and we hear no more of them.⁶ Those of Nâbulus and Gaza appear to have stood in close connection ; and one of the letters to England was written from the latter place.⁷ In their first answer to the inquiries of

¹ Corresp. des Samar. pp. 13-18, 50-161, 225-235.

² The letters to Scaliger and Ludolf, as we have seen, are given in full only in Eichhorn's Repertorium Bd. XIII.; those to England and France, only in the work of De Sacy so often cited.

³ Carmina Samaritana e Cod. Lond. et Gothanic etc. illustr. G. Gesenius, in Anecd. Oriental. Fascic. I. Lips. 1824. ⁴ See also his programm, De Samaritanor. Theologia ex fontib. ined. Comment. Halæ 1823. 4.

⁵ De Sacy Corresp. des Samar. pp. 124, iii. 132, 133

196. Bertholdt's Einleitung Th. III. p. 869 sq.

⁶ See especially De Sacy Corresp. des Sam. l. c. pp. 18-36. Gesenius de Samaritanor. Theologia l. c.—Earlier writers are: Cellarius Collect. Hist. Samarit. Cizæ 1688. Reland Dissertat. Miscell. II. 1 sq. (Both reprinted in Ugolini Thesaur. Tom. XXII.) Bruns in Stäudlin's Beiträge zur Philos. u. Gesch. der Relig. u. Sittenlehre, Bd. I. p. 78 sq.

⁷ Della Valle Voyages II. p. 128. Paris 1745.

⁸ De Sacy Corr. des Sam. p. 191

Gregoire (A. D. 1808), they say that for more than a century there had been no Samaritans in Egypt; and that they then existed only at Nâbulus and Yâfa.¹ There may have been an agent of the community, or perhaps a family or two then at Yâfa; but at the time of our visit, neither they nor any one else spoke of any Samaritans except at Nâbulus; our Samaritan guide certainly knew of no other.² It appears to be the last isolated remnant of a remarkable people, clinging now for more than two thousand years around this central spot of their religion and history, and lingering slowly to decay; after having survived the many revolutions and convulsions, which in that long interval have swept over this unhappy land; a reed continually shaken with the wind, but bowing before the storm.

The modern history of Nâbulus and the surrounding region, is one of wars and rebellion. These districts were formerly regarded as among the most dangerous in Palestine; and for this reason, during the whole of the eighteenth century, the great body of travellers avoided this route, and passed between Jerusalem and Nazareth by way of Yâfa and 'Akka. The country around Nâbulus belonged first to the Pashalik of Damascus, and then nominally to that of 'Akka; but the inhabitants were governed by their own chiefs, who were invested by the Pasha. They were known as a restless people, continually in dispute with each other; frequently in insurrection against the government; and ever ready to plunder the traveller, who might venture among them without proper protection. Even the notorious Jezzar of 'Akka never succeeded in completely subduing them; and Junot with a body of fifteen hundred French soldiers was defeated by them. Such is the account of Burckhardt;³ and when too Dr Clarke travelled from Nazareth to Jerusalem in 1801, he had a military escort, and found the country full of rebels.⁴ Indeed, just before the Egyptian conquest, the fortress of Sânur, often the strong hold of rebels, had

¹ De Sacy *ibid.* p. 69.

² See above p. 273. Stephen Schulz speaks of having found Samaritans at Antioch; but on looking further, it appears that he merely fell in with two persons, whom he chooses to call Samaritans on account of their behaviour; because, he says they professed to be Muhammedans, Christians, or Jews, as might best serve their turn, although dressed as Muhammedans! There is not the slightest evidence that the good credulous man heard the name of Samaritans applied to them by any one but himself, or that there was any sort of ground for such an appellation; and the whole matter seems a mere conceit of

his own imagination. He did not visit Nâbulus, and never came in contact with the Samaritans. *Leitungen des Höchsten Th. IV. pp. 360-371. Paulus' Sammlung, Th. VI pp. 222-224.*—Since writing the above, I find a remark of Niebuhr upon this very passage of Schulz; he supposes the persons in question may have been of the Nusairiyeh or some Muhammedan sect; *Reisebeschr. II. p. 439.* The description of Schulz is indeed very similar to that which Maundrell gives of the Nusairiyeh; see Maundrell, March 4th.

³ Burckh. *Travels in Syria, etc.* p. 342.

⁴ *Travels in the Holy Land* p. 505. 4th.

been destroyed by Abdallah, Pasha of 'Akka, after a siege of several months.

Times have changed under the Egyptian government ; which has taken the administration into its own hands, and crushed the power of the popular chiefs. This district is now quiet and safe, like the rest of the land. Yet this state of things was not brought about without a struggle. In A. D. 1834, on occasion of a levy, the people of the district of Nâbulus, like those of Jerusalem and Hebron, rose in rebellion against the Egyptians. The insurrection was so important, that Ibrahim Pasha himself took command of the troops sent to quell it ; and encountering a body of the insurgent peasants at Zeita, a village in the northwest part of the province of Nâbulus, put them to flight, after killing ninety men. Another large body had posted themselves at Deir, a village on a steep hill not far from Zeita ; they were in like manner defeated by storming the hill ; and fled, leaving three hundred slain. Ibrahim now repaired with his troops to Nâbulus, and the whole district submitted without further resistance. Yet the war continued for a still longer time in the region of Hebron.¹

Friday, June 15th. We rose early, awakened by the songs of nightingales and other birds, of which the gardens around us were full. We had engaged a guide as far as to Nazareth, a Christian formerly from Beirût, who had often travelled through the country, and professed to know all about it. Our plan for to day was to visit Sebüstieh, and then reach Jenin.

It was 7 o'clock before we set off, proceeding down the valley at first W. N. W. and then generally northwest on the way to Sebüstieh. The direct road for Jenin ascends the northern hill at once from Nâbulus, and keeping along on high ground, leaves Sebüstieh at some distance on the left. After fifteen minutes there was on our road a fine large fountain by the path ; and near by we met a string of camels loaded with salt from el-'Arish, where it is gathered on the flats along the sea. The whole valley of Nâbulus is full of fountains, irrigating it most abundantly ; and for that very reason not flowing off in any large stream. The valley is rich, fertile, and beautifully green, as might be expected from this bountiful supply of water. The sides of the valley too, the continuation of Gerizim and Ebal, are studded with villages, some of them large ; and these again are surrounded with extensive tilled fields and olive groves ; so that the whole valley presents a more beautiful and inviting

¹ See, for an account of these events, Mengin *Histoire de l'Egypte, etc. de l'an 1823 à l'an 1839* pp. 73-77.

landscape of green hills and dales, than perhaps any other part of Palestine. It is the deep verdure arising from the abundance of water, which gives it this peculiar charm; in the midst of a land where no rain falls in summer, and where of course the face of nature, in the season of heat and drought, assumes a brown and dreary aspect.

As we descended along the valley, we were opposite to Râfidia at 7.20, a large village on the side of the southern mountain, inhabited entirely by Christians; and said to contain one hundred and fifteen taxable men, or nearly five hundred inhabitants. At the same time, looking down the valley, we could see Beit Lid at a distance upon the mountains, beyond where the valley turns more northwards, bearing N. 65° W. At a quarter before eight, the village Zawâta was on the hill side at our right; while the top of the mountain on the left was crowned by a ruined village called Juneid. Ten minutes further on, Beit Ūzin was on the same side; and at 8 o'clock Beit Iba, also on the left hand slope. For some time a fine little brook had been conducted along our path, somewhat above the bottom of the valley; and at this point (8 o'clock) it was turned into a mill race or aqueduct with twelve unequal pointed arches, leading off for some distance across the valley to an ordinary Arab mill.¹ Here our road left the valley, and turned up the hill N. by W. Ten minutes brought us to the top of the first ascent, where two other villages came in sight; both at some distance on the opposite mountains.

Our way continued gradually ascending, and crossed a higher tract of uneven ground, which declined towards the west; where the valley of Nâbulus bends to the N. N. W. and passes off on the left of Sebüstieh. Several other villages were now within view on the hills west of the valley; while below us, about half an hour distant, on this side of the Wady, lay the village Deir Sheraf. A fountain was on our way at 8½ o'clock; and ten minutes beyond, we reached a higher point, where we looked down upon Sebüstieh and its broad noble basin, into which the valley, coming from Nâbulus, may be said to spread out. We could perceive the bed of the Wady as it passes along N. N. W. in the western part of the basin, until under the hill of Râmin in the N. W. by W. it again bends off more westwards, and descends towards the Mediterranean. That village seemed to be about an hour and a half distant.²

¹ This would be hardly worth mentioning, but for the pompous remark of Richardson: "A little above (!) the town we saw an ancient bridge with twelve arches, which were still capable of maintaining the communication between the two sides of the valley!" Travels II. p. 411.

² We took here at 8½ o'clock, the following bearings: Beit Ūzin S 26° E. Juneid S. 22° E. Beit Iba S 18° E. Surra S. 5° W. Deir Sheraf S 45° W. Beit Lid S. 75° W. Kefr el-Lebad N. 56° W. Râmin N. 35° W. Sebüstieh N. 5° W.

We now had a long and gradual descent, with the village en-Nākūrah on our right, into the southern valley out of which the hill of Sebūstieh rises ; and ascending again from the valley along the eastern side of the hill, we reached that place at ten minutes past nine o'clock. The fine round swelling hill, or almost mountain, of Samaria, stands alone in the midst of this great basin of some two hours in diameter, surrounded by higher mountains on every side. It is nearer the eastern side of the basin ; and is indeed connected with the eastern mountains, somewhat after the manner of a promontory, by a much lower ridge, having a Wady both on the south and on the north. On the west is the broad valley, running northwards as it comes down from Nābulus, and passing off in the N. N. W. to the sea. The mountains and the valleys around are to a great extent arable, and enlivened by many villages and the hand of cultivation. From all these circumstances, the situation of the ancient Samaria is one of great beauty. The hill itself is cultivated to the top ; and, at about midway of the ascent, is surrounded by a narrow terrace of level land, like a belt, below which the roots of the hill spread off more gradually into the valleys. Higher up too are the marks of slighter terraces, once occupied perhaps by the streets of the ancient city.

The road by which we had come, crosses the low ridge on the east at the foot of the hill, and passes on without ascending to the village. The latter lies on the level belt just described, on the east side, seventy feet or more above the road. We ascended to it by a very steep and winding path, among ancient foundations, arches, walls, and the like. The village is modern ; the houses are tolerably built of stones from the ancient remains. The inhabitants have the reputation of being restless and turbulent ; and our missionary friends who had passed this way a few weeks before, with ladies in their company, had met with incivility, and found difficulty in examining the church.¹ We therefore, on entering the village, took care to show off our old guns and pistols to the best advantage, in order to inspire the people with due respect for our strength ; and either from this circumstance, or more probably because our party contained only men, we encountered here only the same ready civility, which we had ever met with elsewhere.

The first object which presents itself, and at the same time the most conspicuous ruin of the place, is the church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, erected over the spot where a tradition of long standing has fixed the place of his burial, if not of his martyrdom. The eastern end overhangs the brow of the steep

¹ Cotovicus complains, that he and his party met here the same incivility, and even outrage, in his day ; *Itin.* p. 345.

²i. 138-140

descent below the village. It is quite entire ; and arrests the attention of the traveller long before he reaches Sebüstieh. The church is approached from the west, where is a narrow sunken court. The walls remain entire to a considerable height, enclosing a large space ; in which are now a mosk and the small building over the tomb. The dimensions of the church are, by measurement, one hundred and fifty-three feet long inside, besides a porch of ten feet, and seventy-five feet broad.

The alcove for the altar, occupying the greater part of the eastern end, which thus assumes a rounded form, is rather an imposing piece of mixed architecture. The Greek style predominates in it ; the arches of the windows are round, and the whole alcove is highly ornamented, especially on the outside. But the upper arches on the inside of the alcove are pointed ; as are also the great arches in the body of the church. These latter rest on columns belonging to no order of architecture ; the capitals are indeed Corinthian in shape and size, but are decorated with ornaments resembling the trunk of the palm tree. The windows are high up and narrow ; and the whole church has at the same time an air of military defence. On the outside of the southern wall are slender buttresses ; I should have presumed the same of the northern wall, but some traveller describes this as plain. In one place inside, two or three large marble tablets are built into a modern wall, on which are sculptured in relief many crosses of the order of the knights of St. John ; of these the Muhammedans have broken off the upright part, so that the tablets now exhibit only horizontal bars.

The architecture necessarily limits the antiquity of this edifice to the period of the crusades ; though it is not improbable that a portion of the eastern end may be of an earlier date. Common tradition, as in so many other cases, falsely ascribes this church to Helena.¹ The presence of so many crosses of the knights of St. John, and the circumstance that the spot was regarded as the sepulchre of their patron saint, go to render it probable, that the church may have been erected by that order, in connection perhaps with the Latin bishopric ; but I have been able to find no historical testimony to that effect.

Under a Wely in the enclosure of the church, is the reputed sepulchre of St. John the Baptist, the tomb of Neby Yehya, as the Arabs call it ; a little chamber excavated deep in the rock, to which the descent is by twenty-one steps. In progress of time tradition has confounded the sepulchre of the saint, with his prison and place of execution ; and this vault is now, and has been for centuries, shown also as the latter. Yet Josephus relates expressly, that John was beheaded in the castle of Ma-

¹ See Vol. I. p. 375.

chærus on the east of the Dead Sea ; and Eusebius copies this testimony, thereby showing that no other credible tradition was extant in his day.¹—It is hardly probable that the disciples of John, who “came and took up the body, and buried it,”² first transported it all the way to Samaria ; nor does Eusebius, in describing Samaria, make any mention of this sepulchre in his day.³ The tradition seems however to have sprung up not long after, and to have become already quite current in the days of Jerome ; who several times speaks of Samaria as distinguished particularly for containing the sepulchre of John the Baptist, as well as those of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah.⁴ In the same century, according to later writers, the heathen, during the reign of Julian the Apostate, about A. D. 361, had broken open the sepulchre, burnt the bones, and scattered the ashes to the winds.⁵ Some such event may probably have had something to do with the greater currency of the tradition, if not with its origin. Early in the eighth century, we begin to find Sebaste marked also as the place of the Baptist’s imprisonment and death ;⁶ and this legend having become more definite and full during the time of the crusades, has maintained itself more or less even in the mouths of the Muhammedans, until the present day. The church is first mentioned by Phocas, about A. D. 1185 ; though probably a former one had existed here at a much earlier date.⁷

The village itself presents no other ruin of importance, unless it be a square tower adjacent to the church on the south, the bottom of which is surmounted by a mass of sloping work. Many fragments of ancient columns and sculpture, are also built into the modern dwellings. We now ascended the hill towards the west, and came soon to the threshing-floors of the village. They were still in full operation ; although the harvest seemed to be chiefly gathered in. Here we first fell in with the

¹ Joseph. Antiq. 18. 5. 2. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. 1. 11.

² Matt. 14, 12.

³ Euseb. Onomast. art. *Semeron*, Σομερών.

⁴ Thus in the Onomast. in translating the article of Eusebius, he adds : “Ubi S. Joannis reliquię conditę sunt ;” Onomast. art. *Semeron*. So Comm. in Obad. i. 1, “Sepulcrum ejus (Obadię) usque hodie cum mausoleo Elisęi Prophete et Baptiste Johannis in Sebaste veneratione habetur, quę olim Samaria dicebatur.” Various other passages are cited in full by Reland, Palest. pp. 980, 981.

⁵ Theodoret Hist. Ecc. 3. 7. Chron. Pasch. A. D. 361. Reland Pal. p. 981.

⁶ Joh. Damascen. (ob. 750,) Orat. III. p. 368 ; comp. Wesseling’s Note on Hierocles in Vet. Romanor. Itin. ed. Wesscl. p. iii. 141–143

718. Amst. 1735. St. Willibald in the ninth century mentions only the tombs of John, Elisha, and Obadiah ; Hodæpor. p. 378, ed. Mabillon.

⁷ Phocas describes the vault as the prison of John, where he was beheaded ; and first mentions the church ; De Locis Sanct. § 12. Brocardus speaks only of the church as erected in honour of the Baptist ; c. 7. p. 177. Sir John Maundeville also mentions only the tomb and church ; p. 107. Lond. 1839. But the full legend of imprisonment, death, and burial, is found again in William of Baldensel A. D. 1336, p. 353 ; and also in Cotovicus (p. 345), Della Valle, and other travellers. Quaresmius rejects the story of imprisonment and death at Samaria, but not the burial ; II. p. 811 sq.

sled or sledge, as used for threshing. It consists simply of two planks, fastened together side by side, and bent upwards in front ; precisely like the common stone sledge of New England, though less heavy. Many holes are bored in the bottom underneath, and into these are fixed sharp fragments of hard stone. The machine is dragged by the oxen as they are driven round upon the grain ; sometimes a man or boy sits upon it ; but we did not see it otherwise loaded. The effect of it is, to cut up the straw quite fine. We afterwards saw this instrument frequently in the north of Palestine.

The whole hill of Sebüstieh consists of fertile soil ; it is now cultivated to the top, and has upon it many olive and fig trees. The ground has been ploughed for centuries ; and hence it is now in vain to look here for the foundations and stones of the ancient city. They have been either employed in the constructions of the later village ; or removed from the soil in order to admit the plough ; or have been covered over by the long course of tillage.¹ Yet on approaching the summit, we came suddenly upon an area once surrounded by limestone columns, of which fifteen are still standing and two prostrate. They measured seven feet nine inches in circumference. How many more have been broken up and carried away, no one can tell. We could not distinguish the order of their architecture ; nor is there any trace of foundations round about, which might afford a clue to the nature of the edifice. Phocas and Brocardus describe the top of the hill, as occupied in their day by a Greek church and monastery ;² and these columns may possibly have been connected with the former. Yet they certainly have much more the appearance of having once belonged to a heathen temple.

The view from the summit of the hill presents a splendid panorama of the fertile basin and the mountains around, teeming with large villages ; and includes also a long extent of the Mediterranean, not less than twenty-five degrees, between W. by N. and N. W. Nâbulus is not here visible ; but so near as we could judge of its direction, it must bear about S. 30° E.³ Many other places were pointed out to us by an inhabitant of the village.⁴

¹ Cotovicus in the sixteenth, and von Troilo in the next century, speak of the ground as strowed with masses of ruins, which is not now the case. Cotov. p. 345. Von Troilo p. 409. Dresd. 1676.

² Phocas § 12. Brocardus c. 7. p. 177

³ Schubert, as we have seen, p. 276 above, makes the elevation of Nâbulus 1751 French feet: that of Sebüstieh he gives at 926 feet above the sea; Reise III. p. 160. I think this latter number must be

wrong ; for Nâbulus lies in the valley, and Sebüstieh lies much higher than the same valley some two hours further northwest. So that even admitting that the valley falls in this distance 800 feet (which is hardly possible), yet still Sebüstieh would not be more than three or four hundred feet lower than Nâbulus. The actual difference is probably not so great.

⁴ These bore as follows: Beit Iba on the southern hill west of Nâbulus S. 15°

Descending the hill on the W. S. W. we came to the very remarkable colonnade, which once ran from this point along the belt of level ground on the south side of the hill, apparently quite around to the site of the present village. It begins at a mass of ruins on this quarter of the hill, which may have been a temple, or more probably an arch of triumph or something of the like kind, looking out W. N. W. over the green valley and towards the sea; forming apparently the entrance of the city on this side. From here, the colonnade runs E. S. E. for about a thousand feet, and then curves to the left, following the base of the hill. In the western part, about sixty limestone columns are still erect, most of them on ground recently ploughed; and further east are some twenty more standing irregularly, at various intervals. Many more than these lie prostrate; and we could trace whole columns or fragments nearly or quite to the village. The columns which we measured, were sixteen feet high, two feet in diameter at the base, and one foot eight inches at the top. The capitals are gone; we could nowhere find a trace of them remaining. The width of the colonnade was fifty feet. We measured from the western end for more than 1900 feet, and were afterwards satisfied that it extended for a thousand feet or more further; making its whole length not much less than three thousand feet.

This colonnade is probably to be referred to the time of Herod the Great; who, as we shall see, rebuilt and adorned Samaria with splendid structures. But the purpose of the work, and the edifice it was intended to decorate, are alike unknown; and these columns now stand solitary and mournful in the midst of ploughed fields, the skeletons as it were of departed glory.

I find no mention of this colonnade by travellers before the present century, except in very general terms.¹ There were said to be likewise columns on the north side of the hill; which, however, time did not permit us to seek out.

Sebüstieh is the Arabic form of Sebaste, another foreign

E. Sürra S. 1° E. Deir Sheraf S. 7° W. Kuryet Jit S. 51° W. Beit Lid S. 65° W. Kefr Lebād N. 72° W. Rāmin N. 70° W. Biziria N. 30° W. Burka N. 6° E. Beit Inrin N. 60° E. Nuss Ijbeil N. 80° E. Ijnīsia S. 78° E. esh-Sheikh Shā'leh, Wely, S. 60° E. en-Nakūrah S. 40° E.—The village Kuryet Jit lies on the hills beyond the Wady of Nābulus, and is probably the Gitta (*Gitta*) mentioned by Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and other ancient writers, as a village in the region of Samaria, the reputed birth place of Simon Magus. Just.

Mart. Apol. lib. II. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. 2. 13. See more in *Reland Palæst.* p. 813 sq.—In the former edition, *Tul Keram* was spoken of as in sight, which is not the case. There was also an interchange of Rāmin and Kefr Lebād.

¹ Maundrell mentions only the columns on the hill, or, as he says, on the north; March 24th. Morison speaks of over 200 columns on the west and south; by which he probably means the colonnade; p. 231. It seems to be first described by Buckingham; p. 514. 4to.

Greek appellation, which since the days of Herod has continued to usurp the place of the earlier name Samaria. This ancient city, the later capital of the kingdom of the ten tribes, was built by Omri king of Israel, about 925 B. C. after he had purchased the hill from Shemer its owner, from whom the city took its name.¹ The site of this capital was therefore a chosen one; and it would be difficult to find, in all Palestine, a situation of equal strength, fertility, and beauty combined. In all these particulars, it has very greatly the advantage over Jerusalem. It continued to be the capital of Israel for two centuries, and until the carrying away of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, under king Hoshea, about 720 B. C.² During all this time it was the seat of idolatry; and is often denounced by the prophets, sometimes in connection with Jerusalem.³ Here too was the scene of many of the acts of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, connected with the various famines in the land, the unexpected plenty in Samaria, and the various deliverances of the city from the Syrians.⁴

After the carrying away of the ten tribes, Samaria appears to have continued, for a time at least, as the chief city of the foreigners brought into their place; though Sichem (Nábulus), as we have seen, soon became the capital of the Samaritans as a religious sect. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish, whether under the name Samaria, the city or the region is meant.⁵ John Hyrcanus took the city after a year's siege, and razed it to the ground.⁶ Yet it must soon have revived; for we find Samaria not long after mentioned still as in the possession of the Jews; Pompey restored it to its own inhabitants; and it was afterwards built up again by Gabinius.⁷—Augustus, after the death of Antony and Cleopatra, bestowed Samaria on Herod the Great; who ultimately rebuilt the city with great magnificence and strength, and gave it the name Sebaste in honour of Augustus.⁸ Here he placed a colony of six thousand persons, composed partly of veteran soldiers, and partly of people from the country round about; enlarged the circumference of the city; and erected around it a strong wall, twenty stadia in circuit. In the midst of the city, he left a sacred place of a furlong and a half, splendidly decorated; and here he erected a temple in honour of Augustus, which was celebrated for its magnitude and beauty.

¹ 1 K. 16, 23. 24. Jos. Antiq. 8. 12. 5.

² 2 K. 17, 3. 5 sq.

³ Ahab built here a temple of Baal, 1 K. 16, 32. 33. Jehu destroyed this temple, 2 K. 10, 18–23. Prophetic denunciations see in Is. 9, 8 sq. Jer. 23, 13. 14. Ez. 16, 46–55. Am. 6, 1. Mic. 1, 1 sq. See also Hos. 8, 5–14. Am. 4, 1. etc.

⁴ 1 K. 17, 1. 18, 1 2 sq. c. 20. 2 K. 6, 24. c. 7.

⁵ Jer. 41, 5. Ezra 4, 10. 17. Neh. 4,

2. 1 Macc. 5, 66. 2 Macc. 15, 1.

⁶ Joseph. Ant. 13. 10. 3. B. J. 1. 2. 7.

⁷ Jos. Ant. 13. 15. 4. ib. 14. 4. 4. ib. 14. 5. 3.

⁸ Jos. Ant. 15. 7. 3. B. J. 1. 20. 3. Comp. Ant. 15. 7. 7. ib. 15. 8. 5.—The name *Sebaste* is the Greek translation of the Latin epithet or name *Augusta*.

The whole city was greatly ornamented ; and became a strong fortress.¹ Such was apparently the Samaria of the New Testament, where Philip preached the Gospel, and a church was gathered by the apostles.²—That the colonnade now seen along the southern side of the hill, was connected with the temple just mentioned, although not in itself improbable, is yet more perhaps than we are warranted certainly to affirm.

In the next following centuries we know nothing of Sebaste, except from its coins ; of which there are several, extending from Nero to Geta the brother of Caracalla.³ Septimius Severus appears also to have established there a Roman colony, in the beginning of the third century.⁴ Eusebius scarcely mentions the city as extant ; but Jerome speaks frequently of it, as do other writers of the same and a later age.⁵ Samaria early became an episcopal see. The bishop Marius or Marinus was present at the council of Nicea in A. D. 325 ; and the names of six others are preserved, the last of whom, Pelagius, attended the synod at Jerusalem in A. D. 536.⁶ The name of this see occurs in the earlier Greek *Notitiæ*, and also in the later Latin ones.⁷ The city fell, with Nâbulus, into the power of the Muhammedans during the siege of Jerusalem ; but we hear nothing more of it, until the time of the crusades, except the slight mention by St. Willibald, in the ninth century.⁸ At what time the splendid city of Herod was laid in ruins, we are nowhere informed ; but all the notices of the fourth century and later, would rather lead us to infer, that the destruction had already taken place before that early period.

The crusaders afford us little information as to the Sebaste of their day. They established here a Latin bishopric, of which Rayner is first mentioned as the occupant, about A. D. 1155 ; and the title was continued in the Romish church until the fourteenth century.⁹ Saladin marched through it in A. D. 1184, on his retreat from Kerak.¹⁰ Benjamin of Tudela describes it as a strong place, situated on a hill, watered with rivulets, and abounding in gardens, orchards, vineyards, and olive trees.¹¹ Phocas and Brocardus speak only of the church and tomb of

¹ Jos. Ant. 15. 8. 5. B. J. 1. 21. 2. Strabo 16. 2. 34.

² Acts 8, 5. 9 sq.

³ Eckhel Doctr. Numm. III. p. 440. Mionnet M éd. antiq. V. p. 513.

⁴ Ulpian. Leg. I. de Censibus : " Divus quoque Severus in Sebastenam civitatem coloniam deduxit." Coins of Julia Domna the wife of Severus, bear also the inscription COL. SEBASTE. Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. p. 432.

⁵ Epist. 86, Epitaph. Paulæ p. 677. See above, p. 301. See also the numerous

citations in Reland Palæst. pp. 979-981.

⁶ Labbé Concil. II. c. 51. V. c. 286. Reland Pal. p. 983. Le Quien Or. Chr. III. p. 650 sq.

⁷ Reland Pal. pp. 215, 220, 222, 228.

⁸ See above, p. 295. St. Willibald. Hodep. p. 378, ed. Mabillon.

⁹ Will. Tyr. 18. 6. Jac. de Vitri. 56. p. 1077. See genr. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 1290 sq.

¹⁰ Abulfeda Annal. A. H. 580. See above, p. 296.

¹¹ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 65.

John the Baptist, and of the Greek church and monastery near the summit of the hill.¹ Similar slight notices are found in the travellers of the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries ;² in the eighteenth it appears not to have been noticed at all ; while in the present century it has again been often visited and described.³ There are in Sebüstieh a few Greek Christians ; and a titular Greek bishop of Sebaste resides in the convent at Jerusalem.⁴

From Sebüstieh two roads lead into the direct route from Nâbulus to Jenin. The easiest meets it at Beit Imrin, a village on that route, distant from Sebüstieh an hour and a quarter, N. 60° E. By this we despatched our servants and baggage, while we were occupied in looking at the ruins. The other road leads over the high ridge, which shuts in the basin on the north. This we took. Leaving Sebüstieh at 10.40, we descended into the northern valley ; and then ascending the range of hills beyond, we came at 11.20 to Burka, a large village situated upon a sort of terrace on the side of the northern ridge, overlooking the whole basin of Sebüstieh.⁵ Like all the villages of these parts, it is surrounded by extensive olive groves. At 11½ o'clock we reached the top of the ridge beyond, by a steeper ascent, and had a noble prospect of the fine basin behind us ; of the Mediterranean upon our left ; and also a view before us of another of those beautiful plains, which characterize this region in distinction from that of Jerusalem. It was a fine broad valley running from east to west, divided into two parts at some distance on our right, by irregular rocky hills, projecting into it from the north. The eastern portion appeared here green and beautiful, extending far eastward like an oval plain ; on its northwest side lies Sânr, which was not here visible. The western part was narrower, less regular, and less rich, running off westwards towards the Mediterranean, but not uniting with the valley of Nâbulus and Sebüstieh. Many villages lay before us in various directions, scattered upon the lower hills beyond the valley ; but in consequence of the igno-

¹ Phocas § 12. Brocardus c. 7. p. 177.

² William of Baldensel A. D. 1336, p. 353. Sir J. Maundeville, p. 107. Lond. 1839. Zuallart p. 245. Cotovicus p. 345. Della Valle II. p. 108. Paris 1745. Quaresmius II. p. 811 sq. Maundrell March 24. Morison p. 231.

³ It is absolutely unpardonable in Dr Clarke, that he should attempt to impose

upon himself or others, or even to suggest the idea, that the fortress of Sânr (his Santorri) might have been the site of the ancient Samaria and Sebaste, merely because he did not happen to see Sebüstieh. See above, Vol. I. p. 434, n. 2.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 425.

⁵ From Burka the bearing of Sebüstieh is S. 6° W.

rance of our guide, we failed to obtain the names of many of them. He indeed was always ready with a name; but we discovered by cross examination, that he did not always give the same; and therefore recorded only such as were confirmed by other testimony.¹

We now descended obliquely along the northern side of the ridge on a general course E. N. E. We reached at 12.20 a small village called Fendekümieh,² lying up some distance on the hill side, with several fountains near it. We continued on the same course, still along the slope, with the fine valley below us on the left; and at 12½ o'clock came to Jeba', a large village, or rather town, on the slope of the range of hills, which at this point are much lower than where we had crossed further west. In the village is a tower; and there is quite an appearance of antiquity. The name, too, marks it decidedly as another ancient Geba or Gibeah; but I am not aware of any notice of a place of that name in this quarter, unless it be the *Gabe* mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, sixteen Roman miles from Cæsarea.³ Here we fell into the direct Nābulus road; and descending to a fine fountain at the foot of the hill, found our servants and baggage waiting our arrival. We halted under the shade of the olive trees to dine.

Setting off again at half past 2 o'clock, we continued on the same course for twenty minutes; when we passed the narrowest part of the valley, a stony dell, and emerging upon the open plain beyond, turned northeast. Here Sānūr came in sight; a ruin on an almost isolated rocky hill before us. Fifteen minutes further brought us to the apparent water-summit in the plain; beyond which the waters no longer flow westwards. The valley opens out gradually into an extensive plain on the east of Sānūr. At 3.10, a spot was pointed out on our left, where a weekly fair is held, which is frequented by the neighbouring peasants. At the same time the villages of Meithelōn and Misilya were in sight upon our right; the former bearing E.½S.

¹ The places which we ascertained, bore as follows: Sebüstieh S. 15° W. Sūrra S. 3° W. 'Ajjeħ N. 5° E. Fahmeh N. 5° W. er-Rameħ N. 6° W.—Among the villages which we thus lost, was probably Sileħ, or Silet ed-Dahr, "Sileħ" of the summit," as it is called in distinction from the Sileħ west of Jenin, near the plain of Esdraelon. Maundrell in passing by a direct route from el-Lejjūn to Sebüstieh, had the two villages 'Arrābeh and Rāmeħ at his left on the hills; and came thence in an hour to a well called Sileħ, after the nearest village; from this point he was an

iii. 150, 151

hour to Sebüstieh; March 24th. Morison describes the well as on a hill, and the village lower down upon the slope; p. 229. This Sileħ is marked in our lists in connection with 'Ajjeħ, 'Arrābeh, and Fahmeh; and from the description of these travellers, would seem to be perhaps on the same slope as Fendekümieh, but further west.

² This name is doubtless an ancient Pentacomia, Πεντακομία. But I find no ancient place of this name mentioned, except in Palæstina Tertia, east of the Dead Sea. Rel. Pal. pp. 215, 218, 223, 227, 925.

³ Onomast. art. *Gabathon*.

distant about half an hour, and the latter E. by N. perhaps an hour distant. We passed along the base of the hill on which Sânr stands at 3.20, having the village and ruin over us upon the left.

This is a village and former fortress, situated on a round rocky hill of considerable elevation, almost insulated in the plain, being connected with the lower mountains in the north-west only by a low rocky ridge. The village was once considerable. The fortress was formerly very strong; and so far as the situation is concerned, might easily have been made impregnable. It belonged to one of the independent Sheikhs of the country; who, although nominally subject to the Turkish Pasha, was not always ready to yield him obedience. The notorious Jezzâr with five thousand men once besieged the Sheikh for two months in his strong hold, without success.¹ More than thirty years later, the chieftain having placed himself in open rebellion against the late Abdallah Pasha of 'Akka, that officer laid siege to the fortress in 1830, the year before 'Akka itself was invested by the Egyptian army. With the aid of troops from the Emîr Beshir of Mount Lebanon, he finally succeeded in taking the place, after a siege of three or four months; razed the fortress; and cut down all the olive trees. It is now a shapeless mass of ruins; among which a few families still find a home, living chiefly in caves. The castle is described as having borne the character of the middle ages; but I find no allusion to it in any writer, Frank or Arabian, until near the present century; and it is therefore probably not 'of very ancient date.'

The plain on the east of Sânr is a beautiful tract, oval or nearly round in form, three or four miles in diameter, and surrounded by picturesque hills not very elevated. It is perfectly level, with a soil of rich dark loam exceedingly fertile. Its waters would seem naturally to flow off somewhere on the southeast quarter; but not being able to distinguish any outlet among the hills, we inquired, and were told that none exists. The plain, it was said, drinks up its own waters; and in winter they collect upon it and form a lake, which renders our present road impassable. Hence it is planted chiefly with millet, a summer crop; although in the northwest part, where the surface is higher, we found the peasants engaged in harvesting wheat. From its mud in winter, the plain is called Merj el-Ghürük, 'Meadow of sinking or drowning,' equivalent to

¹ Browne's Travels p. 565. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land. 4to. p. 504.— This was before A. D. 1799.

² First apparently by Browne, who however does not give the name; p. 565. It

VOL. II.—27

was visited by Dr Clarke in 1801, and later by Turner, Buckingham, and others. It is the Santorri of Dr Clarke, which he tries to pass off as Samaria; p. 503. 4to.

'Drowned meadow.' Around its southern and eastern borders are several villages.²

We issued from the large plain at 4 o'clock, opposite to Jerba on our left, by a narrow plain or Wady coming from the northeast. After fifteen minutes this valley turns east, where it runs up for some distance. On its southern side was the small village Kufair, about twenty minutes distant. We kept on up the slight rocky ascent on the north; and reaching its top at 4.25, were suddenly gratified with a wide and glorious view, extending across the lower hills to the great plain of Esdraclon and the mountains of Nazareth beyond. The impression at first almost overpowered me. Just below us, on the left, was a charming little basin or plain, a recess shut in among the mountains, and separated on the north from the great plain only by a slight ridge. I looked eagerly for the round summit of Tabor, but it was not visible; the mountain of Dūhy, the Little Hermon, rose in desert nakedness between, and shut out Tabor wholly from the view. Further west, the mountains rose boldly along the north side of the great plain; and the precipice S. by E. of Nazareth, to which an ecclesiastical tradition gives the name of the "Mountain of the Precipitation,"³ was conspicuous, bearing N. 7° E.

We now had a considerable descent on the same course, about northeast, and came at 4½ o'clock to Kūbātiyeh, a large village in the midst of very extensive and beautiful olive groves. It lies on the east of the little plain above described, and somewhat higher; from the plain a valley extends up by the village on the north side, and opens into a still smaller plain in that direction, which it serves to drain. Our course now led us across this latter plain along its left side; it is skirted by low hills, and was covered with fields of wheat; but seemed not very fertile. Crossing a low rise of ground at 5½ o'clock, we left the plain, and descended into a narrow stony naked dell, not very deep, but yet sufficiently so to cut off all further observation. It was now dry; but water apparently often runs through it.⁴ We followed down this dell about N. N. E. till it brought us at 6½ o'clock to Jenin.

¹ Monro, in passing this way on the 2d of May, saw here a lake, which he says "had been formed within a short time from some unknown cause!" His muleteers had probably never before seen it. I. p. 276.—Schubert travelled from Sebūstieh to Jenin by a more western route, leading by the village of 'Arrābeh; Reise III. p. 161.

² These at 3.55 bore as follows; the little village of Jerba lying at the same time north about ten minutes distant at the foot

iii. 153. 154

of the hills; viz. Sānūr S. 25° W. Meithelōn S. 20° E. Judeideh S. 23° E. Siris S. 35° E. Misilya S. 72° E.

³ Saltus vel Præcipitium Domini; Brocardus c. 6. p. 175. Quaresmius II. p. 842. Cotovic. p. 349. The tradition from which this name springs, is late and legendary; as we shall see further on.

⁴ Monro describes a spring as gushing out in this valley and forming a considerable brook. This was early in May. Summer Ramble I. p. 277.

This place is situated in the mouth of the same Wady, as it enters the great plain of Esdraelon, having gentle hills on either side. The town lies in the midst of gardens of fruit trees, which are surrounded by hedges of the prickly pear; here too are seen a few scattered palm trees. The houses are of stone, tolerably well built; the place may contain perhaps two thousand inhabitants; among whom are only three or four families of Greek Christians.¹ The most remarkable thing here is the fine flowing public fountain, rising in the hills back of the town, and brought down so as to issue in a noble stream in the midst of the place. The fountain is built up with plain but good mason work. It has a reservoir of stone, in which the people may dip their jars; and also a long stone trough for the herds and flocks. The water flows off northwestwards towards the Mediterranean.²

This fountain had not long been built; and is a good specimen of the public spirit of Husein 'Abd el-Hâdy, late Mudir of 'Akka, whose authority extended over all the southern provinces of Syria. Husein was the head of a powerful family; was very rich; and employed some two or three hundred yoke of oxen in cultivating the plain of Esdraelon. He was now dead, and one of his brothers had succeeded to the same office. One of his sons was at this time governor of Nâbulus. Another was also governor of Jenin, which is the chief place of the district embracing the great plain, and is subordinate to Nâbulus, in the same manner as Hebron is to Jerusalem. He too cultivates large tracts of land upon the plain in the vicinity of Jenin.

Jenin is probably the En-Gannim of the Old Testament, a Levitical city, in Issachar, in or near the great plain.³ It has also ever been held, and with good reason, to be the Ginæa of Josephus, which lay on the borders of the great plain towards Samaria; indeed the province of Samaria extended from it southwards as far as to Acrabatene.⁴ No further notice of the place appears, until the time of the crusades, when it is several times mentioned by Arabian writers in connection with the march of Saladin.⁵ Brocardus speaks of it as Ginum;⁶ and as it lies upon the great road between Jerusalem and 'Akka or Nazareth, it has since been visited and described by many travellers.

The plain of Esdraelon is skirted on its southern side by low hills, running from Jenin in a northwest direction, until they

¹ Scholz says from 1500 to 2000 inhabitants; p. 266. I suppose the place to be at least one quarter as large as Nâbulus, and probably more.

² The elevation of Jenin, and of course of the plain just adjacent, is given by Schubert at 515 Paris feet. Reise III p. 162.

³ Josh. 19, 21. 21, 29. This identity is also assumed by R. Parchi in the four-

teenth century; see in Asher's *Benj.* of Tud. II. p. 433.

⁴ *Givata* Jos. Ant. 20. 6. 1. B. J. 3. 3. 4. Comp. B. J. 2. 12. 3, where it is Γηνάδα. Reland Pal. p. 812.

⁵ Bohaedd. Vit. Salad. p. 59. Abulfedæ Annal. A. H. 578, 580, pp. 30, 36; in Schultens Excerpt. Abulf. post Vit. Salad.

⁶ Brocardus c. 7. p. 177.

unite with what may be called an extension of the ridge of Carmel. Further south, these hills become higher and form the mountains of Samaria. It is this extension of Carmel towards the southeast, consisting of a low ridge or range of hills, which separates the great southern plain along the coast, from that of Esdraelon. From the knoll on the west of Jenin, we could look out upon this part of the plain and the adjacent southern hills, which are very much lower and less bold than those on the northern side around Nazareth. Looking towards Carmel, on the southeast side of a low Tell or mound, a little back from the plain, we could distinguish the place called Ta'annuk, about two and a half hours distant; it was said to have ruins, which led the people to suppose it was once a large city, though it now contains but a few families. Further to the right, the direction of el-Lejjûn, the ancient Legio, was shown; but we could not make it out distinctly. Ta'annuk is undoubtedly the ancient Taanach; first a city of the Canaanites; then allotted to Manasseh and assigned to the Levites; and afterwards celebrated in the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak.¹ Eusebius and Jerome describe it as three or four Roman miles from Legio; which accords with the present site.² The name is found upon Jacotin's map; but I am not aware that the place has been noticed by any traveller before Schubert.³

Eastward of Jenin, an arm or offset of the great plain runs up southeast between the hills of Samaria on the south, here higher than those further west, and a range of naked rocky heights on the north, which extend for some distance from southeast to northwest into the plain. This branch of the plain is about three quarters of an hour broad, and rises with a perceptible ascent towards the southeast for an hour and a half or two hours beyond Jenin. On its sides round about, are the villages Deir Abu Dha'if, Beit Kâd, Fûkû'a, Deir Ghûzâl, and 'Arâneh. On one of the highest points of the rocky heights north of this arm, lies the village of Wezar,⁴ apparently a ruin, and seen in all directions. From Jenin a direct road to Beisân leads obliquely up this plain, and across this northern range of mountains; on this road, and upon these mountains, half an hour southwest of the highest point, lies an inhabited village called Jelbôn, in which we may recognise the ancient Gilboa.⁵

¹ Josh. 12, 21. 17, 11. 21, 25. Judg. 1, 27. 5, 19. It is further mentioned in Scripture only 1 K. 4, 12.

² Onomast. arts. *Taanach* and *Thaanach*, one four, the other three miles from Legio.

³ Reise III. p. 164.

⁴ Schultz writes this name *Mezar*; but incorrectly. Ritter Erdk. XX. p. 422.

iii. 156, 157

⁵ Here again the final *Ain* of the Hebrew has fallen away as in el-Jib; a very unusual circumstance. See Vol. I. p. 255. n 2, and p. 456. Our information respecting this village was obtained afterwards at Nazareth, from an intelligent Christian, who had himself travelled the road in question. See also Liebetru's Reise, I. p. 254, Hamb. 1854.

This circumstance serves to identify these as the mountains of Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan were slain; and on which, according to Eusebius and Jerome, a large village of the same name existed in their day.¹ The inhabitants of Jenin now call this range Jebel Fūkū'a, from the adjacent village; but it is hardly probable that others give it this appellation. It constitutes a mountainous tract with several ridges, in all about an hour in breadth.²

Besides the villages we had to day seen on the right of our road after leaving Jeba', there is also marked in our lists a place called Tūbās, which probably corresponds to the Thebez of Scripture, where Abimelech met his death.³ That place Eusebius and Jerome describe as thirteen Roman miles distant from Neapolis towards Scythopolis, now Beisân.⁴ Berggren in passing from Nazareth to Nābulus took a route lying eastward of Jenin, and spent the night at Tūbās; he gives its position at nine hours from Nazareth and four from Nābulus.⁵

In the district west of our road also, our lists give the name of the village Kefr Kūd; probably the *Caparcotia* of Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables, on a road between Cæsarea and Scythopolis, marked at twenty-eight Roman miles from the former and twenty from the latter. Of this ancient place nothing more is known.⁶—Buckingham, in travelling from Nābulus to Nazareth, describes himself as leaving the road to Jenin at Kūbātiyeh, and taking a more westerly direction, which brought him in about two hours to a village which he calls "Birreheen," that is, Būrkin. This village, he says, "is seated on the brow of the hill, and contains from forty to fifty dwellings; and just opposite to it on the west, distant about a mile, is another village of the same size," which according to him is Kefr Kūd. Afterwards, he turned northeast through a narrow pass, and came out upon the plain of Esdraelon about two miles west of Jenin.⁷ The position of Kefr Kūd is there-

¹ Onomast. "*Gelbus*, montes alienigenarum in sexto lapide à Scythopoli, in quibus etiam vicus est grandis, qui vocatur Gelbus."

² From Jenin we took the following bearings: Northern declivity of Carmel, as here seen, N. 30° W. 'Ta'annuk N. 42° W. 'Arineh in the plain N. 39° E. Wezar N. 46° E. 'Arābboneh N. 60° E. Fūkū'a N. 78° E.

³ Judg. 9, 50.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Thebes*.

⁵ Berggren Resor, etc. Del. III. Bihang p. 18. This appendix in the original, containing Itineraries, is not given in the German translation. See however the latter, Reisen Th. II. p. 266 sq. Comp above, Vol.

I. pp. 568, 569.—We made many inquiries after Tirzah the most ancient capital of the kingdom of Israel; 1 Kings 14, 17. 15, 33, etc. We could find, however, no name resembling it; unless perhaps it be Tūllāza, a place which we visited in 1852; see in Vol. III. Sect. VII.

⁶ Ptolem. 4. 16. Roland Pal. pp. 421, 461. The Peut. Tables read *Caparcotiani*; which doubtless is the same place.

⁷ Travels in Palest. pp. 551, 552. 4to.—Notwithstanding the apparent display of accuracy in B.'s account, I am still unable to fix definitely the exact position of Kefr Kūd. He leaves Sinūr at 8 o'clock; reaches Kūbātiyeh (his Cabant) in about two hours; and 'Birreheen' in about two

fore, probably, not far from an hour west or southwest from Jenin, among the hills, three quarters of an hour or more distant from the plain. In crossing the latter, this village was nowhere visible to us. Mr Wolcott also, in 1842, when at Bürkin, saw Kefr Kûd about half an hour distant, in a valley among the opposite hills.¹

Saturday, June 16th. The guide whom we had yesterday taken at Nâbulus, proved so incompetent and untrustworthy, that we dismissed him, and engaged a Muslim of Jenin to accompany us to Nazareth; not indeed to show us the road, for that was plain enough, and our muleteers had often travelled it; but in order to elicit from him information as to the country along the way. We were for some time undecided what route to take. I had a strong desire to visit Ta'annuk and el-Leijûn, to say nothing of the "excellency of Carmel;" but we had already been compelled reluctantly to exclude this mountain from our plan, in order to reach Beirût at the proper time; and the way by the two villages in question, presented nothing else of special interest. Along the direct route to Nazareth, also, there is very little to be seen upon the plain. But by taking a direction somewhat further east, we should pass by Zer'in and several other places, which seemed connected with antiquity. We decided for the latter route, and were afterwards glad that we did so; as it afforded us better views of the plain itself and of its general character, than we could have obtained upon the other roads.

Our grand object to day was the position of the ancient Jezreel; could this be satisfactorily determined, it would afford a clue for fixing the sites of various other places and historical events, connected with this region. Setting off from Jenin at 4½ o'clock, we struck out upon the noble plain on a course about N. by E. ¼ E. towards the western extremity of the mountains of Gilboa, which I have above described as running towards the northwest. We thus crossed the arm or offset of the plain, which here extends up southeast, and found all the water-courses, though now dry, running off westwards, as do those also from the southern hills; all going to swell in the rainy season "that ancient river, the river Kishon,"² as it flows towards the Mediterranean. In the plain are occasionally low ridges and swells. Perched high on the summit of one of the naked peaks

hours more. Of course it was now about 12 o'clock. Then he turns N. E. through a narrow pass, and after pursuing his way for some time, comes out upon the plain of Esdraelon at noon. From Sînûr to Kûbitiyeh we were short of an hour and a half; and B.'s

iii. 159, 160

distance from thence to Kefr Kûd, is probably to be contracted in like proportion.

¹ Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 76. See more in Vol. III. Sect. III, under April 21st, 1852.

² Judg. 5, 21.

of Gilboa, the village Wezar was a conspicuous object, and apparently had been once a fortress.

At 5½ o'clock, we left the village 'Arāneh on our right, and soon reached the broad western end of Gilboa. The path now led over occasional slight spurs, or roots of the mountain, stretching down still further westwards; and from such points we had wide views of all the extent of the great plain, spread out upon our left, and of the long blue ridge of Carmel beyond. The prospect was charming for its rich fertility and beauty. Yellow fields of grain, with green patches of cotton and millet interspersed, checkered the landscape like a carpet. The plain itself was almost without villages; but on the slope of Carmel, as it extends southeast, or on hills further to the left, several places were pointed out, as el-Lejjūn, Um el-Fahm, Ta'annuk, Sileh, el-Yāmôn, el-Bârid, Kefr Adân, and others. A small village called Jelameh, apparently deserted, was just on our left at ten minutes before 6 o'clock; and here too we could see Mukeibeleh, a village in the plain, on the direct route from Jenin to Nazareth.¹

The water-courses from the mountains on our right, all passed off westwards into the plain; at 6.10 we came upon the junction of two of these of some size, but with no trace of water. Five minutes beyond, we had a small site of ruined foundations on our right, called Sündela. At 6½ o'clock, we crossed the principal of the low spurs, and Zer'in lay before us. We now began to get sight of the country north of the range of Gilboa; and were surprised to find it lying much lower than the plain we were crossing. At 6.40 the head of a Wady was on our right, running down northeast. We had thus been about an hour in passing along the whole breadth of these mountains at their western end. At 7 o'clock we reached Zer'in.

Thus far we had been travelling over the plain; which here perhaps might be called undulating, in consequence of the slight spurs and swells above described. Further west it seemed perfectly level, with a general declivity towards the Mediterranean, to which its waters flow off. As we approached Zer'in, there was only a very gentle rise of the surface, like another low swell; and it was therefore quite unexpected to us, on reaching that village, to find it standing upon the brow of a very steep rocky descent of one hundred feet or more towards the northeast. Here the land sinks off at once into a great fertile valley running down E. S. E. along the northern wall of the mountains of Gilboa. This valley is itself a broad deep plain; its water-

¹ From Jelameh my companion took the following bearings; Wezar N. 60° E. Kefr Adân S. 70° W. Sileh W. Ta'annuk N. 60° W. el-Mukeibeleh, N. 60° W.

bed runs along under the rocky declivity on the right, and then under Gilboa; while on the other, or northeastern side, the ground slopes gradually upwards to the base of the mountain of Dûhy, the little Hermon. The western extremity of this mountain bears from Zer'in about north by east, and from that point it stretches off east-southeastwards for some distance, parallel to Gilboa. It thus shuts out still all view of Mount Tabor; of which as yet we had had no glimpse. Hermon is not long; its eastern part being only a very low ridge along the north side of the valley.

This deep plain, thus enclosed between the ranges of Gilboa and little Hermon, is about an hour in breadth; and below Zer'in continues down E. S. E. quite to the plain of the Jordan at Beisân. We could here see the acropolis of Beisân lying much lower than Zer'in; and from every account, that place appears to be situated not far above the level of the Jordan valley. On our left, the Wady or plain below us ran up towards the northwest, where it seemed soon to reach the level of the great plain above. The exact place of the division of the waters, we were not able to determine; but so far as we could judge of it, as seen from the higher ground which we afterwards crossed, it seemed to be near the ruined villages Fûleh and 'Afûleh in the plain. There is apparently no distinct water-shed; but the portions of the great plain on the north and south of these hamlets, obviously send their waters westwards to the Mediterranean; while near those ruins, the waters as obviously begin to run eastwards to the Jordan, with a much more rapid descent through this broad deeper valley, than exists towards the west. Here then we have a second arm, or branch of the great plain of Esdraelon, running down eastwards between the two parallel ridges of mountains quite to the Jordan; thus regularly connecting the valley of the latter with the great plain above and further west, without any steep ascent or pass.

In the valley directly under Zer'in is a considerable fountain; and twenty minutes further east, another larger one under the northern side of Gilboa, called 'Ain Jâlûd. Zer'in itself thus lies comparatively high, and commands a wide and noble view; extending down the broad low valley on the east to Beisân, and to the mountains beyond the Jordan; while towards the west it includes the whole great plain quite to the long ridge of Carmel. It is a most magnificent site for a city; which, being itself thus a conspicuous object in every part, would naturally give its name to the whole region. There could therefore be little question, that in and around Zer'in, we had before us the city,

the plain, the valley, and the fountain, of the ancient Jezreel.¹

The identity of this place with Jezreel was recognised by the crusaders, who gave it the name of *Parvum Gerinum*; but they remark also that it was called *Zaraein*; and describe it as situated near the western end of Mount Gilboa, and commanding a wide prospect on the east to the mountains of Gilead, and on the west to Carmel.² But this identity was again lost sight of; and although writers in the seventeenth century speak of this deep valley under the name of Jezreel, and describe it correctly as lying between Gilboa and little Hermon and extending to the Jordan, yet the village itself seems not further to be mentioned, from the fourteenth century down to the year 1814.³ Since then it has been again brought into notice by several travellers, but without any description of its site; and also without any suggestion of its identity with Jezreel.⁴ It is only within the last three years, that this idea has been revived, apparently on mere conjecture.⁵ Quite as recently, likewise, other travellers have still found the site of Jezreel at Jenin.⁶

Here, as in so many other cases, the name itself is quite decisive; although at first view the resemblance between Jezreel and Zer'in is less striking. But the first feeble letter of the Hebrew being dropped, and the last syllable *el* becoming *in*, as is not unusual in Arabic,⁷ the two forms are seen to be obviously identical. From Eusebius and Jerome we know, that Jezreel lay in the great plain between Legio (el-Lejjûn) and Scythopolis now Beisân; and the pilgrim of Bourdeaux sets it at twelve Roman miles from the latter place, and ten from

¹ *Valley of Jezreel*, Josh. 17, 16. Judg. 6, 33. Hos. 1, 5. *Fountain at Jezreel*, 1 Sam. 29, 1. *Plain of Esdraelon*, Judith 1, 8.

² Will. Tyr. 22. 26. "Jezraheel, nunc autem vulgari appellatione dicitur parvum Gerinum." Benjamin of Tudela mentions here also Jezreel, which he calls *Serain*; I. p. 80. Brocardus c. 7. pp. 176, 177, "Jezraël—hodie vix habet viginti domos, vocaturque *Zaracin* (Zaraein?) in pede montis Gelboë ad Occidentem sita.—Habet Jezraël pulchrum prospectum per totam Galileam, usque ad Carmelum et montes Phenicis, monteque Thabor et Galaad." This mention of Tabor is wrong. Brocardus describes also the broad valley of Jezreel as running down between Gilboa and little Hermon to the Jordan.—Sir John Maundeville likewise gives correctly the site of Jezreel, "that sometyne was clept Zarym;" p. 111. Lond. 1839. So too Parchi; Asher's *Benj. of Tud. II. p. 429*.

³ Adrichomius copies the account of Brocardus, p. 73. Fürer of Haimendorf (1566) speaks of the fountain and valley under Mount Gilboa, and mentions apparently the village, of which he misunderstood the name; p. 269. Numb. 1646. Doubdan describes the valley as extending to the Jordan, p. 580. So too Morison, p. 216. Quaresmius makes no allusion to Jezreel or its valley.

⁴ First by Turner in 1814, *Tour in the Levant II. p. 151*. Afterwards by Buckingham, p. 495, 4to. Berggren *Reisen II. p. 266*.

⁵ *Raumer's Paläst. Ed. 2. p. 155*. Schubert *Reise III. p. 164*. Elliott's *Travels II. p. 379*.

⁶ *Monro's Summer Ramble I. p. 277*. Hardy's *Notices of the Holy Land, Lond. 1835. p. 225*. Paxton's *Letters, Lond. 1839. p. 176*.

⁷ As in *Britin* for Bethel; *Isma'in* for Ishmael, Isma'il; and other examples. See above, Vol. I. p. 449.

Maximianopolis, which lay somewhere near Legio.¹ The Arabs at Zer'in, whose estimates of distances by time are never very exact, gave the distance to both el-Lejjûn and Beisân at about three and a half hours. Both places were in sight, and seemed nearly equidistant.

Jezreel is first mentioned as belonging to the tribe of Issachar; and it constituted afterwards a part of the kingdom of Ishbosheth.² It became more notorious under Ahab and Jezebel, who, though residing at Samaria, had a palace here; and it was to enlarge the grounds of this palace, that the king desired the vineyard of Naboth, and gave occasion for the tragic story of the latter.³ In the retributions of divine Providence, the same place became the scene of the massacre of Jezebel herself, her son Joram, and all the house of Ahab, by the hand of Jehu.⁴ Still later, Jezreel is alluded to by the prophet Hosea; and we find the name in the book of Judith under the Greek form Esdrelom.⁵ In the days of Eusebius and Jerome it was still a large village, called Esdraela; and the Bourdeaux pilgrim in the same age mentions it as Stradela.⁶ We hear nothing more of it until the time of the crusades; when it was called, as we have seen, by the Franks *Parvum Gerinum*, and by the Arabs Zer'in.⁷ In A. D. 1183, Saladin encamped by the fountain, then known to the Franks as Tubania; but deserted it on the approach of the Christians, after a skirmish with a band of knights coming from Kerak and Shôbek, and after destroying the village.⁸ In A. D. 1217, a Christian host advanced through this valley to Beisân.⁹ Zer'in then contained hardly twenty houses; and since that time we hear no more of it, until the present century, as above described.¹⁰

At the present day, Zer'in has perhaps more than twenty houses; but they are mostly in ruins, and the place contains few inhabitants. The principal mark of antiquity we saw, was a sarcophagus with sculptured ornaments, lying on the left of our path just as we entered the village. Other travellers speak of more.¹¹ There is a square tower of some height, partly in ruins; from the several windows of which we enjoyed a splendid view of the adjacent country in all directions. Several of the

¹ Onomast. art. *Jezrael*. Itin. Hieros. ed. Wessel p. 586.—On the probable position of Maximianopolis, see in Vol. III. Sect. III, Apr. 21st, 1852, under *Lejjûn*.

² Josh. 19, 18. 2 Sam. 2, 8. 9.

³ 1 K. 18, 45. 46. c. 21.

⁴ 2 K. 9, 14–37. 10, 1–11.

⁵ Hos. 1, 4; comp. 1, 11. 2, 22.—Judith 1, 8. 4, 5. 7, 3.

⁶ Onomast art. *Jezrael*. Itin. Hieros. p. 586.

⁷ Münter enumerates *Parvum Gerinum* among the possessions of the Templars; Statutenbuch, etc. I. p. 419.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 22. 26. Bohaed. Vit. Salad. pp. 53, 54. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. ii. pp. 231, 232.

⁹ Wilken ib. VI. p. 144.

¹⁰ Brocardus c. 7. pp. 176, 177, quoted on p. 321, note 2, above.

¹¹ Buckingham p. 495, 4to. Elliott, Vol. II. p. 379.

inhabitants gathered round us ; and we had here no difficulty in finding out the names of all the places visible. Most of them we knew already. Wezar was still in view on its high peak ; and below it, on the northern slope of the mountain, was another village, Nûris. Tell Beisân, the acropolis of that place, was quite distinct down the great valley far below us.¹ North of that valley, on the low ridge running out eastwards from little Hermon, was seen the village Kûmieh ; on the summit of the same mountain was the Wely of Dûhy ; and at the western end, over-against Zer'in, lay the village Sôlam, to which we afterwards came. In the west, we could now distinguish more clearly the place of el-Lejjûn, on the slope of the plain, as it rises gradually to the line of hills, which form the extension of Carmel in that quarter.²

Leaving Zer'in at 7½ o'clock, we descended in a direction nearly east, to the fountain below the village, reaching it in twelve minutes, by a steep and rocky path. The water is copious and good ; not gushing out in one large fountain, but flowing up through the gravel in various places and running off in many little rills to form a small brook below. We were told that this fountain in former times became dry every summer, and at length dried up wholly ; but the same public spirited Husein 'Abd el-Hâdy already mentioned,³ had caused it to be again opened about four years previously, by digging down till the water flowed, and then filling in loose gravel ; so that now the water never fails. From this circumstance it bears the name of 'Ain el-Meiyyiteh, "the Dead Fountain."

From here we proceeded down the valley southeast twenty minutes to 'Ain Jâlûd, a very large fountain, flowing out from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa. The water is excellent ; and issuing from crevices in the rocks, it spreads out at once into a fine limpid pool, forty or fifty feet in diameter, in which great numbers of small fish were sporting. From the reservoir, a stream sufficient to turn a mill flows off eastwards down the valley. There is every reason to regard this as the ancient foun-

¹ So Beth-shean (Beisân) is said to be "beneath Jezreel," 1 K. 4, 12.

² From Zer'in we took the following bearings, beginning at the south, and proceeding towards the left : Wezar S. 38° E. Nûris S. 47° E. Tell Beisân S. 65° E. Kûmieh E. Wely ed-Dûhy, summit of little Hermon, N. 26° E. Sôlam N. 12° E. Fûleh N. 11° W. 'Afulah N. 22° W. Khuneifis (or Ukhneifis) N. 32° W. North end of Carmel, as here seen, N. 34° W. el-Lejjûn N. 80° W. (?) Ta'annuk S. 80°

W. (?) Sileh S. 75° W. el-Yâmôn S. 55° W. el-Barid S. 50° W. Kefr Adân S. 45° W. Muqeibileh S. 40° W. Jelameh S. 15° W. Jenin S. 15° W.—I am since satisfied, that we mistook some other village for el-Lejjûn, perhaps Salim, which lies S. S. E. of Lejjûn, an hour distant. Lejjûn has no minaret or other mark by which it could be seen at all. See Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, p. 77.

³ See above, p. 315.

tain of Jezreel, where Saul and Jonathan pitched before their last fatal battle; and where, too, in the days of the crusades, Saladin and the Christians successively encamped. At that time the Christians called it Tubania; but among the Arabs it already bore its present name.¹ The presence of fish in the fountain, probably gave rise to the story of its furnishing a miraculous supply for the whole Christian army during several days.²

Having breakfasted at the fountain, we set off again at 8.55, bending our steps towards Sôlam, on our way to Nazareth. The place was not visible here in the deep valley, nor was there any direct path leading to it. We struck off through the open fields in a direction about north; and crossed soon the little streamlet, coming from the other fountain and probably also from higher up the valley. The soil of this plain, and also of the gradual northern slope, is exceedingly fertile; and the fields in many parts were still covered with a rich crop of wheat, long ready and waiting for the sickle. The harvest in other quarters of the plain seemed to be already ended. This valley is included under the name Merj Ibn 'Âmir, by which the whole great plain of Esdraelon is known to the Arabs. Our guide from Jenin took us directly through several fields of grain, where his donkey and our mules cropped their fill in passing; but at length, after ascending gradually for some time, we fell into the path from Zer'in to Sôlam, and reached the latter at 10.25, in an hour and a half from 'Ain Jâlûd. Our progress however had been rather slower than usual.

Sôlam lies, as we have seen, on the declivity at the western end of the mountain of Dûhy, overagainst Zer'in, but higher; having the deep broad valley of Jezreel between, and overlooking the whole western plain to Carmel. Mount Tabor was not yet visible. The village is small and dirty, lying upon a steep slope, with a small fountain hardly sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants. The people were civil and friendly. One old man accosted us, professing to be the keeper of the Wely of

¹ 1 Sam. 29, 1. Will. Tyr. 22. 26. Bohæd. Vit. Salad. p. 53. See above, p. 322. Bohæd. writes el-Jâlût; which form Jâlût is the Arabic for Goliath. It is difficult, at first, to see how this name should come to be found in this region; but there would seem to have been an early legend, that here was the scene of David's combat with Goliath. In connection with Stradela (Jezreel) the Itin. Hieros. has the following: "Ibi est campus, ubi David Goliath occidit;" p. 586, ed. Wesseling. Parchi mentions the same legend; see in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 429, 430.

iii. 168, 169

² Will. Tyr. 22. 27, "Cum hactenus tam fons supra nominatus quam qui ex eo rivus profuit, pisces aut nullos aut rarissimos habere crederetur, illis diebus tantam dicitur copiam ministrasse, quæ universo exercitui sufficere posset."—The same writer correctly describes the stream as flowing towards Beisân; *ibid.* 26: "Subito Saladinus castra solvens, ex insperato fontem deserit, inferiusque versus Bethsan, fontis ejusdem fluentia sequens, . . . castrametatus est." So too Marinus Sanutus, p. 251. Comp. Reland Pal. p. 863.

Dühy; and offered his services as a guide to the mountain, which he said was often visited by the monks.¹

Although we could find no remains of antiquity about the village, yet there is little room for doubt, that it is the ancient Shunem of the tribe of Issachar, where the Philistines encamped before Saul's last battle.² From the same place apparently, Abishag the Shunamite was brought to the aged David; and here it was, probably, that Elisha often lodged in the house of the Shunamitish woman, and afterwards raised her son from the dead.³ Eusebius and Jerome describe it in their day, as a village lying five Roman miles from Mount Tabor, towards the southern quarter, and they write the name already Sulem.⁴ The crusaders also speak of Suna on the southwest side of the little Hermon;⁵ but from that time onwards, the name I believe nowhere occurs, until we find it upon the map of Jacotin in the present century. In A. D. 1822, the village was seen by Berggren;⁶ but although since then various travellers have taken it in their route, yet it has been recognised as Shunem only within the last three or four years.⁷

As we here at Sôlam took leave of the valley of Jezreel, and of the objects immediately connected with it; this may be a proper place to pause for a moment, and bring together what remains to be said upon that valley, and on some other points which have been already brought into view.

Gilboa. I have already adduced the evidence, which goes to show that the heights south of the said valley, separating it from the more southern arm of the great plain, are no other than the ancient mountains of Gilboa; they were so regarded in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, and also in the age of the crusades and since.⁸ Yet the name Gilboa (Jelbôn) is not now

¹ We took at Solim the following bearings: Wely ed-Dühy, top of the mountain, N. E. by E. Wezar S. 9° E. Zer'in S. 12° W. Jenin S. 20° W. Ta'annuk S. 56° W. Um el-Fahm S. 65° W. Sâlim S. 84° W. (?) Nazareth, as we found afterwards, bears from Solam N. 9° W.

² Josh. 19, 18. 1 Sam. 28, 4.

³ 1 K. 1, 8. 2 K. 4, 8-37. 8, 1-6 Eusebius and Jerome suppose the hostess of Elisha to have dwelt at Sonam, a village in Akrobatene. But the mother, on the death of her child, goes to Elisha on Mount Carmel, apparently not very distant; 2 K. 4, 22-25. This accords far better with the relative position of Sôlam. Onomast. art. *Sonam*.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Sulem*. In the present Vol. II. —28

text of Eusebius, the name stands as *Σουβήμ*, but Jerome's copy evidently had *Σουλήμ*. This change from *α* to *ι* was frequent in Hebrew, as it is in other languages. See Gesenius Lex. lett. 5.

⁵ Brocardus c. 7. p. 176. Marin. Sanut. p. 249.

⁶ Reisen etc. II. p. 265. Perhaps Scholz means the same by his "Selwam," p. 264.

⁷ Monro mentions here a tower (not town) as having been destroyed by 'Abdallah Pasha of 'Akka about 1831; Vol. I. pp. 278, 280. Elliott's Travels II. p. 378. Schubert Reise III. p. 165. Raumer Paläst. Ed. 3. p. 124.

⁸ See above, p. 317. n. 1; where the words of Eusebius and Jerome are cited. Will. Tyr. 22. 26. Brocardus c. 7. pp. 176, 177. iii. 169-171

known among the inhabitants, as applied to these mountains, but only to the village upon them.¹ This latter circumstance, together with their relative position to Scythopolis (Beisân), Jezreel, and Shunem, leaves no room for doubt respecting their identity. The highest part is towards the east, two hours or more from Zer'in. Further down toward the Jordan valley, they become somewhat lower.

Little Hermon. The high ridge on the north of Jezreel, known to the Arabs as Jebel ed-Dûhy, I have above called the Little Hermon, in distinction from Jebel esh-Sheikh north of Baniâs, the true and only Hermon of the Scriptures.² There is no ground to suppose that this mountain of Dûhy is mentioned in Scripture as Hermon; yet this name was certainly applied to it in the days of Jerome, and may therefore be used without impropriety, for the sake of convenience.³ It probably had its origin in the fourth century, after the conversion of Constantine had made Palestine accessible to foreign ecclesiastics and monks, who now busied themselves in tracing out all the names and places of Scripture, without much regard to criticism or to earlier tradition.⁴ Eusebius appears to have listened doubtfully to an older tradition of Hermon as situated near Paneas; but makes no allusion to one near Tabor.⁵ Jerome heard the same tradition of the true Hermon from his Jewish instructor, and speaks of it much more decidedly.⁶ The name Hermon, therefore, was probably first applied to this mountain near Tabor, in the interval between these two writers, on a mere conjecture drawn from the words of the Psalmist: "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name;"⁷ and it was natural for Jerome

Parchi in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 430. Marinus Sanutus p. 251. Cotovicus p. 347. Doubdan p. 580, etc. Quaresmius does not mention Gilboa.

¹ I speak here advisedly; for I had been misled by Richardson, to look for the mountains of Gilboa as bordering upon the Jordan valley north of Beisân. He says expressly of the mountain there: "The natives still call it Gibl Gilbo, or mount Gilbo;" Travels II. p. 424. This led us to make minute and extensive inquiry, which resulted in showing the language of Richardson to be utterly without foundation.

² See more on Jebel esh-Sheikh as Hermon, near the end of the next section.

³ Jerome twice mentions a Hermon near Mount Tabor. Ep. 44, ad Marcellam, Opp. ed. Mart. T. IV. ii. p. 552, "Apparebit oppidum Naim . . . Videbitur et Hermonim et torrens Endor in quo superat Siesera." Ep. 86, ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ ibid. p. 677, "Scandebat

montem Thabor . . . Aspiciebat procul montes Hermon et Hermonim, et campos latos Galilææ," etc. This form Hermonim is the Hebrew plural, borrowed from Ps. 42, 7.

⁴ See the remarks at the beginning of Sect. VII. Vol. I. p. 251 sq.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Hermon*.

⁶ "Hebraeus vero, quo prælegente Scripturos didici, affirmat montem Hermon Paneadi imminere, . . . de quo nunc sætivæ nives Tyrum ad delicias feruntur." Jerome adds all this to the article of Eusebius.

⁷ Ps. 89, 12. [13.] It was taken for granted, that as Tabor and Hermon are here mentioned together, they must also lie close together. But both this and all the other passages of Scripture, in which Hermon occurs, apply with far greater strength and beauty to Jebel esh-Sheikh. So especially the difficult passage Ps. 133, 3; which, however it may be explained, can have no allusion to the vicinity of

afterwards to speak of it in the plural form, *Hérmonim*, in distinction from what he knew to be the proper Hermon in the north. This name continued, in ecclesiastical tradition, through the middle ages and the following centuries ; and maintains itself still in the monasteries.¹ The Arab Christians appear also to be acquainted with it as *Haramôn*, but do not use this name ; and among the Muslims, it seems to be entirely lost. The old man whom we met at Sôlam, had learned it from pilgrims to the mountain.

This mountain of ed-Dûhy, therefore, has little of historical interest ; nor has it either beauty or fertility to excite the attention of the traveller. It is in fact a desert shapeless mass ; and when, as we approached Jênin from the south, it was erroneously pointed out to me as Tabor, I felt great disappointment. The highest part, crowned by the Wely, is towards the western end ; further east it sinks down gradually to a low ridge of table land, parallel to the eastern part of the valley of Jezreel.

Valley of Jezreel. This great valley is celebrated in Scripture history, for the remarkable victory of Gideon, and the last fatal overthrow of Saul. The Midianites, the Amalekites, and the children of the east had come over Jordan and pitched in the valley of Jezreel ; and Gideon had gathered the Israelites of the northern tribes together, and encamped at the well of Harod, probably on Mount Gilboa ; since "the host of Midian was beneath him in the valley."² Here Gideon went down to the host, and heard the dream ; and then, with his three hundred men, attacked and miraculously routed the whole host of Midian.³—Against Saul, the Philistines came up and pitched in Shunem (Sôlam), and Saul and all Israel pitched in Gilboa ; afterwards the Philistines are said to be at Aphek, and the Israelites at a fountain in Jezreel, probably the present 'Ain Jâlûd.⁴ Forsaken of God and in the depth of his despair, Saul now crossed over the ridge of the little Hermon to Endor, to consult the sorceress. The battle took place next day ; "the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down slain in mount Gilboa ;" and Saul and his three sons were found among the dead. The Philistines cut off his head, stripped the dead body, and then fastened it to the wall of Beth-shean.⁵ Thus in the language of David's pathetic elegy : "The beauty of Israel was slain upon thy high places !" and hence the curse upon the scene of slaughter : "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let

Tabor, notwithstanding Reland's suggestion ; Palæst. pp. 325, 326.

¹ Brocardus c. 7. p. 177. Marin. Sanut. p. 251. Cotovic. p. 347. Maundrell, Apr. 19.

² Judg. 6, 33. 35. 7, 1. 8.

³ Judg. 7, 9-25.

⁴ 1 Sam. 27, 4. 29, 1. Eusebius and Jerome place Aphek near Endor ; the latter is on the north side of the little Hermon. Onomast. "*Aphêc*, juxta Endor Jezraëlis, ubi dimicavit Saul."

⁵ 1 Sam. 28, 5-25. c. 31.

there be no dew, neither rain upon you, nor fields of offering.”¹

Beisân. In the former edition of this work, historical notices of Beisân were here subjoined. But as we ourselves visited that place in 1852, the reader is referred for them to the third volume.²

Fûleh. On the great plain west of Sôlam, lie the ruined villages Fûleh and 'Afûleh; the former hardly three quarters of an hour distant, and the latter about a mile beyond; both lying near the low water-shed at the head of the valley of Jezreel. Fûleh has become celebrated in modern times as the central point of the battle in A. D. 1799, between the French and the Turkish army advancing from Damascus for the relief of 'Akka, commonly known as the battle of Mount Tabor.³ But the place has a still older renown, as the site of a fortress in the time of the crusades, known among the Arabs as Fûleh and among the Franks as the castle Faba, and occupied by the knights Hospitalers and Templars in common.⁴ It is mentioned in A. D. 1183 in connection with the march of the Christians to the fountain Tubania; and was captured by Saladin in 1187 after the battle of Hattin.⁵

Lejjûn. On the western border of the great plain of Esdraelon, where it already begins to rise gently towards the low

¹ 2 Sam. i. 19. 21.

² See Vol. III. Sect. VII, at the end.

³ “When the French invaded Syria, Nazareth was occupied by six or eight hundred men, whose advanced posts were at Tubariyeh and Safed. Two hours from Nazareth, General Kleber sustained, with a corps not exceeding fifteen hundred men, the attack of the whole Syrian army, amounting to at least twenty-five thousand. He was posted in the plain of Esdraelon, near the village of Fûleh, where he formed his battalion into a square, which continued fighting from sunrise to mid-day, until they had expended almost all their ammunition. Bonaparte, informed of Kleber's perilous situation, advanced to his support with six hundred men. No sooner had he come in sight of the enemy and fired a shot over the plain, than the Turks supposing that a large force was advancing, took precipitately to flight; during which several thousand were killed and many drowned in the river of Debûrieh, which then inundated a part of the plain. Bonaparte dined at Nazareth, . . . and returned the same day to 'Akka.” Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 339. This was on the 16th of April, 1799. The same general account is given in the various Lives of

iii. 174. 176-178

Napoleon; see likewise Thiers Révolution Française, Tom. X. p. 405-407. Paris, 1834.

⁴ Faba is simply the translation of Fûleh, ‘a bean;’ Fr. la Fève. Hugo Plagon in Martens et Durand, Tom. V. pp. 598, 599. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. pp. 231, 267. Brocardus c. 7. p. 176.—In Le Clerc's edition of Brocardus, this name is wrongly printed *Sabi*; the edition of Reineccius (Magdeb. 1587) has correctly Faba.

⁵ Bohaed. Vit. Salad. p. 54. Wilken l. c. pp. 231, 232.—Abulfedæ Annal. A. H. 583. Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. III. p. 81. Wilken Comment. de Bell. Cruc. p. 142.—The Frank fortress Belvoir, mentioned in connection with the same events, appears to be the Kaukab of the Arabs, the present Kaukab el-Hawa described further on, situated on the heights west of the Jordan valley, between Beisân and the lake. A place 'Afûrbala (Lat. Forbelat) is also mentioned, which lay apparently between Beisân and Belvoir on a plain; but whether below in the Jordan valley, or on the table land above, is not said. Will. Tyr. 22. 16, 26. Bohaed. Vit. Salad. pp. 54, 76, et Ind. art. *Apherbala*. Wilken Gesch. der. Kr. III. ii. pp. 210, 211, 232.

range of hills, which connect Carmel and the mountains of Samaria, there was pointed out to us from Sôlam, as also from Zer'in, the position of el-Lejjûn. Near by it there was said to be a large fountain, sending forth a mill stream; which, like that at Jenin and all the brooks along the southwestern hills, so far as these flow at all, runs into the plain, and goes to aid in forming the ancient Kishon. The place was visited by Maundrell, who speaks of it in his day as an old village near a brook, with a Khân then in good repair; he could here overlook the plain of Esdraelon.¹ The Khân was for the accommodation of caravans, passing on the great road between Egypt and Damascus, which here comes over the hills from the western plain along the coast, and enters that of Esdraelon.²

Lejjûn is without doubt the ancient Legio of Eusebius and Jerome. In their day it must have been an important and well known place; since they assume it as a central point, from which to mark the position of several other places in this quarter.³ Yet I find no further certain allusion to it, neither during the age of the crusades, nor in the preceding nor subsequent centuries, until the time of Abulfeda.⁴ The visit of Maundrell took place in A. D. 1697. In the present century it reappears upon the map of Jacotin.

It does not seem probable, that the ancient Legio was a city founded by the Romans; but rather, that this was a new name imposed upon a still older place; which, like the names Nâbulus and Sebüstieh, has maintained itself in the mouths of the native population, while the earlier name has perished. This circumstance led us naturally to inquire, whether there was any ancient city so situated, as to correspond with the position of Lejjûn. As we travelled across the plain, and had Ta'annuk and the place of Lejjûn continually in view, we could not resist the impression, that the latter probably occupies the site of the ancient Megiddo, so often mentioned along with Taanach. The distance of Taanach from Legio is given by Eusebius and Je-

¹ Maundrell, March 22.

² We visited Lejjûn in 1852; see Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 21st.

³ See the Onomast. arts. *Aphraim, Camona, Nazareth, Thaanaach* and *Thanaach*, etc.

⁴ Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 8, and Addenda prefixed.—In the Latin ecclesiastical *Notitia* appended to the History of William of Tyre, the name *Legionum* occurs as a suffragan see; Will. Tyr. in *Gesta Dei* p. 1046. Reland Pal. p. 228. From this it has sometimes been inferred, that Lejjûn was made a bishopric in the age of the crusades; Bachiene Th. II. iv. p. 40. Rau-

mer Pal. p. 141. ed. 3. That list is obviously composed, on the one hand, of earlier materials; for it contains Beit Jibrin which had long been destroyed, and also Neapolis which was never a Latin see; and on the other hand, it exhibits, among other additions, Nazareth, which was made a bishopric only during the crusades, and Mount Tabor, which appears never to have been a bishop's seat at all. If *Legionum* be actually the same as Lejjûn, it may in like manner have been added as the seat of a Christian community; but there seems to be no other trace of its ever having been a bishopric.

rome at three or four Roman miles ;¹ and it is somewhat remarkable, that Megiddo is rarely spoken of in Scripture, except in conjunction with Taanach ; a circumstance which likewise implies their vicinity to each other.² The chief onslaught also in the battle of Deborah and Barak, took place in the plain near Taanach and "the waters of Megiddo ;" and whether this expression be applied to a large fountain, or to the river Kishon, we know that the scene of battle was at any rate not far from the Kishon.³ Megiddo too gave its name to the adjacent valley or low plain along the Kishon ; and in like manner Eusebius and Jerome speak of the plain of Legio.⁴ All these circumstances make out a strong case in favour of the identity of Legio and Megiddo ; and leave in my own mind little doubt upon the point.⁵

We left Sólam at 10½ o'clock for Nazareth ; our road passing at first along the western end of the mountain of Dūhy on high ground. The general direction quite to Nazareth is N. 9° W. After some twenty minutes, we began to turn the N. W. corner of the mountain, where a third great arm of the plain gradually opened upon us, running up between the Little Hermon and Mount Tabor. At 11½ o'clock the latter for the first time rose upon our view in the N. E. an hour or more distant, a fine round mountain, presenting (as here seen) the appearance of a segment of a sphere ; sprinkled with old oaks to its very summit, and realizing in its graceful form and beauty all that I had been led to anticipate respecting it. Yet it seemed not so lofty as has usually been represented ; and, on this side, it is surrounded and

¹ Onomast. arts. *Thaanach*, *Thanaach*.

² So as being each the seat of a Canaanitish king, Josh. 12, 21. Both were assigned to Manasseh, though lying within the borders of Issachar or Asher, Josh. 17, 11. 1 Chr. 7, 29. Both remained long unsubdued, Judg. 1, 27. The battle of Deborah and Barak took place near both, Judg. 5, 19. Both came under the same purveyor, 1 Kings 4, 12.—Ahaziah fled from Jezreel to Megiddo, and Josiah died there ; 2 K. 9, 27. 23, 29. 30.

³ Judg. 5, 19. 21.

⁴ Valley or plain of Megiddo, Hebr. מִגְדּוֹ. 2 Chron. 35, 22. Zech. 12, 11. Gr. *πεδίον* Esdr. 1, 27.—Euseb. *πεδίον τῆς Λεγεῶνος*, Jerome "campus Legionis ;" Onomast. arts. *Gabathon*, *Arbela*, *Canon*, etc.

⁵ The identity of Megiddo and Lejjūn was already recognised by R. Parchi early iii. 179. 180

in the fourteenth century ; see in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 433.—After my return to Europe, I first learned that the same suggestion had been made by the Reviewer of Raumer's *Palästina* in the *Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Dec. 1836, p. 920. He however adduces no ground of identity, except that the names of Megiddo and Legio are both applied to the plain.—It might at first seem an objection to this whole hypothesis, that Eusebius and Jerome in their article *Mageddo*, make no mention of Legio. But it is evident from the article itself, that the name Megiddo was already lost ; and they do not even attempt to mark the position of the place. The same was the case in respect to Sichem ; and even the identity of Sebaste and Samaria they only give as a report. See Onomast. arts. *Mageddo*, *Sichem*, *Smeron*.

shut in by other mountains of nearly equal altitude. It stands out almost insulated upon the plain, being connected with the hills in the N. W. only by a low ridge. Across this ridge on the left of Tabor, we could here again see the lofty peak of the distant Hermon; and could now distinguish the ice upon its summit glittering in the mid-day sun.

This third branch of the great plain is, like the others, about an hour in breadth, but is more distinct and marked; the mountains which enclose it being higher and rising more abruptly from its borders. It extends around and beyond Tabor, quite to the brow of the Jordan valley, and likewise northwards with slight interruptions almost to Hattin. In this part its waters run westwards to the Kishon, and the Mediterranean; further east, as we shall see, beyond Tabor, they flow towards the Jordan.

Below us, on the left, were the deserted villages of Fûleh and 'Afûleh; the former next to us about half an hour distant, and the latter beyond. So far as we could here judge, they stand nearly upon the dividing line of waters, between the head of the valley of Jezreel and the more western plain. But there is here no apparent ridge or swell of land to mark the water-shed; the ground on the north, south, and west, is level, and sends its waters to the Mediterranean; while towards the southeast it begins to decline gradually, to form the great valley running to the Jordan.

At the same point (11½ o'clock) we crossed the great caravan road from Egypt to Damascus; which, coming by Gaza, Ramleh, and Lejjûn, here strikes the corner of the little Hermon, and passes on, one branch over the low ridge on the left of Tabor, and another on the right of that mountain in the plain. The branches unite again at the Khân beyond; and the road continues and descends to the shore of the lake, about three quarters of an hour north of Tiberias.

We now descended gradually to cross the arm of the plain before us. At 11.40 there was a large dry water-course coming from the right; and at 11.55 another, apparently the bed of the main stream of this part of the plain, coming from the direction of Mount Tabor. But in this season of drought, not one drop of water did we meet with in all the great plain, except in the valley of Jezreel. Near this latter channel, was a small site of ruins, called el-Mezra'ah.¹ On our right, at some distance, we could perceive, on the northern slope of the little Hermon, the hamlet of Nein; and at the base of Tabor, the village Debûrich. Nearer at hand in the plain, on a low rocky ridge or mound, not

¹ This is probably the "Casal Mesra" of which Brocardus speaks in this quarter c. 7 p. 176. So too Marinus Sanut. p. 241.

far from the foot of the northern hills, was the village of Iksâl, described as containing many excavated sepulchres.¹ It is probably the Chesulloth and Chisloth-Tabor of the book of Joshua, on the border of Zebulun and Issachar; the Chasalus of Eusebius and Jerome in the plain near Tabor; and the Xaloth of Josephus, situated in the great plain.²—At 12.20 we approached the border of the plain on the north, being still ten minutes distant from the foot of the mountains, which here rise abruptly.³

We were here opposite the mouth of the narrow Wady, which appears to come out directly from the basin of Nazareth; and is skirted on the east by the steep bluff usually called the mount of Precipitation. A path leads directly up this valley to Nazareth; but it was said to be difficult, and our muleteers chose to take a circuitous road lying more towards the west. This led us along the base of the mountain for a short distance, passing the mouth of one small Wady, and then winding around and up a projecting point of the mountain, to gain the entrance of another. We thus obtained a noble view of the western part of the great plain, and of the third great eastern arm which we had just crossed. The plain in this part is rich and fertile, but lay mostly untilled; here and there only were a few patches of grain, intermingled with the far greater portions now let run to waste. From this point a beaten path went off across the plain towards Leijûn, falling into the great caravan road in that direction.

The way now led up through a narrow, rocky, desert Wady northwards; near the head of which we came at 1½ o'clock to a cistern of rain water with flocks waiting around. Not far from this spot, in another valley on the left, is the little village of Yâfa, of which I shall speak again. Fifteen minutes further brought us to the brow of the valley, or basin, in which Nazareth is situated; from which point descending gradually and obliquely, we reached the town at 1¾ o'clock. Passing along its lower side, we encamped five minutes beyond, among the olive trees; just above the public fountain known as that of the Virgin.

¹ Pococke calls this village Zal. Returning from Tabor to Nazareth through the plain, he says: "I came to the village of Zal, which is about three miles [one hour] from Tabor, situated on rocky ground, rising a little above the plain. Near it there are many sepulchres cut in the rocks; some of them are like stone coffins above ground; others are cut into the rock, like graves; some of them having stone covers over them; so that formerly this might be no inconsiderable place;" *Descr. of the East*, II. i. p. 65.

² Josh. 19, 12. 18. *Onomast. art.* iii. 182, 183

Acchasluth; "Appellatur autem et quidam vicus Chasalus juxta montem Thabor in campestribus in octavo milliario Diocæsareæ ad orientem respiciens." Josephus B. J. 3. 3. 1, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένης κώμης, ἣ Χαλφθ καλεῖται. Jos. de Vita sua § 44. Raumer Pal. p. 111. ed. 3. Pococke l. c.

³ From this point, at 12½ o'clock, the places in sight bore as follows: Iksâl N. 63° E. Debûrieh N. 73° E. Summit of Tabor N. 80° E. Nein S. 50° E. Dûhy S. 40° E.

The town of Nazareth, called in Arabic en-Nâsirah, lies upon the western side of a narrow oblong basin, extending about from S. S. W. to N. N. E. perhaps twenty minutes in length by eight or ten in breadth. The houses stand on the lower part of the slope of the western hill ; which rises steep and high above them, and is crowned by a Wely called Neby Isma'il.¹ Towards the north the hills are less high ; on the east and south they are low. In the southeast the basin contracts and a valley runs out narrow and winding, apparently to the great plain. Various roads pass out of the basin ; on the north to Seffûrieh and 'Akka ; in the northeast to Kefr Kenna and Tiberias ; towards the east to Mount Tabor and Tiberias ; and in the southwest to Yâfa and the plain of Esdraelon. The houses of the town are in general well built of stone. They have only flat terraced roofs, without the domes so common in Jerusalem and the south of Palestine. The largest and most solid building, or rather collection of buildings, in the place, is the Latin convent.

We called soon on Abu Nâsir, an Arab-Greek Christian of Nazareth, who had formerly spent some time in Beirût. He had there become acquainted with the American missionaries, and taken great interest in their schools. We found him now in his open shop in one of the streets, a mild, friendly, and intelligent man ; he welcomed us very kindly, and pressed us much to take up our quarters in his house, which we declined. He afterwards was exceedingly attentive, and devoted much of his time to us. We found here likewise Elias, a young man of the place, who had been for three years a pupil in the school of the English missionaries in Cairo. From Abu Nâsir we received the following statement as to the population of Nazareth, viz.

Greeks	160 families, or 260 taxable men.		
Greek Catholics . .	60	"	130
Latin do. . . .	65	"	120
Maronites	40	"	100
Muhammedans . . .	120	"	170
Total	445	"	780

This implies a population of about three thousand souls. The wealthy family of Katafago was said to retain its impor-

¹ Schubert gives the elevation of the valley of Nazareth at 821 Paris feet above the sea ; and that of the plain at the foot of Tabor at 439 feet. The elevation from the great plain further west, directly to Nazareth, must therefore probably be from 300 to 350 feet. He estimates the height of the hills around Na-

zareth (the western one is the highest) at from 1500 to 1600 feet above the sea, or between 700 and 800 above Nazareth. This is far too great ; the Wely cannot well be more than 400 to 500 feet above the valley. See Schubert's Reise III. p. 169.—The Wely on the western hill bears at Kâna the name of Neby Sa'id.

tance and general influence in the country, as described by Burckhardt and Prokesch ;¹ but this influence was also said not to be in all respects for good.

We had not come to Nazareth as pilgrims to the holy places, pointed out in legendary tradition. Yet we now repaired to the Latin convent, accompanied by Elias ; not because it is said to cover the spot where the Virgin lived, but as being a point of some notoriety in the modern history of the country, or rather, as having been visited by many travellers. The monks had put themselves in quarantine, in consequence of the recent death, by plague, of the physician of duke Maximilian of Bavaria within their walls.² We entered and crossed the spacious court, intending to visit the garden, but it was now closed. Finding the door of the church open, we went in ; it was the hour of vespers ; and the chanting of the monks, sustained by the deep mellow tones of the organ, which came upon us unexpectedly, was solemn and affecting. The interior of the church is small and plain, with massive arches ; the walls around were hung with damask stuff, striped with blue, producing a rich effect ; indeed the whole impression transported me back to Italy. A barrier was laid across the floor, not very far from the entrance, as a warning to persons from without not to advance further ; and a similar precaution was taken, to prevent the hangings along the walls from being touched. Towards the grand altar the floor is raised, and there is an ascent to it by steps. Under this is the grotto, where, as the story goes, the Virgin once lived ; here the Latins say Mary received the salutation of the angel, and the church thence takes the name of the Annunciation.³ This grotto is now a chapel ; and over it, according to the Romish legend, once stood the house, which afterwards, to escape contamination from the Muhammedans, wandered away through the air to Loretto in Italy, stopping for a time in Dalmatia or Illyria.⁴

This church and convent, as we shall hereafter see, began to be built up on the ruins of the more ancient church in A. D. 1620 ; a century later, the whole was thoroughly repaired and rebuilt, and the convent enlarged to its present spacious dimensions.⁵ The house for the reception of pilgrims was thrown down by the earthquake of Jan. 1, 1837, from which Nazareth and other adjacent villages suffered more or less ; but it had already been rebuilt.⁶

¹ Burckhardt's Travels p. 341. Prokesch p. 129.

² See Vol I. p. 250.

³ Luke 1, 26 sq.

⁴ Quaresmius II. p. 834 sq.

⁵ Burckhardt says this took place in A. D. 1730, probably according to the friars. iii. 185, 186

Korte, who was here in 1738, says the new convent had then been built about twenty years ; but the church had been finished only a few years before. Burckh. p. 337. Korte pp. 298, 299.

⁶ Schubert's Reise III. p. 168. The convent was otherwise considerably injured

From the convent we went to the little Maronite church. It stands quite in the southwest part of the town under a precipice of the hill, which here breaks off in a perpendicular wall forty or fifty feet in height. We noticed several other similar precipices in the western hill, around the village. Some one of these, perhaps that by the Maronite church, may well have been the spot, whither the Jews led Jesus "unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong; but he, passing through the midst of them, went his way."¹ There is here no intimation that his escape was favoured by the exertion of any miraculous power; but he made his way fearlessly through the crowd; and probably eluded their pursuit by availing himself of the narrow and crooked streets of the city.

The monks have chosen for the scene of this event the mount of the Precipitation, so called; a precipice overlooking the plain of Esdraelon, nearly two miles S. by E. from Nazareth. Among all the legends that have been fastened on the Holy Land, I know of no one more clumsy than this; which presupposes that in a popular and momentary tumult, they should have had the patience to lead off their victim to an hour's distance, in order to do what there was an equal facility for doing near at hand. Besides, the hill on which Nazareth stands, is not a precipice overlooking the plain of Esdraelon; but it is this western hill, a good hour distant from that plain. Indeed, such is the intrinsic absurdity of the legend, that the monks themselves nowadays, in order to avoid it, make the ancient Nazareth to have been situated not far distant on the same mountain.²

That precipice was doubtless selected, because it forms a striking object as seen from the plain; but the legend seems not to go further back than the time of the crusades. It is not mentioned by Antoninus Martyr, who particularly describes the holy places then shown at Nazareth; nor by Adamnanus, nor St. Willibald, nor Sæwulf who was here about A. D. 1103. But the crusaders cherished Nazareth, and raised it to a bishop's see; and then, apparently, this precipice was selected, as the brow of the mountain. Phocas first mentions it slightly in A. D. 1185, and then Brocardus more fully;³ and since their day it has been noticed by most travellers.

by the earthquake; but only one other house was thrown down. Five persons in all were killed. See Mr Thomson's Report on this earthquake, in the *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1837, p. 439.

¹ Luke 4, 28-30. Compare John 8, 59, 10, 39. Clarke's *Travels*, p. 537. &c.

² Clarke l. c. p. 437. *Monro* II. p. 292. —The good friars forget the dilemma into which they thus bring themselves; for if the ancient Nazareth lay near the precipice overhanging the plain, what becomes of the holy places now shown in the present town?

³ Phocas de *Locis Sanctis* § 10. Brocardus c. 6, p. 175.

We came back to our tent, intending to improve the time for writing up our journals; but the civilities of Abu Nâsir, in returning our visit and showing us every attention, did not permit us to accomplish our purpose.

Sunday, June 17th. The fountain of the Virgin near our tent, though not large, was much frequented by the females of the village, bearing their water pitchers. I went to it several times; but such was the crowd waiting around to fill their jars, and the strife who should come first, that I could never get near enough to examine it fully. Later in summer it dries up; and then water is brought from more distant fountains. The source itself is under the Greek church of the Annunciation, eight or ten rods further north; and thence the little stream is conducted by a rude aqueduct of stone, over which at last an arch is turned, where it pours its scanty waters into a sculptured marble trough, perhaps once a sarcophagus. The church is built over the source, as the spot where the Greeks say the Virgin was saluted by the angel Gabriel; it is very plain outside, but gaudy and tawdry within, and has a subterranean grotto arranged as a chapel.—The aqueduct seems to have existed in Pococke's day, and doubtless the church also; though he speaks only of a Greek church under ground, in which was the fountain.¹ In the century before, instead of the aqueduct, travellers describe here a reservoir; of which there is now no trace.²

After breakfast I walked out alone to the top of the western hill above Nazareth, where stands the neglected Wely of Neby Isma'il. Here, quite unexpectedly, a glorious prospect opened on the view. The air was perfectly clear and serene; and I shall never forget the impression I received, as the enchanting panorama burst suddenly upon me. There lay the magnificent plain of Esdraelon, or at least all its western part; on the left was seen the round top of Tabor over the intervening hills, with portions of the little Hermon and Gilboa, and the opposite mountains of Samaria, from Jenin westwards to the lower hills extending towards Carmel. Then came the long line of Carmel itself, with the convent of Elias on its northern end, and Haifa on the shore at its foot. In the west lay the Mediterranean, gleaming in the morning sun; seen first far in the south on the left of Carmel; then interrupted by that mountain; and again appearing on its right, so as to include the whole bay of 'Akka, and the coast stretching far north to a point N. 10° W. 'Akka itself was not visible, being hidden by intervening hills. Below on the north, was spread out another of the beautiful plains of

¹ Vol. II. i. p. 68. Neitzschitz in 1635 speaks here of an old Greek church over the fountain; p. 234.

² Surius, Pelerin, p. 310. Doubdan, *Voyage*, p. 566.

iii. 188, 189

northern Palestine, called el-Büttäuf; it runs from east to west, and its waters are drained off westwards through a narrower valley, to the Kishon (el-Mukütta') at the base of Carmel. Near the southern border of this plain, the eye rested on a large village on the slope of an isolated hill, with a ruined castle on the top; this was Seffürieh, the ancient Sepphoris or Diocæsarea. Beyond the plain el-Büttäuf, long ridges running from east to west rise one higher than another; until the mountains of Safed overtop them all, on which that place is seen, "a city set upon a hill." Further towards the right is a sea of hills and mountains, backed by the higher ones beyond the lake of Tiberias, and in the northeast by the majestic Hermon with its icy crown.

Carmel here presented itself to great advantage, extending far out into the sea, and dipping his feet in the waters. The highest part of the ridge is towards the south. The southern end of the proper ridge, as here seen, bore S. 80° W. and the highest point S. 86° W. Thence it declines gradually northwards, until at the convent, according to Schubert, it has an elevation of only 582 Paris feet above the adjacent sea. The same traveller estimates the highest point at 1200 feet; which seems to me relatively too high.¹ The northern extremity bore N. 58° W. Towards the southeast Carmel is partially connected with the mountains of Samaria, by the broad range of low wooded hills, separating the great plain of the more southern coast from that of Esdraelon. Here large trees of the walnut are said to be prevalent. The middle point of this connecting range bore S. 64° W. The same appearance of bushes and trees is seen on many parts of Carmel; which thus presents a less naked aspect, than the mountains of Judea.²

Seating myself in the shade of the Wely, I remained for some hours upon this spot, lost in the contemplation of the wide prospect, and of the events connected with the scenes around. In the village below, the Saviour of the world had passed his childhood; and although we have few particulars of his life during those early years, yet there are certain features of nature which meet our eyes now, just as they once met his. He must often have visited the fountain near which we had pitched our tent; his feet must frequently have wandered over the adjacent hills; and his eyes doubtless have gazed upon the splendid prospect from this very spot. Here the Prince of peace looked down upon the great plain, where the din of battles so oft had rolled,

¹ Reise III. p. 212.

² Prokesch Reise ins heil. Land p. 128. Schubert's Reise III. p. 205.—The name of Jebel Kurmul appears in Arabian writers; see Edrisi par Jaubert p. 348. Rei-

naud Extraits, etc. p. 437 sq. Par. 1829.

At present, it seems to be called by the Arabs Jebel Mār Elyās, from the convent of Elias near its northern end; Berggren Reisen II. p. 225.

and the garments of the warrior been dyed in blood ; and he looked out too upon that sea, over which the swift ships were to bear the tidings of his salvation to nations and to continents then unknown. How has the moral aspect of things been changed ! Battles and bloodshed have indeed not ceased to desolate this unhappy country, and gross darkness now covers the people ; but from this region a light went forth, which has enlightened the world and unveiled new climes ; and now the rays of that light begin to be reflected back from distant isles and continents, to illuminate anew the darkened land, where it first sprung up.

The day, though beautiful, was warm ; on the hill the air was delightful ; but on returning to our tent in the valley, the heat soon became oppressive ; the thermometer in the shade of the trees rising after 10 o'clock to 88° F. We held our devotional exercises in our tent ; but were glad towards noon to accept of an invitation from Abu Nâsir, as he returned from the services of the Greek church, and join him at his house. Here we found the rooms of stone much cooler than our tent. The house had just been built, and was not yet finished. In order to lay the foundations, he had dug down to the solid rock, as is usual throughout the country ; here to the depth of thirty feet ; and then built up arches.¹ The workmanship was solid, but coarse ; he assured us, it was the best work the masons of Nazareth could turn out. The want of timber in the country is much felt in building ; and for this reason, in the south at least, most rooms are arched.² The little which Abu Nâsir used, was pine, brought, like the cedars of old, from Mount Lebanon, by way of Haifa.

But if our kind friend was thus bettering his own external comforts, he was also engaged, heart and soul, as it seemed, in endeavouring to improve the moral condition of the Greek-Arab community around him. While at Beirût, he had paid great attention to the missionary schools in that place ; and had become so deeply interested and impressed with their importance and salutary influence, that on returning to Nazareth, he had immediately set about the establishment of similar schools among his own people. In this he had been so far successful, that the first one established, which had now been for some time in operation, contained at present fifty pupils ; and another had been recently opened with about twenty children. One main difficulty had been the total want of school books ; and for these, and these alone, Abu Nâsir had been dependent on the mission at Beirût.

¹ Compare the words of our Lord, Luke 6, 48 : "He is like a man which built a house, and digged deep, and laid the founda-

tion on a rock." This is still the common usage.

² See Vol. I. p. 223.

In order to set an example to his neighbours, and lead on to better things, he had also ventured upon the unheard of step of sending his own youngest daughter to one of the schools; and she was the first female who for centuries had learned to read in Nazareth. At the present time she was also learning to write at home. The example was followed, though with hesitation; and three other females were now numbered among the pupils. Abu Nâsir was thus doing much good; but he met also with opposition; and being straitened for means, he was therefore very desirous that the schools should be taken up by the mission at Beirût, and others be established in the neighbouring villages. But at that time, the resources of the mission, and of the society at home, had become so much contracted, as to admit of no extension of their operations.¹

Abu Nâsir and his son sat with us; the latter a promising young man of about twenty years. A daughter somewhat younger came in for a few moments, but soon retired; while the youngest daughter, a bright timid child of twelve years, remained for some time. The father was obviously proud of her acquirements at school; she repeated from memory to my companion twelve psalms, and portions of Watts' catechism for children, all of course in Arabic. The son gave us information respecting the village of Jelbôn on Mount Gilboa, which he had himself visited.²—We remained to dinner, with Abu Nâsir, towards evening. There was nothing special in the entertainment, varying from the usual forms of the country, as already described; except that we had our own plates, knives and forks, and the like, from our tent; and our own servants waited upon us. All the rest was done by the host and his son; and the former alone ate with us.

The attentions of Abu Nâsir towards us proceeded from the most entire kindness and respect; but they deprived us of the greater portion of our time, and had already prevented us from writing out our notes as we had purposed. We therefore laid our plan for the next day, to go in the morning to the summit of Mount Tabor, and there pitch our tent; in order to take time and fill out our journals, which were greatly in arrears.

Monday, June 18th. Before setting off, we went again upon the western hill to the Wely of Neby Isma'il, accompanied by Abu Nâsir, who was acquainted with all the country around. The prospect however was now less fine; the south wind had sprung up, the commencement of a Sirocco, and had

¹ I regret to have to say, that these promising beginnings of Abu Nâsir did not result in any permanent benefits. When he found, that his efforts did not pro-

cure for him any personal advantage as a correspondent or agent of the Franks, they were soon discontinued.

² See above, p. 316.

brought up a haze, which spoiled in part the view of yesterday. Yet the important points were all distinctly to be seen; although not in the clear transparent light of the preceding day. All the places around the plain of Esdraelon, which we had formerly seen, were still to be made out. Haifa likewise was yet visible; now a place of considerable trade at the foot of Carmel, on the southern shore of the bay of 'Akka. It is probably the ancient Sycaminum, a city of the Phenicians not far distant from Ptolemais or 'Akka.¹ In the north, Abu Nâsir pointed out the village of Kefr Menda;² and also a ruined place on the northern border of the plain el-Büttauf, called by the natives Kâna el-Jelil, to which I shall recur again. I do not recollect whether we saw the village Rummâneh,³ a little further east; at any rate, we did not take its bearing.⁴

In returning down the hill, we came upon a spot of ground which had been burnt over; and learned that this had been done in order to destroy the young locusts, which were lying dead in great numbers. We had seen them occasionally for several days; and had passed some fields of cotton, which had been greatly injured by them. At Jenin we were told, that the governor, who had extensive fields upon the plain, fearing for his cotton and other crops, had mustered the peasants of the neighbouring villages, and destroyed the locusts by burning and otherwise. But every few miles as we travelled across the plain, the ground was covered by the young swarms. They were green, and yet too young to fly; but just at the right age to eat. The environs of Nazareth, for some distance around, were covered with them, devouring vineyards, gardens, and every thing green.—The bird which follows and destroys the locusts, had not yet reached Nazareth, but was reported to be at Hattin. It is called *Semermer*;⁵ and the Arabs say it does not eat the locusts, or at least not many; but attacks them with beak and talons, killing as many of them as possible.

¹ For Haifa, see in Vol. III. Sect. II. end.

² Mentioned likewise by Van Egmond and Heyman, Reizen II. p. 16.

³ Is this perhaps the *Rimmon* of the tribe of Zebulun? Josh. 13, 13. 1 Chr. 6, 77. [62.] Pococke mentions this village; II. i. p. 62.

⁴ The following bearings were taken from the western hill above Nazareth, mostly with our large compass, beginning at Tabor and proceeding towards the right: Tabor S. 67° E. Kaukab el-Hawa beyond Tabor S. 56° E. End. r S. 39° E. Nein S. 21° E. Dûhy S. 19° E. Nûris S. 10½° E. Wezar S. 9° E. Zer'in S. 3° E. Je-

nin S. 6° W. Sileh S. 23° W. Ta'annuk S. 27° W. Um el-Fahm S. 40° W. Sâlim S. 42° W. (?) Middle of hills extending from Carmel, S. 64° W. Carmel, south end of ridge, S. 80° W. Carmel, highest point, S. 86° W. 'Asifa N. 80° W. Haifa N. 59° W. Kaukab N. 10° W. Seffarieh N. 9° W. Kefr Menda N. 8° W. Kâna el-Jelil N. 5° E. Safed N. 40° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 41° E. Nazareth at the same time lay below us, S. 10° E. distant about ten minutes.—Solam, though not here visible, lies in the same line with Wezar, and therefore S. 9° E. See p. 324.

⁵ *Turdus Sclouia*; *Grylli-vora*. For-
al Descr. Animal. p. vi.

The name of Nazareth (Arabic, en-Nāsirah) is found in Scripture only in the New Testament. The place is mentioned neither in the Old Testament nor in Josephus; and was apparently a small and unimportant village. "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" is a question implying any thing but respect; and the appellation of Nazarenes was in like manner given to the first Christians in scorn.¹ Yet to the present day the name for Christians in Arabic continues to be *en-Nūsāra*, that is, Nazarenes.²

From the days of our Saviour we hear no more of Nazareth, until Eusebius, in the fourth century, again describes it as a village, fifteen Roman miles eastward from Legio (Lejjūn), and not far from Tabor.³ Epiphanius relates, in the same century, that until the time of Constantine, Nazareth was inhabited only by Jews; from which at least it would appear, that Christians dwelt there in his day.⁴ It would seem, however, not then to have become a regular place of pilgrimage; for Jerome mentions it only incidentally; and makes Paula on her journey merely pass through it without stopping.⁵ Nor was it made a bishopric; for the name is not found in any of the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* before the time of the crusades. Yet it must early have been visited by pilgrims; for towards the close of the sixth century, Antoninus describes in it the ancient synagogue and a church.⁶ Arculfus a century later found here two churches; one over the fountain, and the other covering the house where Mary had lived. St. Willibald in the eighth century mentions but one church.⁷ About A. D. 1103, Sæwulf describes the place as having been totally destroyed by the Saracens; though a noted monastery still served to mark the place of the Annunciation.⁸

After the crusaders had got possession of Jerusalem, the country of Galilee, extending from Tiberias to Haifa, was given by Godfrey of Bouillon as a fief to the noble leader Tancred. He immediately subdued Tiberias; administered the province with justice and equity; erected churches at Nazareth, Tiberias, and on Mount Tabor, and richly endowed them; so that his

¹ John 1, 46. Acts 24, 5. "Et nos apud veteres, quasi opprobrio, Nazaræi dicebamus, quos nunc Christianos vocant;" Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Nazareth*.

² Sing. *Nusrāny*; Plur. *Nūsra*, often written in vulgar Arabic *Nūsirah*.

³ Onomast. art. *Nazareth*.

⁴ Epiphani. adv. Hæres. lib. I. pp. 128, 136. Reland Pal. p. 905.

⁵ "Inde cito itinere percucurrit Nazareth nutriculum Domini;" Ep. 86, Epit. Paulæ, p. 677, ed. Mart. Comp. Ep. 44, ad Marcell. ibid. p. 552. Yet almost as

a matter of course, monastic tradition ascribes the later church to Helena.

⁶ Antonin. Mart. § 5. It is remarkable that Antoninus praises the beauty of the females of Nazareth, as is also done by some travellers at the present day; though it did not strike us particularly. Turner's Tour in the Levant II. p. 135. Berggren Reisen II. p. 232. Antoninus ascribes this to the special favour of the Virgīn Mary.

⁷ Adamnanus ex Arculf. 2. 26. St. Willib. Hodecepor. 16.

⁸ Sæwulf Peregrinat. p. 270.

memory was long cherished in this region.¹ In the new ecclesiastical arrangements of the country, the see of Scythopolis, the former metropolitan seat of *Palæstina Secunda*, was transferred to Nazareth; which then first became a bishopric, and remains so nominally in the Greek church to the present day.² When this transfer took place we are not informed; but it must have been at an early period; for in A. D. 1111 a strife already existed, between the bishop of Nazareth and the convent founded by the Benedictines of Clugny on Mount Tabor, respecting the jurisdiction of the bishop over the latter. The matter was adjusted by Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem, in an assembly of the bishops and clergy, with the consent of the king and barons, to the satisfaction of both parties. The consecration of the abbot and monks, and also of the larger church, was to depend only on the patriarch; while the bishop of Nazareth was to exercise all other episcopal rights over the convent.³

The fatal battle of Hattin, in A. D. 1187, was followed by the subjugation of almost the whole land by Saladin, and of Nazareth and Sepphoris among other places.⁴ At what time Nazareth again passed into the hands of the Christians is uncertain; but in A. D. 1250, king Louis of France made a pilgrimage from 'Akka thither, and to Mount Tabor;⁵ and in A. D. 1263, the town of Nazareth and the noble church of the Annunciation, as also the church of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, were laid in total ruins by the Sultan Bibars.⁶ Nazareth appears afterwards to have been neglected, and the church not to have been again built up until after several centuries; although the nominal succession of Latin bishops, or rather archbishops, was long continued in the Romish church.⁷ Brocardus, in the thirteenth century, says nothing of the state in which Nazareth then was; but writers of the fourteenth, describe it as a small village, with a church wholly in ruins, and

¹ Alb. Aq. 7. 16. Will. Tyr. 9. 13. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. pp. 33-37.—Tancred resigned this fief after two or three years, but received it back again before his death; Will. Tyr. 10. 10. Alb. Aq. 11. 12. Wilken ib. pp. 92, 208.

² Will. Tyr. 22. 16. Jac. de Vit. 56. p. 1077. Marin. Sanut. p. 176. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. 1293 sq. and 694.—The present titular Greek bishop of Nazareth resides at Jerusalem; see above, Vol. I. p. 424.

³ See the document containing this compact in Mansi Concil. Tom. XXI. p. 71. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. p. 365. Gibelin died at the close of A. D. 1111, or beginning of A. D. 1112; Will. Tyr. 11. 14, 15.

⁴ Bohaedd. p. 71. Abulfed. Annal. A. iii. 197-198

H. 583. Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. III. p. 81. Wilken ib. III. ii pp. 293, 297.

⁵ Wilken ib. VII. pp. 277, 278, and the authorities there cited.—The emperor Frederick II. affirmed, that the possession of Nazareth by the Christians was included in his treaty in A. D. 1229; but Arabian writers speak only of places on the route between Jerusalem and 'Akka. Yet Nazareth might well be included in that route. Wilken ib. VI. p. 479. Marin. Sanut. p. 213. Reinaud Extraits, etc. p. 430.

⁶ Epist. Urban. IV. in Raynaldi Annal. ecclesiast. A. D. 1263. § 7. Abulf. Annal. A. H. 661. Reinaud Extraits, etc. p. 488. Wilken ib. VII. p. 461.

⁷ Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. 1294 sq.

a fountain ; and make bitter complaint of the Muslim inhabitants.¹ In the fifteenth century, Nazareth seems hardly to have been visited by pilgrims. About the middle of the sixteenth, Belon describes here the chapel of the Annunciation as a grotto below ground, surrounded by the ruins of an ancient church ; the village was inhabited only by Muhammedans.² Cotovicius, at the close of that century, confirms this account, describing the people as the worst he had seen ; there being only two or three Christian inhabitants. The former church still lay in ruins. His party were here treated only with insult.³

It was in A. D. 1620, that the Franciscan monks first obtained permission from the celebrated Fakhr ed-Din, then master of this region, to take possession of the grotto and rebuild the church in Nazareth, with which they naturally connected a monastery. The circumstances are fully related by Quaresmius, as they happened in his time ; but the buildings appear not to have been completed for many years. Doubdan, some thirty years later, speaks of the place as a miserable village, almost ruined and deserted, with eight or ten monks residing there from the convent in Jerusalem.⁴ Surius, a few years before, found in the village only four Maronite and two Greek families of Christians.⁵ At the close of the same century, Maundrell describes the monks as being shut up in their convent for fear of the Arabs.⁶ About A. D. 1720-30, as we have seen, the church and convent were repaired and enlarged.⁷ Since that day, the number of Christians in Nazareth has been greatly augmented ; and the character of the place has undergone an entire change. Even in the time of Korte, there were here only one hundred and fifty families in all ; but the Christian population is said to have increased greatly under the noted Sheikh Dhâher of 'Akka, about the middle of the century.⁸

In the vicinity of Nazareth, we find also the names of several other ancient places ; of which it may be proper here to say a few words.

Yâfa. The little village of Yâfa, as we have seen, lies somewhat more than half an hour southwest of Nazareth, in another valley.⁹ It contains about thirty houses, with the remains of a

¹ Brocardus c. 6. p. 175. Sir J. Maundeville p. 112. Lond. 1839. W. de Baldensel speaks of the inhabitants as " pessimi Saraceni ;" p. 354. L. de Suchem, Itin. p. 94. Reissb. p. 850. According to this last writer, the Saracens had endeavoured to fill up the fountain ; and had polluted the ruined church as far as possible, by making it a receptacle for the dead bodies of asses, camels, cattle, and dogs.

² Belon Obs. Paris 1588, p. 327.

³ Cotov. Itin. pp. 349, 350. Comp. Sandys' Travels p. 160.

⁴ Quaresmius Elucid. II. p. 837 sq. Doubdan p. 569.

⁵ Surius Pelerin, p. 305 sq.

⁶ Maundrell Apr. 18.

⁷ See above, p. 334.

⁸ Kortens Reise p. 298. Mariti Voyage: II. pp. 153, 154. Neuw. 1791.

⁹ See above, p. 332.

church ; and has a few single palm trees. The Italian monks call it St. Giacomo ; inasmuch as their tradition regards it as the residence of Zebedee and his two sons, James and John. The name seems to identify it with the Japhia of Scripture, on the border of Zebulun, described also by Eusebius and Jerome.¹ The Japha fortified by Josephus was probably the same, a large and strong village of Galilee, afterwards captured by Trajan and Titus under the orders of Vespasian. In the storm and sack of the place, according to the same writer, fifteen thousand of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and two thousand one hundred and thirty made captives.² The earliest trace of the tradition respecting the residence of the sons of Zebedee at this place, seems to occur in Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century ; and the tradition itself is therefore probably not older than the time of the crusades.³

Semûnich. Nearly west by north of Yâfa, on a hill, lies the small village of Semûnich. In this name it is not difficult to recognise the Simonias of Josephus ; which, according to his description, was situated on the hills north of the plain of Esdraelon. Here an attempt was made by the Romans to surprise Josephus by night, and make him prisoner.⁴ I do not find the place again mentioned, until it appears in the present century, upon the map of Jacotin. The name does not occur in the Scriptures.

Jebâtha. In the S. S. W. from Yâfa, on one of the low hills running down into the plain of Esdraelon, is the village of Jebâtha. This would seem to be the Gabatha of Eusebius and Jerome, in the borders of Diocæsarea (Sépphoris), near the great plain of Legio or Esdraelon.⁵ It is not named in Scripture ; and I find no other mention of it except upon the map of Jacotin and in our lists.

Seffûrich. From the Wely over Nazareth, we saw the village of Seffûrich N. by W., near the southern part of the fine plain el-Büttâuf ; distant, it was said, about an hour and a half from Nazareth. It is a small village, lying on the southern slope of an isolated hill, on the summit of which are the ruins of a large ancient tower. This name is obviously the Sepphoris

¹ Josh. 19, 12. Onomast. art. *Japhic* : "Japhet in tribu Zabulon, nunc usque Joppe vocatur, ascensus Japho."—There is here a third instance of the falling away of the Hebrew *'Ain* at the end of names ; the two others being el-J.b and Jelbôn.

² Joseph. Vit. § 37, 45. B. J. 2. 20. 6. ib. 3. 7. 31.

³ Marin. Sanut. p. 253. Sir J. Maundeville p. 115. Lond. 1839. Quaresmius II. p. 843. These authors write the name i. . 200 201

Saphar, Saffra, and Saffa. Later travelers, among others who mention this Yâfa, are : Korte p. 305. Turner II. p. 133. Schubert III. p. 203, etc.

⁴ Joseph. Vita § 24. Reland Palæst. p. 1017.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Gabathon* : "Et alia villa Gabatha in finibus Diocæsareæ juxta grandem campum Legionis." The Greek of Eusebius is here confused, and probably corrupted.

of Josephus, and the Tsippori of the Rabbins, a place not mentioned in Scripture, but afterwards called by the Romans Diocæsarea.¹ Josephus often speaks of Sepphoris. It was captured by Herod the Great, and afterwards laid in ashes by Varus; but having been rebuilt and fortified by Herod Antipas, it became the largest and strongest city of Galilee; and at length took precedence of Tiberias.² There were here many synagogues; a provincial Sanhedrim was established here by Gabinius; and after the destruction of Jerusalem, the great Jewish Sanhedrim is said to have been transferred to Sepphoris for some years, before it went to Tiberias.³ The city appears afterwards to have become the seat of a Christian church, and a bishopric of Palæstina Secunda.⁴ Epiphanius relates, that a certain Josephus, who lived in the time of Constantine, received permission to build here a church.⁵ In A. D. 339, Sepphoris was destroyed by the Romans, in consequence of a rebellion of the Jews, who were still its most numerous inhabitants.⁶ Near the close of the sixth century, it is mentioned by Antoninus Martyr; who speaks here of a cathedral built upon the spot, where the Virgin Mary received the salutation of the angel.⁷ In this account we may probably recognise the germ of the later legend, which makes Sepphoris to have been the residence of the parents of the Virgin.

We hear no more of the place until the time of the crusades; when Seffürieh becomes again celebrated for its large fountain, nearly half an hour southeast of the town, towards Nazareth, which was often made the rendezvous for the armies of the Christian warriors.⁸ Here the forces of the crusaders assembled in pomp and pride before the fatal battle of Hattin; and here, a few days later, Saladin encamped with his victorious host, on his way to 'Akka; leaving the castle to be subdued by his troops a short time afterwards.⁹ Not long before this period, Benjamin of Tudela mentions Sepphoris merely as containing the tomb of Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh, who died here; and Phocas describes it as almost uninhabited.¹⁰

¹ "Saphorim quæ hodie appellatur Diocæsarea;" Hieron. Procem. in Jonam. Reland Palest. p. 999. Coins are extant of Sepphoris under Trajan, and of Diocæsarea under Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Caracalla; Mionnet Médaill. Antiques V. pp. 482, 483. Eckhel Doctr. Numm. III. p. 425.

² Jos. Ant. 14. 15. 4. ib. 17. 10. 9. ib. 18. 2. 1. B. J. 2. 18. 11. ib. 3. 2. 4. Vita §§ 9, 45, 65.

³ Jos. Ant. 14. 5. 4. Lightfoot Opp. Tom. II. pp. 144 sq. 229. Ultraj. 1699. Comp. Buxtorf Tiberias pp. 17, 22.

⁴ See the Notitiæ, Reland Pal. pp. 217,

220, 228; ib. p. 1001. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 714.

⁵ Epiphani. adv. Hæres. lib. I. p. 128.

⁶ See above, Vol. I. p. 377.

⁷ Antonin. Mart. Itin. § 2. The name is there erroneously written *Neocæsarea*.

⁸ So under Amalric, Will. Tyr. 20. 27. Under Baldwin IV, Will. Tyr. 22. 15, 16, 25.—Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. pp. 208, 231.

⁹ Wilken ib. pp. 273, 274, and the authorities there cited. Ibid. p. 292.—Bohaed. Vit. Salad. p. 71. Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. III. p. 81.

¹⁰ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 82. Phocas de iii. 201—203

In the following centuries, Seffûrieh is mentioned as a town with a castle ; to which latter Marinus Sanutus gives the epithet of "beautiful."¹ But the chief circumstance, which has called the attention of pilgrims to the place since the crusades, is the legend of its having been the residence of Joachim and Anna, the reputed parents of the Virgin Mary.² The remains of a church are still to be seen upon the hill, dedicated to these saints. These ruins are described with a good deal of high-wrought colouring by Dr Clarke, who apparently holds them to belong to the church erected here in the fourth century, as above described. But in doing this, he forgets, that he had just spoken of them as the remains of "a stately Gothic edifice ;" a circumstance, which of course limits the age of the present ruins to a period not earlier than the crusades, when the pointed arch was first applied to churches. The legend in this form and extent, is first mentioned by Brocardus ; and probably had been dressed out by the Latin monks on the earlier foundation, to which Antoninus alludes. Dr Clarke found here some Greek paintings on wood ; which, as the very circumstances show, could not have been of any great antiquity ; probably the Greeks may, at no very remote period, have used a portion of the ruins as a church.³

At the present day Seffûrieh is a poor village, situated just below the ruins of the castle. It received little or no injury from the earthquake of A. D. 1837. In the middle of the last century, Hasselquist describes the inhabitants as raising great quantities of bees, and obtaining great profit from the honey.⁴

Kāna el-Jelil. The monks of the present day, and all recent travellers, find the Cana of the New Testament, where Jesus converted the water into wine,⁵ at Kefr Kenna, a small village an hour and a half northeast from Nazareth, on one of the roads to Tiberias. It lies on an eminence connected with the hills of Nazareth, on the south side of a shorter plain connected with el-Büttauf, which runs up towards the village el-Lûbieh. Here are shown the remains of a Greek church, and of a house reputed to have been that of St. Bartholomew.⁶ So fixed indeed

Loc. Sanct. § 10.—This tomb of R. Hakkolesh is also mentioned in the Jewish Itinerary in Hottinger's Cippi Hebraici, p. 74. Ed. 2. Also in other Jewish Itineraries ; see Carmoly, p. 185, 256, 454.

¹ Brocardus c. 6. p. 175. Marin. San. p. 253, "castrum valde pulchrum."

² Yet Anna had too her house in Jerusalem, where the Virgin was born ; see Vol. I. p. 233.

³ Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land, 4to. pp. 417, 418. See also Quaresmius iii. 203, 204

II. p. 852. Doubdan p. 586 sq. Pococke II. i. p. 62.

⁴ Hasselquist Reise p. 177 Michand, etc. Corresp. d'Orient V. p. 442 sq.—See more on Seffûrieh in Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 20th, 1852.

⁵ John c. 2.

⁶ Pococke II. i. p. 66. Mariti Voyages etc. II. p. 162. Neuw. 1791. Burckhardt p. 336. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land, 4to. p. 444. Scholz p. 188. Schubert III. p. 222.—Dr Clarke saw in the

has the impression now become, that this was the true Cana, that most travellers probably are not aware of there ever having been a question as to the identity.

I have already related, that from the Wely above Nazareth, our friend Abu Nāsir pointed out to us a ruin which he called Kāna el-Jelil, on the northern side of the plain el-Büttauf, about N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. from Nazareth, and not far from three hours distant.¹ It lay at the foot of the northern hills beyond the plain, apparently on the slope of an eminence, not far on the east of Kefr Menda. In the days of Quaresmius it contained a few houses. This spot, Abu Nāsir said, was known both among Christians and Muslims only by this name, Kāna; while the same name was sometimes applied by Christians alone, to the village Kefr Kenna. Now as far as the prevalence of an ancient name among the common people, is any evidence for the identity of an ancient site,—and I hold it to be the strongest of all testimony, when, as here, not subject to extraneous influences, but rather in opposition to them,—so far is the weight of evidence in favour of this northern Kāna, as the true site of the ancient Cana of Galilee. The name is identical, and stands the same in the Arabic version of the New Testament; while the form Kefr Kenna can only be twisted by force into a like shape.² On this single ground, therefore, we should be authorized to reject the present monastic position at Kefr Kenna, and fix the site at Kāna el-Jelil; which, likewise, is sufficiently near to Nazareth, to accord with all the circumstances of the history.

This view is further confirmed, and indeed the question set entirely at rest, when we trace back the matter in history. We thus find, that an earlier tradition actually regarded the present Kāna as the ancient Cana; and that it is only since the sixteenth century, that monastic convenience has definitely assigned Kefr Kenna as the site. Quaresmius relates, that in his day, two Canas were spoken of among the inhabitants of Nazareth and the vicinity; one called simply Cana of Galilee (Kāna el-Jelil), and the other Sepher Cana (Kefr Kenna); and he describes their position as above. He decides however very distinctly for the latter place, because of its being nearer to Nazareth and having some ruins; without, however, as he says, venturing to reject the other tradition.³ Yet it probably was

church fragments only of waterpots; but a whole one has since been set up, and is shown as one of the original six; Richardson II. p. 434. Monro I. p. 304.—The distance of Kefr Kenna from Nazareth is given variously by travellers, from one hour up to three hours and a half. Burckhardt by some error has the latter.

¹ See above, p. 340.

² See the Arabic N. T. John 2, 1. In Kefr Kenna, the word Kefr must first be dropped; and then the first radical changed, and the doubling of the second omitted.

³ Quaresmius Elucidat. II. pp. 852, 853: "Posterior hæc sententia mihi valde probabilis videtur, (licet alteram rejicere non audeam,) quoniam proximior Nazareth . . . et quia potest adinveniri memoria ecclesie

the authority of this very writer, which tended more than any thing else to fix attention upon Kefr Kenna, and throw the true Kâna into the shade; for from that time forward the latter is very rarely noticed by travellers. It may be remembered too, that in the time of Quaresmius, the church and convent at Nazareth were first built up, after the desolations of many centuries; and this circumstance conspired to give currency among travellers, to the view which the monks adopted respecting Cana.¹

It is apparent, that some tradition in favour of Kefr Kenna had existed before Quaresmius; but he brings forward no testimony to that effect, except the account of Bonifacius in the middle of the preceding century; which however is doubtful.² But on the other hand, Adrichomius, near the close of the sixteenth century, quoting from earlier writers, places Cana three miles north of Sepphoris, and describes it as having a mountain on the north, and a broad, fertile, and beautiful plain towards the south; all which corresponds to the position of Kâna, and not to Kefr Kenna. Anselm, about A. D. 1507, assigns to Cana the same site; and so does Breydenbach in A. D. 1483, evidently copying former accounts.³

But the most distinct notice of the Cana of those days, is from Marinus Sanutus about A. D. 1321. He describes it also as north of Sepphoris, adjacent to a high round mountain on the north, on the side of which it was situated, and having the same broad, fertile, beautiful plain on the south extending to Sepphoris. In coming from Ptolemais ('Akka), he says, the usual course was to proceed first eastwards to Cana; and thence south through Sepphoris to Nazareth.⁴ All this leaves no doubt, that the site of Kâna is here meant. At that time the place was professedly shown, where the six water-pots had stood; and also the triclinium where the feast was held; but

constructæ in loco miraculi." The passage preceding this is quoted in full in Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. II. ii. p. 83.

¹ Quaresmius was in Palestine as a monk from A. D. 1616 to 1625; and again as Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre from 1627 to 1629; see the last leaf of his work.—Among later travellers, Neitzschitz in 1635 visited Kefr Kenna with monks from Nazareth, p. 222; Surius about 1645, p. 813. Doubdan copies from Quaresmius, but visited only Kefr Kenna, p. 582; and so many others. Pococke alone seems to have heard of Kâna el-Jelîl, and inclines correctly to regard it as the true site of Cana; Vol. II. i. pp. 62, 66.

² Bonifac. de peren. cultu Terræ Sanctæ. quoted by Quaresmius II. p. 853. He iii. 206, 207

places Cana three miles north of Nazareth on the borders of a large and fertile plain. It is on the strength of this "three miles" that Quaresmius supposes him to mean Kefr Kenna; but this is at any rate wrong; and the rest of the description applies better to the other place, or Kâna.

³ Adrichom. Theatr. p. 138. Anselmi Descr. Terr. Sanctæ in Canisii Thesaur. ed. Basnage, Tom. IV. p. 784. Breydenb. in Reissb. pp. 123, 124. These three, with Bonifacius, appear to be the only writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who speak directly of Cana.

⁴ Marin. Sanut. p. 253. On his map, in like manner, Cana is placed north of Sepphoris. The account of Adrichomius is drawn chiefly from this writer.

the whole was in a crypt or cavern under ground, like the grotto of the Annunciation and of the Nativity.¹ Brocardus, if he was not the original author of this account, yet gives nothing more.² The few earlier notices go to confirm the same. Sæwulf, about A. D. 1103, describes Cana as nearly six miles north of Nazareth on a hill, and nothing then remained except a monastery called Architriclinium.³ St. Willibald in the eighth century found here a large church, in which was shown one of the six water-pots.⁴ Antoninus Martyr near the close of the sixth century was likewise at Cana; he speaks of no church, but saw two water-pots, and seems to say that he filled one of them with water and brought forth from it wine.⁵ The only other account of Cana, later than the first century, is that of Eusebius and Jerome, who merely mention it as, in their day, a small town of Galilee.⁶

All this, as it seems to me, together with the strong evidence of the name, goes to show conclusively, that the site of the Cana of the New Testament is to be sought at Kāna north of Seffūrieh; and that there is no good ground whatever, for regarding Kefr Kenna as having any relation to that ancient place. I hope that future travellers may bear this in mind; so that the former site may be reinstated in those historical rights, which have now so long been usurped by the latter village.

The Cana of the New Testament does not occur in the Old;⁷ but is mentioned by Josephus as a village in Galilee.⁸ Our Lord not only performed there his first miracle, but afterwards visited the place; and the disciple Nathanael was a native of Cana.⁹

Monday, June 18th, continued. Two principal roads lead from Nazareth to Tiberias. The more usual one passes out north-east over the hills to er-Reineh, a small village more than half an

¹ Ibid. This triclinium B. de Salignaco professes to have seen in A. D. 1522. Tom. IX. c. 9.

² The account of Cana in Brocardus, affords a striking instance of the difference in the editions, or rather recensions, of that writer. In the edition of Le Clerc it is merely said, that in proceedings south-east from 'Akka, the first place that occurs is Cana of Galilee after four leagues; c. 7. p. 175. But in the edition of Canisius and Basnage (Thesaur. IV. p. 13), in the very same connection, is subjoined the account of the miracle and a description of the place, in the same words used by Marinus Sanutus. It might be difficult to decide, which is the original.

³ Sæwulf. Perigrinat. p. 271. Phocas in the same century, travelling from 'Akka, comes first to Sepphoris, then to Cana, and then to Nazareth; § 10.

⁴ Hodegor. § 16. p. 374. ed. Mabillon.

⁵ Itin. § 1, "Ex quibus hydris duse ibi sunt. Implevi aqua unam, et protuli ex ea vinum."

⁶ Onomast. art. Cana.

⁷ The Old Testament has only Kanah in Asher, southeast of Tyre; a place which we afterwards visited. Josh. 19, 28.

⁸ Joseph. Vita § 16, 64. B. J. 1. 17. b.

⁹ John 2, 1. 11. 4, 46. 21, 2.—See the subject of Cana further discussed in Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 19th, 1852

hour distant, and so to Kefr Kenna ; leaving the village el-Meshhad on a high hill at the left, just before reaching the latter place ;¹ thence it goes on by Lûbieh to the lake. The second leaves Nazareth over the lower eastern hills, and leading by the village 'Ain Mâhil and the Khân et-Tujjâr, turns more northeast by Kefr Sabt to Tiberias. We followed a third route, lying still further to the right, in order to ascend Mount Tabor and spend the afternoon and night upon its summit. In doing this we anticipated much gratification, and were not disappointed. As a guide, we took with us a young man of Nazareth, a Christian, recommended by Abu Nâsir.

Setting off from Nazareth, or rather from the fountain of the Virgin, at 7.35, we came in ten minutes to the top of the low hills on the east of the valley, and kept along on high ground, directing our course towards Tabor. After half an hour we descended into and crossed a broad Wady, running out to the great plain on the right. Hitherto the hills had exhibited only grass and herbs ; here they began to be covered with bushes and many oak trees with caducous leaves, the first of the kind we had yet remarked.² Along the gradual ascent beyond this valley, there was a large orchard of these oaks ; and they extend more or less thickly, quite to the foot of Tabor. At 8½ o'clock we reached the brow of the descent towards that mountain ; and could look down upon the low ridge which alone connects it on the northwest with the hills we had just crossed. Debûrieh was visible below us on the southwest slope of this ridge. Descending, we came in twenty-five minutes to the bottom, in a Wady, and at 9¼ o'clock to another Wady ; the two unite and run out southwards into the plain just by Debûrieh. The branch of the Damascus road passes up this latter Wady, and so over the low ridge to Khân et-Tujjâr. We came to the proper base of the mountain at 9.20 ; leaving Debûrieh about ten minutes distant on our right.

The village of Debûrieh is small and unimportant, lying on the side of a ledge of rocks just at the base of Tabor. It is

¹ According to Schubert, both er-Reineh and Kefr Kenna suffered severely from the earthquake of Jan. 1, 1837. *Reise* III. p. 222. But Mr Thomson, who passed here three weeks after the event, in order to seek out the sufferers, says that while er-Reineh was a heap of ruins, Kefr Kenna sustained no injury, and had not a house cracked ; *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1837, pp. 439, 442.—At el-Meshhad is one of the many Muslim tombs of Neby Yûnas, the prophet Jonah ; and hence modern monastic tradition has adopted this village as the Gath-epher, where the prophet was born ; 2

iii. 209, 210

Kings 14, 25. Quaresmius II, p. 855. Jerome too says, *Procem.* in *Jonam* : " Porro Geth in secundo Saphorim miliario quæ hodie appellatur Diocæsarea euntibus Tyberiadem, haud grandis viculus, ubi et sepulchrum ejus ostenditur." Benjamin of Tudela speaks of the tomb of Jonah in his day, as on a mountain near Sepphoris ; *Itin.* I. p. 80. It would seem therefore not improbable, that this village may be the Geth of Jerome.

² *Quercus Egilops*, according to Schubert, *Reise* III. p. 172.

said to have once had a Christian church, the ruins of which are still visible.¹ This would seem not improbably to be the Daberath of the Old Testament, belonging to Issachar, but assigned to the Levites; the same apparently with the Dabira of Eusebius and Jerome by Mount Tabor in the region of Diocæsarea;² and probably too the Dabaritta of Josephus in the great plain.³

The mountain, as we approached it on this side, presented the form of a truncated cone; we began to ascend it at 9.25 from the W. N. W. Our muleteers at first made some difficulty, on account of the loaded animals; their purpose had been to stop below and let us ascend on foot, which by no means tallied with our plans. But we found the path good, except in two or three spots, and even these were far less difficult than the passes of 'Ain Jidy and es-Sūfāh; so that I rode with facility quite to the summit. The path winds considerably, and is obviously ancient; in several places steps are hewn out in the rock. The soil is good all the way up; and the grass tall and abundant, though now dried up. The sides of the mountain are mostly covered with bushes and orchards of oak trees (*Ilex* and *Ægilops*), with also occasionally the Butm, like the glades of a forest, presenting a beautiful appearance and fine shade. We were an hour in reaching the top, and encamped at 10½ o'clock for the day and night on the southwestern brow, overlooking the wide extent of plains below. The path by which we ascended from the W. N. W. is the most feasible; the acclivity on that side being perhaps less steep; yet there is no part of the mountain, where a person on foot would find any difficulty whatever in the ascent.

Tabor is a beautiful mountain, wholly of limestone; bearing among the Arabs, like so many other mountains, only the general name *Jebel et-Tûr*.⁴ It stands out alone towards the southeast from the high land around Nazareth; while the northeastern arm of the great plain of Esdraelon sweeps around its base, and extends far to the north, forming a broad tract of table land, bordering upon the deep Jordan valley and the basin of the lake of Tiberias. The mountain as seen from the southwest presents, as has been already remarked, the appearance of the segment of a sphere; seen from the W. N. W. the form inclines more to the truncated cone. The top of the mountain, as a whole, is rounded

¹ Neitzschitz p. 233. Pococke II. i. p. 65. Schubert III. p. 174.

² Josh. 19, 12. 21, 28. 1 Chr. 6, 57. [72.] Onomast. art. *Dabira* Δαβειρα.

³ Joseph. Vita § 62. B. J. 2. 21. 3. See however Reland Pal. p. 737.—William of Tyre seems to speak of Debûrieh; 22. 14: "Locus sub monte Thabor, cui nomen

Buria, juxta Naim." Cotovicius also mentions a Buria; but he sets it too far west, where he began to ascend the mountain on foot to Nazareth; p. 347. I do not find Debûrieh named in any of the earlier travellers.

⁴ So too in Arabian writers: Abulfeda Annal. A. H. 661, etc.

off, and is perhaps, in all, twenty minutes in diameter ; but the proper summit consists of a beautiful little oblong plain or basin, twelve or fifteen minutes in length from N. W. to S. E. by six or eight in breadth. This is skirted on the southwest by a ledge of rocks of some altitude, covered with foundations and ruins ; and on the northeast by lower rocks ; and this higher ground on both sides is thickly overgrown with bushes and small trees, while the basin itself lies in grass without trees or ruins. We pitched our tent at the southeast extremity of this little plain, and were delighted with our temporary abode. No person besides our party, was at this time on the mountain to interrupt us ; and although there was a hot Sirocco wind, which in the afternoon brought up a hazy atmosphere, yet even this was more tolerable here than in the plains below. At 10 o'clock the thermometer stood here at 98° F. At 2 P. M. it had fallen to 95°. At sunset it stood only at 74° ; and the next morning at sunrise, at 64° F.

We estimated the height of Tabor, after many comparisons, at not over one thousand feet above the plain ; and if any thing, less. Indeed, it appeared to us to be little more elevated above Esdraelon, than is Mount Gerizim above the plain at its foot.¹ The mountains towards the south, those of Dūhy and Gilboa, are apparently at least as high, and shut out the prospect in that direction. The former we had first seen from the high ground south of Jenin and Kūbātiyeh, where it was nearly in a line between us and Tabor, and entirely excluded all view of the latter mountain ; so that not even a trace of its rounded summit was anywhere visible. From Tabor, in like manner, no point of the mountains of Samaria is visible over the little Hermon. All this shows, at least, that Tabor cannot rise much above the summit of the latter.—As seen from Tabor, Mount Gilboa lies to the left of the little Hermon, and is somewhat higher. Nor are the highest of the hills west of Nazareth much inferior in elevation to Tabor ; they shut out the view, not only of the bay of 'Akka, but likewise of the whole horizon of the sea ; which is not seen except over some of the lower ridges in that direction.

Immediately after our arrival, I took a walk around the whole brow of the mountain, in order to examine the ruins, mark the main features of the surrounding country, and enjoy the glorious prospect. This we repeated several times during the day ; and also the next morning, when the air was again clear and pure, and everything could be seen with the utmost dis-

¹ So too Elliott estimates the height of Tabor as not exceeding 1000 feet ; Travels II. p. 363.—The result of Schubert's barometrical measurement is somewhat greater, viz. Elevation of Tabor above

the sea, 1748 Par. feet ; elevation of the plain at the base, 488 feet ; leaving for the height above the plain, 1310 Par. feet. This would make it 100 feet higher than his estimate of Carmel. Reise III. p. 175.

tinctness.—The ruins upon the summit of Tabor belong to different ages. All around the top may be traced the foundations of a thick wall built of large stones, some of which are bevelled, showing that the wall was perhaps originally entirely of that character. In several parts are the remains of towers and bastions. Thus towards the northeast, almost beneath the brow, is a structure apparently of this kind, which must have been quite extensive. But the chief remains are upon the ledge of rocks on the south of the little basin, and especially towards its eastern end. Here are high heaps of ruins, mingled in indiscriminate confusion, consisting of walls and arches and foundations, apparently of dwelling-houses as well as other buildings, some of hewn and some of large bevelled stones. The walls and traces of a fortress are seen here and further west along the southern brow; of which one tall pointed arch of a Saracenic gateway is still standing, and bears the name of Bâb el-Hawa, "Gate of the Wind." Connected with it are loopholes, and others are seen near by. These latter fortifications belong obviously to the era of the crusades; but our experience at Jerusalem and elsewhere, had taught us to refer the large bevelled stones to a style of architecture not later than the times of the Romans; before which period indeed a town and fortress already existed on Mount Tabor. In the days of the crusaders too, and earlier, there were here churches and monasteries.

On the southeast part, near the highest point among the ruins, is a small vault, where the Latin monks from Nazareth celebrate an annual mass in memory of the Transfiguration; the scene of which an early, though probably legendary tradition, places upon this mountain. The spot is merely a rude cellar with an altar, and a small side vault with three niches or altars. The Greeks show the remains of a church on the north side of the little basin; in which they have a temporary altar and celebrate the same event. The Greek priests of Nazareth are said to come hither on the festival of the Virgin; on which occasion thousands of pilgrims repair to the mountain with their families, to celebrate the day.¹—The summit has many cisterns, now mostly dry; in one we found good water. A wandering family sometimes take up their abode here, or a pilgrim comes to sojourn upon the sacred mountain for a few days.² The usual loneliness of the spot, and its forest of oaks and abundant herbage, have made it the chosen retreat of numerous wild swine. We started two of these animals in our rambles around the summit.

¹ Burckhardt p. 334 sq.

² Burckhardt found here a family of Greek Christians from Haurân; p. 334.

Schubert fell in with a Syrian pilgrim, who had come to pass forty days alone upon the mountain; *Reise* III. pp. 177, 178

The view from Tabor is very extensive and beautiful ; far more so, indeed, than we had anticipated from the relative height of the adjacent mountains. The Sirocco of the afternoon thickened the air, and for a time dimmed the prospect ; but the next morning was again bright, and gave us the full enjoyment of one of the finest landscapes in Palestine. The view towards the whole western and northern quarter, between S. W. and N. N. E. was similar to that from the Wely near Nazareth, though less near and less distinct. It embraced the western part of the great plain with its villages, as far as to Lejjûn and Carmel ; but the sea view was mostly shut out by intervening heights. Whether the sea is visible at all on the left of Carmel, as at Neby Isma'il, I am unable to say ; but my impression is, that we did not thus perceive it. The northern end of Carmel likewise, and the bay of 'Akka, do not appear ; but on the right of Nazareth a portion of the sea is seen in the northwest, as well as slight glimpses in other parts. In the north and northeast are Safed and its mountains, the highest point in all that region ; but overtopped by Jebel esh-Sheikh and its snows beyond. Directly beneath us, in the same direction, lay spread out the great plain, which, sweeping from Esdraelon around the base of Tabor, extends far northwards, and contains several villages. In this plain, at the distance of about three hours, is seen Jebel Hattin or Tell Hattin, the mount of Beatitudes so called by the Latin monks, a low ridge or saddle with two points, called by the Arabs Kûrûn Hattin, "Horns of Hattin." On the right of the same plain, the whole outline of the basin of the lake of Tiberias can be traced ; but only a small spot of the lake itself is visible in the northeast on the right of Jebel Hattin.¹ Beyond the lake, the eye takes in the high table lands of Jaulân and Haurân ; and further south, beyond the Jordan, the higher mountains of the ancient Bashan and Gilead.

Towards the south the view is of course bounded by the adjacent mountains of Dûhy and Gilboa ; the high portions of the latter being seen over the low ridge, or rather the high plain, running out eastwards from the former, and forming there the northern side of the valley of Jezreel. We could look over this tract into the broad valley of the Jordan around Beisân, though that place itself was not visible ; and could distinctly perceive, that the valley from the west spreads itself out to a wide plain as it enters that of the Jôrdan ; so that the latter plain might be said to come up and meet it, or rather that a branch from the Jordan valley runs up towards 'Ain Jâlûd. On the north of

¹ I say this advisedly ; because various p. 214. Buckingham's Travels in Pal. p
travellers seem to speak of seeing much 108. 4to. Schubert's Reise III. p. 176.
more of the lake from Tabor. See Morison

iii. 215, 216

Beisân, as seen from Tabor, and also from Zer'in, the valley of Jezreel is not skirted by mountains, but by the high table land above mentioned; to which the side of the valley rises by a gradual ascent.—The view extends in this quarter far down the Jordan valley, and to the mountains of Gilead beyond; but those who have thought they could distinguish from here the waters of the Dead Sea, have forgotten, that the direction of that sea from Tabor brings it directly behind the mountains of Dûhy and Gilboa.¹

The mountain of Dûhy, as already remarked, sinks down towards the east into a low ridge, or line of flat hills, along the valley of Jezreel. On its northern side, as seen from Tabor, this mountain exhibits a double ridge; that is, upon its northern slope another much lower ridge springs up and runs off eastward, parallel to the main mountain; of which it indeed truly constitutes a part. Further east, this ridge and that running off from the mountain itself, are about of equal height; and between them lies the higher plain or table land, above described as bordering on the valley of Jezreel. In it however is a deep depression north of Kûmieh, drained towards the south. The eastern part of this same tract is drained, according to Burckhardt, by a small Wady, called Wady 'Ôsheh, which runs down to the valley of the Jordan at some distance north of Beisân.²

North of this tract, the somewhat lower plain around Tabor fills up the space quite to the brow of the Jordan valley, and northwards towards Lûbieh and Hattin. Here in the northeast is seen the Khân et-Tujjâr; from which the bed of a seemingly shallow Wady runs first southwards, and then southeast and breaks down through the hills to the valley of the Jordan, about half an hour north of Wady 'Ôsheh.³ This is there called Wady el-Birch, apparently from a village of that name in the vicinity, marked in our lists. All along this Wady, a small silvery thread of water was visible, coming from the fountain near the Khân. This Wady as it descends to the Jordan valley, is deep; but further north, the plain appears to slope up eastwards gradually to the very brow of the cliffs over the Ghôr and lake of Tiberias, presenting there no appearance whatever of hills as seen from this side.

It was to us a matter of particular interest, to ascertain, if possible, the line of division between the waters running to the Jordan, and those flowing to the Mediterranean through the plain of Esdraelon. This it was not difficult to do, as the plain lay spread out like a map before us, and all its channels and

¹ Cotovicus p. 355. D'Arvieux Mémoires, Tom. II. p. 284. Par. 1735. Schubert's Reise III. p. 176.

² Burckhardt's Travels, p. 342.

³ Burckhardt, *ibid.*

water-courses, though now mostly dry, were nevertheless distinctly visible. The water-shed, then, is within the arm of the great plain on the south of Tabor, about on a line between this mountain and the top of the little Hermon. All the waters east of this line, go to the Jordan through Wady el-Bireh, in which water was now running; and from the village of Endôr on the northern slope of the lower ridge of Hermon, a shallow Wady passes down northeast to join the same. Not far west of Endôr, another little Wady in like manner goes off northwest to join those running towards the Mediterranean.¹

On the northern slope of the mountain of Dûhy, just below the summit towards the northwest is seen the small village of the same name. Somewhat lower down, in the same direction, is the little hamlet of Nein; and further east on the northern slope of the lower parallel ridge, lies Endôr, merely an ordinary village. These two are ancient places, to which I shall recur again. On the line of low hills stretching off eastwards from the little Hermon, we could perceive again Kûmieh, which we had seen from Zer'in; while on the northern line of hills, the extension of the lower parallel ridge, between the Wadys 'Osheh and el-Bireh, lie the villages el-Murûssûs, Denna, and Kaukab el-Hawa.² Somewhere in the same region are also Tûmrah, Kefrah, and Shûtta.³ North of Wady el-Bireh, towards the brow of the Jordan valley, lie the villages Sirin, 'Aulam, etc. This last may not improbably be the Ulama of Eusebius and Jerome, twelve Roman miles from Diocæsarea towards the east.⁴

From the southeast part of the summit of Tabor, we took many important bearings, recorded in the note below.⁵

Mount Tabor is several times mentioned in the Old Testa-

¹ We were the more particular in this examination, because the fountain near Khân et-Tujâr is sometimes said to be the source of the Kishon, and to flow off around Mount Tabor westwards. So D'Arviex expressly; Mémoires, Par. 1735. Tom. II. p. 279, 280. Mr Paxton also erroneously makes a branch of the Kishon rise north of Tabor, and flow east of the mountain, and then south and west around its foot. Letter xx. p. 178. Lond. 1839.

² Burckhardt passed near el-Murûssûs in going from Nazareth to Beisan; he mentions also the other two villages; Travels p. 342. Kaukab el-Hawa, the Belvoir of the Franks, was celebrated during the crusades; see further on.

³ Has this perhaps any connection with the Beth-Shittah of Judg. 7, 22, through which the Midianites fled when defeated by Gideon in the valley of Jezreel?

⁴ Onomast. art. *Ulamaus*.

iii. 218, 219

⁵ Bearings from Mount Tabor, beginning at the Wely above Nazareth and proceeding towards the right: Neby Isma'il N. 68° W. 'Ain Mahil N. 54° W. Mes-hed N. 10° E. (?) esh-Shajerah N. 12° E. Lûbieh N. 12° E. Safed N. 24° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh or Hermon about N. 28° E. Khân et-Tujâr N. 32° E. Jebel Hattin, middle, N. 34° E. Kefr Sabt N. 44° E. Tiberias, not visible, about N. 53° E. Ma'derah E. Wady el-Bireh as it passes down to the Jordan valley S. 52° E. Kaukab el-Hawa S. 37° E. Kefrah S. 25° E. Beisin, not visible, about S. 15° E. Gilboa, eastern end of high part, S. Tûmrah S. 3° W. Kûmieh S. 10° W. Endôr S. 16° W. Wezar S. 16° W. Little Hermon, east end of high part, S. 23° W. Kefr Musr S. 26° W. Little Hermon, summit, S. 35° W. Village Dûhy S. 37° W. Nein S. 40° W.

ment ; first as on the border of Issachar and Zebulun ; and then as the place where Deborah and Barak assembled the warriors of Israel, before their great battle with Sisera.¹ The beauty of the mountain and its conspicuous position, rendered it a favourite object of poetic contemplation ; and when the Psalmist exclaims : " Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name," he selects these two as the representatives of all the mountains of Palestine ; the former as the most graceful, and the latter as the loftiest.² There appears also to have been, in those days, a city of the same name, doubtless situated upon the mountain, which belonged to the tribe of Zebulun, but was assigned to the Levites.³

In the New Testament, Mount Tabor is not mentioned. In Greek and Roman writers, the name takes the form Itabyrion or Atabyrion, which appears also in the Septuagint.⁴ The historian Polybius relates, that Antiochus the Great of Syria, after having captured the city Philoteria near the lake of Tiberias,⁵ "ascended the mountain and came to Atabyrion, a place lying on a breast-formed height, having an ascent of more than fifteen stadia ; and by stratagem and wile he got possession of the city," which he afterwards fortified.⁶ This was in the year 218 B. C. and shows that the former city upon the mountain still remained. According to Josephus, a battle took place at Mount Itabyrion about 53 B. C. between the Roman forces under the proconsul Gabinius and the Jews under Alexander, son of Aristobulus ; in which ten thousand of the latter were slain.⁷ At a later period, Josephus himself caused Mount Tabor to be fortified, along with various other places.⁸ He describes the mountain as having an ascent of thirty stadia ;⁹ on the north it was inaccessible ; and the summit was a plain of twenty-six stadia in circumference. This whole circuit Josephus caused to be enclosed with a wall in forty days ; the materials and also water being brought from below, since the inhabitants had only rain-water.¹⁰ This account, although exaggerated, corresponds well with the remains still found on the mountain.¹¹ Still later,

¹ Josh. 19, 22 ; comp. vs. 12. Judg. 4, 6. 12. 14. Joseph. Ant. 5. 1. 22. ib. 5. 5. 3.

² Ps. 89, 12. Comp. Jer. 46, 18. Hos. 5, 1.

³ 1 Chr. 6, 77. Perhaps also the city is meant in Josh. 19, 22.

⁴ Hos. 5, 1 'Ιταβύριον ; comp. Hieron. Comm. in loc. Josephus l. c. Onomast. art. *Itabyrion*. Polyb. 5. 70. 6 'Αταβύριον.

⁵ For Philoteria see Reland Pal. p. 954.

⁶ Polyb. 5. 70. 6. . . . ὑπερέβαλε τὴν δρεὶν καὶ παρὴν ἐπὶ Ἀταβύριον· ὃ κείται μὲν ἐπὶ λόφου μαστοειδοῦς, τὴν δὲ πρόσ- βασιον ἐκεί πλείον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων·

χρησάμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐνέδρα καὶ στρατηγήματι κατέσχευε τὴν πόλιν.—Ἀσφαλίσάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀταβύριον, ἀνέκτισε. See Reland Palest. p. 599. Jahn Bibl. Arch. II. i. p. 374.

⁷ Jos. Antiq. 14. 6. 3. B. J. 1. 8. 7. Jahn Bibl. Archæol. II. i. p. 546.

⁸ Jos. Vita § 37. B. J. 2. 20. 6.

⁹ Rufinus reads twenty stadia, which corresponds better with the fifteen stadia of Polybius and with the truth. Reland Pal. p. 332.

¹⁰ Jos. B. J. 4. 1. 8.

¹¹ See above, pp. 352, 353.

and after Josephus himself had fallen into the hands of the Romans, a great multitude of the Jews took refuge in this fortress; against whom Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen. By a feint, he induced the great body to pursue him into the plain, where he slew many and cut off the return of the multitude to the mountain; so that the inhabitants, who were suffering from want of water, made terms and surrendered themselves and the mountain to Placidus.¹

It thus appears, that from the earliest times, a fortified city had existed on Mount Tabor. The language of Josephus implies, that the city, as well as the fortress, remained in his day; for he speaks expressly of the inhabitants of the place as straitened for water; in distinction from the body of strangers who had occupied the mountain.

We hear nothing more of Mount Tabor until the fourth century; when it is often mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*, but only in reference to its general character, and as a known point from which to determine the position of various places.² In the same century, however, appears to have sprung up the opinion, which soon grew into a tradition, that the summit of Mount Tabor had been the place where our Lord was transfigured in the presence of his three disciples; and that this, therefore, was "the holy mountain" referred to by St. Peter.³ That century, as we have seen, was the hotbed of like superstitions, which have spread their legendary fruits far and wide over Palestine and over Christendom.⁴

Eusebius, who died about A. D. 340, makes no allusion whatever to the opinion in question; although nothing would have been more natural, had it then existed; inasmuch as he describes the mountain in reference to the Old Testament. The first notice of Tabor as the place of the transfiguration, appears a few years later, as a passing remark, in the works of Cyril of Jerusalem;⁵ and Jerome twice mentions the same thing, though slightly, and so as to imply that there was not yet a church upon the summit.⁶ All these circumstances, in connection with the fact that the Evangelists nowhere make the slightest allusion to Tabor, go to show that the legend was of recent origin; and that the foreign ecclesiastics, who now swarmed in Palestine, had probably pitched upon Tabor as the scene of the transfigu-

¹ Jos. B. J. 4. 1. 8. Josephus himself had been captured some time before; B. J. 3. 8. 1-9.

² *Onomast. arta. Thabor, Itabyrium*. See also *arta. Dabira, Cison, Nazareth, Naim*, etc. Reland Pal. p. 333.

³ Matt 17, 1 sq. Mark 9, 2 sq. Luke 9. 28 sq. 2 Pet 1, 18.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 251 sq.

iii. 221, 222

⁵ Cyril. Hieros. Cat. 12. 16. p. 170. ed. Touttée.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. 44, ad Marcell. p. 552, "Pergemus ad Itabyrium et tabernacula Salvatoris." Ep. 86, Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 677, "Scandebat montem Thabor, in quo transfiguratus est Dominus"—These "tabernacula" can hardly have been already churches.

ration, simply as being the most striking mountain in the neighbourhood of the lake of Galilee. The context of the narrative seems to imply, as has been shown by Lightfoot and Reland, that the mount of Transfiguration is rather to be sought somewhere around the northern part of the lake, not very far from Cæsarea Philippi, where there are certainly mountains enough.¹ But a circumstance which those writers overlooked, and which puts Mount Tabor in this case entirely out of the question, is the fact above substantiated, that long before and after the event of the transfiguration, the summit of Tabor was occupied by a fortified city.

Yet the legend having once got footing, continued to gain ground; the mountain became more sacred, and churches were erected. Towards the close of the sixth century, Antoninus Martyr speaks here of three churches, corresponding to the three tabernacles proposed to be erected by Peter.² A century later (about A. D. 696) Arculfus found also the same three churches on Tabor, and a large monastery with many cells; the whole being surrounded by a wall of stone.³ St. Willibald about A. D. 765, mentions in like manner, the monastery and a church.⁴ Sæwulf, about A. D. 1103, speaks only of three monasteries of ancient construction, corresponding to the three tabernacles; but this is probably an error instead of churches.⁵ In this state the crusaders found the mountain.

We have seen above, that Tancred, to whom Galilee was assigned as a fief, erected a Latin church upon Mount Tabor; and this appears to have been soon followed by a Latin monastery, tenanted by Black friars of the reformed order of Benedictines of Clugny in France; whose dispute with the archbishop of Nazareth, and its amicable adjustment in A. D. 1111, have already been related.⁶ But their quiet was not of long continuance; for during the temporary incursion of the Muhammedans from Damascus in A. D. 1113, the convent was laid waste and the monks massacred.⁷ The convent was probably soon restored. In A. D. 1183 the monasteries on Tabor were assaulted by a portion of the troops of Saladin, during his encampment at and below 'Ain Jâlûd; but were preserved by the bravery of the monks, and of the country people who took refuge with them.⁸

¹ Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr. in Marc.* 9, 2. Reland *Pal. p.* 334-336.

² *Itin.* § 6.

³ Adamnanus de *Loci Sanct.* 2. 27.

⁴ *Hodæpor.* § 16. p. 374. ed. Mabillon.

⁵ Sæwulf *Peregrin.* p. 270.

⁶ See above, p. 842. "*Abbatia nigrorum monachorum*;" Jac. de *Vitr.* 58. p. 1078. L. de Suchem, *Itin.* p. 95. Reissb. p. 851.

⁷ *Append. ad Sigebert. Gemblac. Chronogr. in Pistor. Scriptor. Rer. Germ. ed. Struve, Tom. I. p. 365. Comp. Fulch. Carnot.* 40. p. 423 sq. Will. Tyr. 11. 19. Wilken *Gesch. der Kr.* II. p. 374.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 22. 26. Wilken *ib.* III. ii. p. 231.—William of Tyre here mentions particularly only the Greek monastery, called St. Elias.

Two years afterwards, in A. D. 1185, Phocas describes here two monasteries, one Greek, the other Latin. The former was towards the left or north; the latter was tenanted by a multitude of Latin monks, and stood upon the highest point of all, towards the southeast. The altar occupied the very spot, where the transfiguration was supposed to have taken place.¹

In A. D. 1187, not long before the battle of Hattin, Mount Tabor was laid waste by the troops of Saladin.² Twenty-five years afterwards (A. D. 1212), Melek el-'Adil the brother of Saladin and now Sultan of Damascus, as a check upon the Christian forces in 'Akka, erected upon this mountain a strong fortress, the remains of which are still to be seen; he not only employed his troops in this service, but collected workmen from the provinces.³ In A. D. 1217, the pilgrim host from 'Akka laid siege to this fortress, which was defended by chosen troops; so that the Christians were obliged to abandon the attack after two fierce and unsuccessful assaults. Yet their attempt brought this fruit, that the fortress was razed by order of Melek el-'Adil himself.⁴ Whether the monasteries were destroyed during these events, we are not informed;⁵ but at any rate, the work of desolation was completed in A. D. 1263, under Sultan Bibars, while encamped at the foot of the mountain. By his orders, not only was the church at Nazareth, but also that of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, levelled to the ground.⁶ Brocardus, about A. D. 1283, mentions here only the ruins of various palaces and towers, already the retreat of many wild beasts; and such the summit of Tabor has remained unto the present day.⁷ In later times, the Greek church which formerly existed here, has commonly been ascribed to Helena; but as we have had occasion to see, in opposition to all ancient testimony.⁸

Of the places seen from Mount Tabor, the names of Endôr, Nein, and Kaukab el-Hawa, demand some further illustration.

Endôr is obviously the Endor of the Old Testament, assigned to Manasseh, though lying without the borders of that tribe; mentioned also in connection with the victory of Deborah and Barak; but chiefly known as the abode of the sorceress, whom Saul consulted on the eve of the fatal battle of Gilboa.⁹

¹ Phocas de Locis Sanct. § 11.

² Wilken ib. III. ii. p. 276.

³ Abulfeda Annal. A. H. 609. Tom. IV. p. 248. Marin. Sanut. p. 206. Wilken ib. VI. p. 63.

⁴ Wilken ib. VI. pp. 149-153, and the authorities there cited. Marin. Sanut. p. 207. Reinaud Extraits p. 387.

⁵ According to L. de Suchem the monasteries were originally fortified with walls and towers, constituting perhaps portions of

iii. 224, 225

the fortress; Itin. p. 95. Reissb. p. 851.

⁶ Wilken Gesch. der Kreuz. VII. p. 461, and the authorities there cited. Reinaud Extraits pp. 488, 489.

⁷ Brocardus, c. 6. p. 175. Sir J. Maundeville, p. 113. Lond. 1839. L. de Suchem, l. c.

⁸ Niceph. Callist. 8. 30. See above, Vol. I. p. 375.

⁹ Josh. 17, 11. Ps. 83, 10. 1 Sam. 28, 7 sq.

The name does not occur in the New Testament ; but in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, Endor was still a large village four Roman miles south of Mount Tabor, corresponding to the present site.¹ It was recognised in the time of the crusades, and is mentioned by Brocardus ; but appears afterwards to have been again lost sight of, at least partially, until the seventeenth century.²—The Arabic orthography of this name, obtained from an intelligent native, and correct according to the present pronunciation, exhibits perhaps a solitary instance, where the letter 'Ain of the Hebrew has in the Arabic passed over into a softer letter at the beginning of a word ; perhaps too the only instance, where the Hebrew word *En* (fountain), does not in Arabic retain the corresponding and usual form 'Ain.³

Nein is the Nain of the New Testament, where occurred the affecting scene of our Lord's raising the widow's son.⁴ Eusebius and Jerome describe it as not far from Endor ; the crusaders recognised it ; and it has since been mentioned by most travellers to the present day.⁵ It has now dwindled to a small hamlet, occupied at most by a few families.

Kaukab el-Hawa, as we have seen, lies upon the brow of the Jordan valley, near the extremity of the line of hills between the Wadys 'Ösheh and el-Bireh.⁶ According to Arabian writers, Kaukab was a fortress of the Christians ; and was subdued and destroyed by Saladin after the capture of Safed in A. D. 1188.⁷ Frank writers make no mention of any fortress of this name ; but the situation corresponds exactly to that of the castle, which they call Belvoir or Belvedere, erected by the Christians. It is described by William of Tyre as lying upon the mountain between Beisân and the lake of Tiberias, not far from Mount Tabor ; and by another writer as captured by Saladin in the year above mentioned.⁸ The name Belvoir appears afterwards, in the text and on the map of Marinus

¹ Onomast. arts. *Ændor* ('Ανδῶρ), *Ændor* ('Ηνδῶρ).

² Brocardus, c. 6. p. 176. Marin. Sanut. p. 248. Endor is indeed mentioned by Breydenbach, Anselm, and Zuallart, but apparently only as they copied Brocardus. Quaresmius makes no allusion to it. We find it again in Doubdan, p. 580. Nau, p. 632. Maundrell, Apr. 19th, etc. etc.

³ See Vol. I. p. 255. n. 2.

⁴ Luke 7, 11 sq.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Naim*. Brocardus, c. 6. p. 176. Marin. Sanut. p. 249. Cotovic. p. 347. Quaresmius II. p. 851. Maundrell, Apr. 19th, etc. The text of Eusebius now reads *twelve* Roman miles from Tabor ; that of Jerome *two* ; both are obviously corruptions.

⁶ See above, p. 356.

⁷ Bohaed. Vit. Salad. pp. 76, 88, et Schultens Ind. Geogr. art. *Cauchebe*. Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. III. p. 215. Reinaud Extr. p. 232 sq. Wilken. Gesch. der Kr. IV. p. 245, and Beil. p. 84.

⁸ Jac. de Vitry mentions the building of this fortress by the Christians along with Safed ; c. 49. Will. Tyr. 22. 16. "Postea reversus Saladinus in Galilæam, Belvedere castrum munitissimum, quod fines Jordanis custodiebat, vias Tiberiadis, Neapolim, et Nazareth angustabat, per inediam compulit ad deditionem ;" Sicardi Cremon. Chronicon, in Muratori Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. T. VII. p. 606. Wilken ih. p. 245.

Sanutus in the fourteenth century, who ascribes the building of it to king Fulco, probably about A. D. 1140.¹

From the summit of Tabor we had our last view of the great plain of Esdraelon; and I therefore subjoin here, what remains to be said respecting the plain and its waters, so far as they go to form the river Kishon. Singular as it may appear, after so many centuries, during which Palestine has been overrun with swarms of pilgrims and travellers, there yet exists no correct nor intelligible account of the eastern portions of this plain. Even the great map of Jacotin, exact and faithful as it is for the northern portions of the plain, and the arm around Tabor, is nevertheless entirely without accuracy in respect to the portions eastward of Zer'in and Jenin.²

The celebrated plain of Esdraelon, now known among the natives as Merj Ibn 'Âmir, exclusive of the three great arms towards the east, may be said to lie in the form of an acute triangle. A line forming the eastern side, drawn from Jenin along the western ends of Gilboa and Little Hermon, so as to strike the northern mountains not far from the mount of Precipitation, would not vary much from the magnetic meridian; this indeed was nearly the course travelled by us; and the length of this side of the triangle is not far from six hours. From Jenin, as we have seen, the hills that skirt the plain on that side, and also the line of Carmel, stretch off from S. E. to N. W. or more exactly, from S. E. by S. to N. W. by N. On the northern side of the plain, the mountains which there rise more abruptly, extend, as seen from Tabor, in the general direction from E. N. E. to W. S. W. and run down at length into a line of lower hills towards Carmel, between the great plain on the left and the valley which drains el-Büttauf on the right. A narrow valley along the base of Carmel, between that mountain and these hills, affords a passage for the Kishon from the great plain to the sea.—The length of this northern side of the triangle of the plain, is apparently four or five hours.

East of this large triangle, which is everywhere a level tract of fertile, though now neglected soil, the plain of Esdraelon sends out towards the brow of the Jordan valley the three great arms already described; each nearly an hour in breadth, and

¹ Marin. Sanut. pp. 166, 247. Breydenbach mentions it also in the same position, under the name of Castle Belliforth; Reissb. p. 126.

² I may add too, that the village of Endôr on the French map is placed very much too far west; while Nein is most

unaccountably transferred to the south side of the mountain of Dûhy.

³ See above, pp. 316, 320, 330 sq. The plain, as we have seen, belongs to the government, and is only partially cultivated; see above pp. 315, 319, 324, 332. Comp. also p. 46, above.

separated from each other by the ridges of Gilboa and Little Hermon. The remarkable and distinguishing feature of these three great portions of the plain is, that while both the northern and southern decline towards the west, and their waters flow off through the Kishon to the Mediterranean; the middle arm sinks down between them eastwards, so that its waters, from a point within the triangle as above described, run with a more rapid descent to the valley of the Jordan, along what was anciently known as the valley of Jezreel.

Through the plain of Esdraelon, the "ancient river" Kishon is of old represented as pouring its waters in such abundance, as to "sweep away" the troops of Sisera during the battle of Deborah and Barak;¹ and we still find the same river a considerable stream, under the name of el-Mukütta', flowing along the base of Carmel into the bay of 'Akka. But, as already remarked, in crossing the whole plain from Jenin to Nazareth on the 16th of June, although we passed several channels of some size, running westwards from both the northern and southern arms,² yet not one drop of water did we find in all those parts of the plain, which in the rainy season send their waters to the Mediterranean.

But this was a year of drought; and it would be a false conclusion, to affirm for this reason, as Shaw has done, that the Kishon has no communication with Tabor, and never flowed through the plain.³ Not improbably in ancient times, when the country was perhaps more wooded, there may have been permanent streams throughout the whole plain, like that which still runs eastwards along the middle arm; and even now, in ordinary seasons, during the winter and spring, there is an abundance of water on the plain flowing westwards to form the Kishon. The large fountains all along the southern border, furnish at such times more powerful streams; and all the water-courses from the hills and along the plain, are full and overflowing. During the battle of Mount Tabor, between the French and Arabs, April 16th, 1799, many of the latter are expressly said to have been drowned in the stream coming from Debûrieh, which then inundated a part of the plain.⁴ Monro, in crossing the arm of the plain from Sôlam to Nazareth, on the first or second of May, describes himself as passing in half an hour from Sôlam "a considerable brook from the eastward, and afterwards some

¹ Judg. 5, 21, "The river of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon."

² See above, pp. 318, 319, 331.

³ Shaw's Travels 4to. p. 274, "Mr Sandys and others have been mistaken in making the Kishon flow from the moun-

tains of Tabor and Hermon; with which it has no communication" Shaw makes the whole length of the Kishon to be only about seven miles.

⁴ Burckhardt's Travels, p. 339. See above, p. 328. n.

others, which flow into a small lake on the northern side of the plain, and eventually contribute to swell the Kishon."¹ This account corresponds with the channels we saw. In April, 1829, Prokesch, in travelling directly from Ramleh to Nazareth, entered the plain of Esdraelon at or near Lejjûn; here he came upon the Kishon, flowing in a deep bed through marshy ground; and after wandering about for some time to find the way through the morass, was at length set right by an Arab who pointed out the proper ford.²

All these considerations, and especially these marshes in the region of Lejjûn or Megiddo, fully bear out the sacred writer, in affirming that the forces of Sisera were swept away by the Kishon; swollen as the stream probably was by the tempest and rain, with which the Lord interfered in behalf of the Israelites.³

The earlier writers were therefore justified, in placing a principal source of the Kishon in the vicinity of Mount Tabor; although probably the branch fed from the southern arm of the plain and the southern hills, is in general not less important. The water-shed in the arm of the plain between Tabor and the Little Hermon, as we have seen, is about on a line between those two mountains;⁴ although during the rains, much water must necessarily come from the Wadys northwest of Tabor, and there form what Burckhardt calls the river of Debûrieh, issuing upon the great plain near that village.

Yet in regard to this source of the Kishon, a most singular error has prevailed ever since the time of the crusades, which seems not wholly to be done away even in the present century. I find it first in Brocardus; who relates, that the torrent Kishon has its source in the rain water which descends from the eastern side of Tabor, whence the stream flows partly eastwards to the lake of Galilee, and partly westwards to the Mediterranean.⁵ There is so much foundation for this report, as may be found in the fact, that all the waters on the eastern side of Tabor, including the fountain near the Khân et-Tujjâr, do actually flow off eastwards through Wady el-Bîreh to the Jordan; but, as we have

¹ Monro, Summer Ramble I. p. 281. Yet so confused is this writer's narrative, that he goes on to place Little Hermon still an hour further north; although he had before correctly described Solam, where he had lodged, as lying at the foot of Hermon; p. 279.

² Prokesch Reise ins h. Land p. 129.

³ Judg. 5, 20, 21; comp. 5, 4. Joseph. Ant. 5. 5. 4.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Cison*. In Greek the Kishon, like the Kidron, is very appropri-

ately called *χελμαῖος*, storm-brook, winter torrent. Sept. Judg. 4, 13, 5, 21. etc. Euseb. l. c.

⁵ See p. 356, above.

⁶ Brocardus, c. 6. 7. p. 176. Marin. Sanutus copies Brocardus, p. 252. This story is repeated by travellers down to the middle of the last century; e. g. Cotovic. p. 127. Doubdan, p. 581. Mariti Voyages, Tom. II. pp. 121, 169. Neuw. 1791. The same is also brought forward by Rosenmüller, Bibl. Geogr. II. l. p. 203.

seen above, only the western and southern parts of Tabor send their waters to the Mediterranean.¹

It appears, then, that the Kishon in this part of the plain, is not now a permanent stream ; but usually flows only during the season of rain, and for a short time afterwards.² Yet the river, as it enters the sea at the foot of Carmel, never becomes dry ; and we must therefore seek for its perennial sources along the base of that mountain. Whether the brook at Lejjûn reaches the bed of the Kishon during the summer, we are not informed ; but the main sources appear to be lower down, in the valley by which the channel issues from the plain. When Maundrell crossed the Kishon here on the 22d of March, three and a half hours from Lejjûn, the water was low and inconsiderable. Shaw is the only traveller who appears to have noticed the sources of the permanent stream. "In travelling under the eastern brow of Carmel," he says, "I had an opportunity of seeing the sources of the river Kishon, three or four of which lie within less than a furlong of each other. These alone, without the lesser contributions nearer the sea, discharge water enough to form a river half as big as the Isis."³ The length of the stream from these sources to the sea, he estimates at seven miles, or about two and a half hours. It was probably somewhere along this permanent stream, that Elijah slew the prophets of Baal.⁴

The quantity of water in the Mukûtta' as it passes through the lower plain to the sea, is not inconsiderable. Schubert forded it in May in travelling directly from Nazareth to Haifa, and found it scarcely forty feet in breadth, and three or four feet deep ; the water coming half way up the bodies of the mules.⁵ Monro crossed the river near its mouth, at the southeast nook of the bay of 'Akka, in a boat ; he describes the stream as about thirty yards in width, and deep ; so that the asses with their heads tied to the boat, were compelled to swim.⁶ Yet Shaw relates, that the Kishon when not swollen by the rains, "never falls into the sea in a full stream, but insensibly perco-

¹ See above, p. 356.

² We crossed the Mukûtta' in the plain in 1852 ; see Vol. III. Sect. III, under Apr. 21st.

³ Shaw's Travels 4to. p. 274. Shaw says these fountains are called "Ris el-Kishon," which cannot be true as to the Arabs, because the name Kishon is here unknown. They would more probably bear the name of Râs el-Mukûtta' ; and such it would seem from D'Arvieux is actually the case ; Mémoires II. p. 294. Paris, 1735. The ponds of which Shaw speaks, four miles northeast of these fountains, do not exist.

⁴ 1 Kings 18, 40. From this slaughter

Vol. II.—31*

of the prophets of Baal, some travellers are disposed to derive the modern name of the river el-Mukûtta', following the meaning *secuit, excidit*, of the Arabic verb. So D'Arvieux, Mém. II. p. 294. Berggren Reisen, II. p. 230. But among the common people the name signifies merely 'the ford,' from another meaning of the same verb, *trajecit flumen*. See Freytag's Lex. Arab. III. p. 465. D'Arvieux learnedly refers the name Kishon (French *Cison*) to the same slaughter ; it being, he says, derived from the Latin *cœdere*.

⁵ Reise III. p. 206.

⁶ Summer Ramble I. p. 56.

lates through a bank of sand, which the north winds throw up against the mouth of it ;" thus he found it in the middle of April A. D. 1722, when he passed it.¹

Such were, in general, the results of our observations and inquiries respecting the noble plain of Esdraelon and the objects around it. We took leave of it from the summit of Mount Tabor, as it lay extended before us, quiet and peaceful, in the brilliant light of an oriental morning ; so tranquil indeed, that it was difficult to connect with it the idea of battles and bloodshed, of which for a long succession of ages it has been the chosen scene. Here Deborah and Barak, descending with their forces from Mount Tabor, attacked and discomfited the host of Sisera with his "nine hundred chariots of iron," from Eldor to Taanach and Megiddo, where the Kishon swept them away.² In and adjacent to the plain, Gideon achieved his triumph over the Midianites ; and here too the glory of Israel was darkened for a time, by the fall of Saul and Jonathan upon Gilboa.³ It was also adjacent to Aphek in the plain, that Ahab and the Israelites obtained a miraculous victory over the Syrians under Benhadad ; while at Megiddo, the pious Josiah fell in battle against the Egyptian monarch.⁴ Then came the times of the Romans, with battles under Gabinus and Vespasian.⁵ The period of the crusades furnishes likewise its account of contests in and around the plain ;⁶ and almost in our day the battle of Mount Tabor was one of the triumphs of Napoleon.⁷ From Mount Tabor the view took in also, on the one side, the region of Hattin, where the renown of the crusaders sunk before the star of Saladin ; while, not far distant, on the other side, the name of 'Akka or Ptolemais recalls many a deadly struggle of the same epoch. There too Napoleon was baffled and driven back from Syria ; and in our own day, torrents of blood have flowed within and around its walls, during the long siege and subsequent capture of the city by the Egyptian army in A. D. 1832.

The ink with which these lines were penned, was hardly

¹ Shaw's Travels 4to. p. 274. See also Irby and Mangles, p. 194. Mariti Voyages II. p. 120. Neuw. 1791.

² Judg. 4, 12-15. vs. 19-21. Ps. 83, 9. 10.

³ Judg. c. 7. 1 Sam. 29, 1. c. 31. See above, p. 327.

⁴ 1 Kings 26, 26-30.—2 Chr. 35, 20-24. 2 K. 23, 29. 30.

⁵ See above, p. 357.

⁶ See above, pp. 359, 360. Reinand Extraits p. 384, 387, 488, etc.—In A. D. 1187 a fierce and fatal conflict took place in the plain around Tabor, near the Kishon,

iii. 233, 234

between one hundred and fifty knights, both Hospitalers and Templars, with 500 foot, and the Saracen troops under Melek el-'Adil. The Christians were almost totally destroyed ; the Grand Master of the Hospitalers slain ; while the Grand Master of the Templars escaped with difficulty. Hugo Plagon in Martene et Durand T. V. p. 597 sq. Rad. Coggeshal. Chron. Terræ S. ibid. T. V. p. 549 sq. Gauf. Vinisanf. I. 2. p. 248. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 267 sq.

⁷ See above, p. 328 n.

dry, when the coasts of Syria were again visited by war ; and 'Akka became the closing scene of the struggle, between the allied English and Austrian fleets and the forces of Muhammed 'Aly. On the third day of November 1840, 'Akka was bombarded for several hours ; until the explosion of a magazine destroyed the garrison, and laid the town in ruins.

iii. 234

SECTION XV.

FROM MOUNT TABOR BY THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS TO SAFED.

Tuesday, June 19th, 1838. The sun rose gloriously upon us as we sat at the door of our tent, upon the summit of Tabor. A very heavy dew had fallen during the night ; so that the tent was wet as with rain. After the sun had been up about half an hour, a fog came on and veiled everything below from our view. We now prepared to depart ; but three of our mules had strayed away during the night, and this detained us for an hour. Meanwhile the fog cleared away, and we had again the glorious prospect of yesterday, now still more distinct and map-like. The summit of Tabor is subject to such morning fogs, which hang around it like a fleecy crown.

We set off at length at 7.35 from the top of the mountain, going down the same way we had come up. The view towards the northwest over the hills of Nazareth was charming, covered as they are with orchards of oaks ; which, standing singly, have much the appearance of apple trees. Our path led through similar glades along the flank of Tabor. We came to the bottom of the main descent at 8½ o'clock ; and then kept more to the right along high ground to gain the Damascus road, which we struck at 8.40, on the top of the low connecting ridge, between Tabor and the northwestern hills. After a stop of ten minutes to adjust the loads, we proceeded along this road to the Khân. The descent here from the ridge just mentioned, is hardly perceptible, in comparison with the ascent on the other side ; this eastern plain being higher than that on the southwest of Tabor. At 9½ o'clock there was a well on our left ; and ten minutes afterwards we reached Khân et-Tujjâr, in a shallow Wady of some breadth, running off southwards through the plain.

The Khân itself lies in the Wady, and is much broken down ; though a few people still house among its ruins. Close by on the left of the path, on the gentle acclivity which forms the side of the Wady, stands another quadrangular building of about the same size and appearance, but in better preservation.

This may have been another Khân, though it has more the appearance of a castle, like that of 'Akabah. Both were once important structures, having towers at the corners; and were erected for the accommodation and protection of caravans, passing upon this great high road between Damascus and Egypt. In the Khân is a spring of water; but the chief fountain, whose little stream we had seen from Tabor, flowing off through Wady el-Bireh to the Jordan, rises some five or ten minutes further south in the Wady.¹—At this Khân a weekly fair, Sûk el-Khân, is held every Monday, which is frequented by the people of Tiberias, Nazareth, and all the adjacent villages. It had yesterday drawn away from home a large portion of the people of Nazareth.

From the Khân, the Damascus road proceeds to Kefr Sabt, and descends to the shore of the lake beyond Tiberias. We followed a path lying more to the left, towards Lûbieh. At 10½ o'clock, we came to a broad low tract of land, running from west to east, a flat of fine fertile soil, drained off towards the right by a narrow Wady to the larger basin beyond Kefr Sabt; which place was now about half an hour distant on our right, on somewhat higher ground. The basin here mentioned is a broad and deeper fertile tract, beginning on the east of Lûbieh, and extending S. S. E. between the higher plain on the edge of which Kefr Sabt stands, and the ridge along the lake south of Tiberias. At the southern end, it breaks down through this ridge by a narrow Wady to the Jordan, just below where the latter issues from the lake. This basin is called by Burckhardt *Ard el-Hamma*.² Besides Kefr Sabt, lying on the high ground on its southwestern side, the ruined villages Dâneh and Bessûm are seen further south along the foot of the same acclivity. There was now no water visible in this whole tract; though Burckhardt speaks of a fountain 'Ain Dâneh half an hour distant from Kefr Sabt, probably near the ruin of the same name.

On the north of the low flat above described, our path led up a rocky acclivity, to a more elevated tract, on which stands the village of Lûbieh. Half an hour before reaching that village, we had on our left the beginning of the fine plain which runs off westward between the hills, having on its northern side the large village of Tur'an, and near its southwest corner the village of Kefr Kenna; both of which were here in sight.³ This plain is fertile and beautiful; its waters run off at the northwest corner to the large parallel plain el-Büttauf, near which Seffûrieh is situ-

¹ According to Prokesch, *Kaukab el-Hawa* bears from the Khân S. 38° E. *Reise ins heil. Land*, p. 137.

the name *Ard el-Ahmar*; see Vol. III. Sect. VIII, under May 18th.

² For Kefr Kenna see above, p. 346 sq.

³ *Travels* p. 333. We afterwards heard

ated. The Tell of this latter place could here be seen ; and also the Wely near Nazareth. The road from Nazareth passes from Kefr Kenna through this plain to Lûbieh.

The large village of Lûbieh, which we reached at 11 o'clock, has an old appearance ;¹ it stands upon a low Tell, with a deep valley on the east and a broader one on the north, with a fountain running towards the Ard el-Hamma. It suffered greatly from the earthquake of the preceding year.² A road leads from this place directly to Tiberias ; but we kept on N. E. by N. in order to visit the Tell and village of Hattin. The country continues undulating ; rocky swells in the high plain, with intervening valleys. The road passes down to Hattin on the west of the Tell ; as we approached, we turned off from the path towards the right, in order to ascend the eastern horn, which we reached at 12 o'clock.

As seen on this side, the Tell or mountain is merely a low ridge, some thirty or forty feet in height, and not ten minutes in length from east to west. At its eastern end is an elevated point or horn, perhaps sixty feet above the plain ; and at the western end another not so high ; these give to the ridge at a distance the appearance of a saddle, and are called Kûrûn Hattin, "Horns of Hattin."³ But the singularity of this ridge is, that on reaching the top, you find that it lies along the very border of the great southern plain, where this latter sinks off at once, by a precipitous offset, to the lower plain of Hattin ; from which the northern side of the Tell rises very steeply, not much less than four hundred feet. Below, in the north, lies the village of Hattin ; and further towards the north and northeast a second similar offset forms the descent to the level of the lake.

The summit of the eastern horn, is a little circular plain ; and the top of the lower ridge between the two horns, is also flattened to a plain. The whole mountain is of limestone. On the eastern horn are the remains of a small building, probably once a Wely,⁴ with a few rough ruins of no import ; yet the natives now dignify the spot with the name el-Medineh. This point commands a near view of the great plain over which we had passed, north of Tabor, and also of the basin Ard el-Hamma ; the latter lying spread out before us with fields of varied hues, like a carpet. On the other side, the eye takes in, even here, only the northern

¹ It is mentioned by Bohaeddin, Vit. Sal. p. 68.

² Mr Thomson who passed this way three weeks after the earthquake, describes the place as a heap of ruins ; one hundred and forty-three persons were killed. *Miss. Herald*, Nov. 1837, p. 439.

³ Bohaeddin calls the whole ridge Tell Hattin ; Vit. Salad p. 69.

⁴ According to Bohaeddin a tomb of Jethro, Kabr Shu'eib, stood upon this Tell in his day, i. e. at the close of the twelfth century. Vita Salad. p. 69. The same is mentioned in the Jewish Itinerary in Hottinger's Cippi Hebraici, p. 74. Ed. 2. Quaresmius supposes the remains to be those of a chapel ; II. p. 856.

part of the lake of Tiberias, and on its western shore the little plain of Gennesareth ; while in the north and northwest Safed and a few other villages are seen upon the hills. The prospect is in itself pleasing ; but bears no comparison with that which we had just enjoyed from Mount Tabor.¹—This Tell is nearly on a line between Tabor and Hermon, the latter bearing about N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and the former nearly S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.²

The Kūrūn Hattin are held by the Latins to be the mount of Beatitudes, the place where the Saviour delivered the Sermon on the Mount to the multitude standing on the adjacent plain. There is nothing in the form or circumstances of the hill itself to contradict this supposition ; but the sacred writers do not specify any particular height by name ; and there are in the vicinity of the lake perhaps a dozen other mountains, which would answer just as well to the circumstances of the history. It might therefore be difficult to say, why this spot should have been selected as the scene of our Lord's discourse ; unless, perhaps, because its position and peculiar configuration render it rather a prominent object.

Further, this tradition is found only in the Latin church ; the Greeks know nothing of it, as we learned by repeated inquiry at Nazareth and elsewhere ; nor have they any tradition whatever connected with the Sermon on the Mount. This circumstance leads naturally to the conclusion, that the whole matter is of Latin origin ; probably one of the scions of foreign growth, grafted by the crusaders upon the already luxuriant stock of earlier Greek tradition. The historical notices extant confirm the same view. The mountain is first mentioned, as the scene of our Lord's discourse, by Brocardus about A. D. 1283 ; and also as the spot where he fed the five thousand with the five loaves ;³ though the place of this latter miracle was earlier

¹ Dr Clarke's account of this prospect is excessively overcharged and exaggerated. He does not scruple to say, that here "a view was presented, which for its grandeur, independently of the interest excited by the different objects contained in it, has no parallel in the Holy Land !" p. 453. 4to. He ventures to make this sweeping assertion, without having himself been either upon Tabor, or Carmel, or Gerizim, or the hill above Nazareth, or the tower of Ramleh, or any other important point of view in all Palestine. Pococke's account is more modest, but exhibits a strange jumble of names ; Vol. II. i. p. 67.

² Other places in sight from Tell Hattin, bore as follows : Safed N. 11° E. Ard el-Hamma S. S. E. Bessūm S. 15° E. Dāmeh S. 5° E. Kefr Sabt S. 21° W. Lûbieh S. 57° W. Wely by Nazareth S. 71°

W. Seffûrieh S. 80° W. el-Mûghâr N. 17° W. el-Mansûrah N. 13° W.—These last two villages are in the district esh-Shaghûr, lying between those of 'Akka and Safed. Lord Belmore and his party left the road between Nazareth and Tiberias a little west of Lûbieh, and travelled directly to Jubb Yûsuf (east of Safed), passing west of Hattin. About four hours from Lûbieh, they came in sight of el-Mûghâr on the side of a high hill on the left. Lower down the hill is a copious fountain, and near by it the village el-Mansûrah. Richardson's Travels II. p. 442.

³ Brocardus c. 4. p. 173. So too Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 122. Anselmi Descr. Terr. S. p. 784. B. de Salignaco Tom. IX. c. 8. Cotovic. p. 357. Adrichom. p. 111. Quaresminus II. p. 856.

shown, as it is also now, on the broad ridge about an hour south-east of the mount, towards Tiberias.¹ But all earlier writers, both Latin and Greek, although they speak of the miracle of the five loaves, are wholly silent as to the Sermon on the Mount.² Hence, while the concurrence of the two churches, in their tradition as to the place of the former miracle, certainly cannot establish its identity, inasmuch as the earliest trace does not reach back beyond the fourth century; still more is the total silence of the Greek church as to the Sermon on the Mount, fatal to the Latin hypothesis, which connects that discourse with the mountain in question.

On the high uneven plain, extending southwards between the Tell or Kûrûn Hattin and el-Lûbieh, took place on the fifth of July, A. D. 1187, the celebrated and fatal battle of Hattin.³ This was the great and decisive conflict of the crusades; between the flower of the Christian strength and chivalry on the one side, with the sovereign at their head; and on the other, the eager gathering of the Muhammedan might, led on by the Sultan Saladin in person. It resulted in the almost total annihilation of the Christian host; and was followed by the immediate subjugation of nearly all Palestine, including Jerusalem, to the Muslim yoke. The power of the Franks in the Holy Land was thus broken; and although the monarchs and princes of Europe undertook expeditions thither for more than seventy years after this event, yet the Christians were never able to regain in Palestine the footing, which they had held before this memorable catastrophe.

The usurpation of the crown of Jerusalem in August of the preceding year, by the weak-minded Guy of Lusignan, had embittered against him a powerful rival, Count Raymond of Tripolis, and many other barons; and Raymond, who was now lord also of Tiberias and Galilee, had even entered into negotiations with Saladin and received from him aid.⁴ Yet a truce had been con-

¹ Here are four or five large blocks of black stone, called by the Arabs Hejâr en-Nûsâra, 'Stones of the Christians,' and by the Latins 'Mensa Christi,' which an early tradition marks as the site of the miracle of the five thousand. Quaresmius II. p. 856. Burckhardt p. 336. Berggren Reise II. p. 256. See the next Note.—It is hardly necessary to remark, that the tradition attached to this spot can only be legendary; since the feeding of the five thousand took place on the east side of the lake; and probably also that of the four thousand.

² So among Latin writers: Adamnanus iii. 240–242

A. D. 697; 2. 24. Sæwulf A. D. 1103, p. 271. Greek writers: Phocas in 1185, § 11. Epiphanius Hagiopol. in 13th cent. in L. Allatii Symmiktæ, Col. Agr. 1653. p. 62.—Jerome may also not improbably allude to the same spot; Ep. 44, ad Marcell. T. IV. ii. p. 552. ed. Mart.

³ The battle occurred on Saturday; which Wilken reckons as the 5th of July, while Reinaud counts it as the 4th. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 282. Reinaud Extr. p. 194.

⁴ See generally Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 250–258, and the authorities there cited.

cluded with the Sultan, and the Christians now hoped for repose ; when suddenly, the compact was broken by the reckless Raynald of Chatillon, then lord of Kerak, who faithlessly fell upon and plundered a caravan of merchants, passing from Damascus to Arabia. He not only laid his prisoners in chains ; but refused to deliver up both them and the booty, when demanded by Saladin according to the terms of the truce. The enraged Sultan swore a solemn oath, to put Raynald to death with his own hand, should he ever fall into his power. The Christians were soon alarmed by the dire intelligence of immense preparations on the part of Saladin, to avenge their breach of faith. Hosts of well-appointed warriors were rapidly assembled at Damascus, not only from the Syrian provinces, but also from Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Arabia.¹

This dreadful note of preparation induced the Christian princes to lay aside their strife ; and after an apparent reconciliation, they formed a rendezvous and encampment at the fountain of Seffûrieh.² Here was assembled the most stately host, which had ever fought against the Saracens in the Holy Land. The Hospitalers and Templars came with many troops from their various castles ; Count Raymond with his forces appeared from Tiberias and Tripolis ; and also Raynald with a train of knights from the fortresses of Kerak and Shôbek. Other barons with their knights and followers flocked to the camp from Neapolis, Cæsarea, Sidon, and Antioch ; the king too was present with a host of knights and hired troops. The army thus collected amounted to two thousand knights and eight thousand foot soldiers ; besides large bodies of light-armed troops or archers. The holy cross also was brought from Jerusalem into the camp, by the bishops of Ptolemais and Lydda.³

For five weeks the Christian army waited at the fountain of Seffûrieh ; when at length the hosts of Saladin broke in like a flood upon the land. They advanced by the northern end of the lake of Tiberias. Light detachments preceded the main army ; these penetrated to the neighbourhood of Nazareth, and also to Jezreel and Mount Gilboa, laying waste the land with fire and sword, and desolating Mount Tabor. The Sultan encamped upon the heights north of Tiberias, in the hope of being attacked by the Christian army. They did not appear ; and he therefore sent his light troops to take possession of Tiberias. They easily became masters of the city ; and the wife of Count Raymond with her children retired to the castle.⁴

¹ Wilken *ibid.* p. 264 sq.—The Arabian historian 'Emâr ed-Din gives a different account of the occasion of Saladin's oath against Raynald ; *Reinaud Extraits* p. 198. n.

² Wilken *ibid.* p. 265, 272, 273. See above, p. 345.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 274, 275,

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 275, 276.

Intelligence of this event reached the Christian camp on the third of July ; and the king immediately called a council of war to decide upon the measures to be pursued. The general voice at first was, to march in close array for the deliverance of Tiberias ; it being well understood, that this movement would involve a general battle with the Saracenic army. Count Raymond, although of all others personally the most interested, gave different advice. Experience had taught him, that the Fabian policy was most successful against Saladin ; and he therefore counselled to avoid a battle, to fortify the camp, and to await the attack of the Sultan at Seffürieh. Here they had water and other resources in abundance, and might hope for success ; if they abandoned this position and marched towards Tiberias, they exposed themselves at once to the constant attacks of the Saracenic army, in a region without water, under the fierce summer heat ; where, exhausted and harassed on every side, their retreat might easily be cut off. This advice was so judicious, and rested on grounds so strong, that it was unanimously approved by the king and barons ; with the single exception of the rash and insolent Grand Master of the Templars. The council broke up at midnight.¹

The barons had scarcely laid themselves down to rest, when the trumpets sounded ; and heralds proclaimed, throughout the camp, the orders of the king, that all should arm immediately. After the council broke up, the Grand Master of the Templars had gone to the king, and overwhelmed him with reproaches, for listening to what he called the traitorous advice of the Count of Tripolis ; conjuring him not to suffer such a stain of cowardice to rest upon the Christian name. The fickle-minded sovereign yielded to his impetuosity ; and gave orders to arm. The barons now repaired to his tent to warn him against so fatal a step ; but he was putting on his armour, and gave them no audience. They followed his example with indignation ; the army was drawn up, and the march began towards Tiberias without delay.²

This movement of the Christian army fell in completely with the ardent wishes and plans of Saladin ; who was confident of victory, could he but draw the Franks from their position, and bring on a general battle. On receiving the intelligence from his scouts, he immediately despatched his light troops to harass the Christians upon the march ; and posted his main army, as it would seem, along the high ground above the lake, between Tiberias and Tell Hattin. In the afternoon of the same day (Friday), the Christian army reached the open ground around el-Lübieh, where the most violent onset

¹ Wilken *ibid.* pp. 277, 278.

iii. 243-245.

² Wilken *ibid.* pp. 278, 279.

of this day took place, on the part of the light troops.¹ But the Frank warriors were already so exhausted by the burning heat of the day, coupled with tormenting thirst and want of water, as well as by the continual attacks of the enemy, that they were scarcely able longer to bear up against the assaults. Fear and dismay spread throughout their ranks, and various omens of direful import were recognised. Instead of pressing on to attack at once the main army of Saladin, and at least break through to the lake of Tiberias, so as to obtain a supply of water, the feeble Guy gave orders to encamp on the high rocky plain, without water, in sight of the enemy; and thus defer the conflict till the following morning. This fatal step is said to have been counselled by Count Raymond; from treachery, as some aver; and to it the Franks with one voice ascribe the disasters of the following day.²

The night was dreadful. The Christians, already tormented with thirst, stood in continual fear of a night attack. The Saracens approached close to their camp, and set on fire the dry shrubs and herbage round about; the heat and smoke of which served to increase still more the distress of the Franks. The latter passed the whole night under arms, anxiously waiting for the dawn. But the morning brought them no consolation. They saw themselves upon this rocky plain, surrounded by the hostile hosts of Saladin; from whom there was now no escape except in the chances of battle. How different the auspices under which the two armies entered upon the conflict! On the side of the Christians, a feeble leader, divisions, despondency, exhaustion from thirst and watching, and the feeling that they were forsaken of God; on the other side, Saladin, the most renowned of all the champions of Islâm, and his hosts flushed with confidence, and eager to rush upon the foe. The result could hardly be doubtful for a moment.

This is not the place to enter upon the details of the battle; nor do they seem indeed to be preserved with enough of exactness, to enable us to trace them fully. Suffice it to say, that wherever the Christian warriors pressed forward in solid masses, there the Saracens gave way at once; yet hovered everywhere around, and harassed the Franks by continual onsets upon their more exposed parts. It was the policy of Saladin, to let the Christians weary themselves out by a series of fruitless charges; well knowing, that heat and thirst would not fail to do their work, and prepare for him an easy prey. The Hospitalers and

¹ So Bohaeddin expressly, *Vita Sal.* p. 68. Frank writers mention somewhere here a place called Marescallia, half way between Seffûrieh and Tiberias, of which

no other trace seems to remain; Wilken *ibid.* p. 280.

² Wilken *ibid.* pp. 280-282. Reinaud *Extraits* pp. 191, 192.

Templars, and also the archers, fought with their wonted valour, so long as their strength held out. The foot soldiers at length, exhausted and pining with thirst, broke their ranks; some threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion; another party fled and were pursued and cut to pieces; while the great body withdrew in confusion to the summit of Tell Hattin. Hence they were summoned by the king, to return to the combat and support the knights in protecting the holy cross; but to this order they gave no heed.

The king then directed the conflict to cease, and the knights to encamp around the cross. This they attempted in great disorder; but the Saracens now pressed upon them, and let fly showers of arrows; by one of which the bishop of Ptolemais, who bore the cross, was slain. In this extremity, Guy gave command to renew the fight; but it was too late. Surrounded by the foe, the knights of Count Raymond, when ordered to advance, raised the cry of "Sauve qui peut!" and put their horses to full speed over the bodies of their fallen brethren. The Count himself, and several other chiefs, followed their example; and rushing through the ranks of the enemy, which opened to let them pass, escaped by a shameful flight in the direction of Tyre. All now was lost. The king withdrew to the height of Tell Hattin, and with his brave followers drove back the Saracens as they attempted to ascend. Three times did the latter storm the height; at length they got possession of it; and the Christians were either made prisoners, or driven headlong down the steep precipice on the northern side. Among those who surrendered were king Guy himself, the Grand Master of the Templars, Raynald of Chatillon, Honfroy of Toron, and the bishop of Lydda, the last bearer of the holy cross. The cross itself had already fallen into the hands of the enemy.¹

Such was the terrific overthrow of the Christian army and the Christian power. After the conflict had ceased for want of victims, the captive princes were led before the Sultan, in the antechamber of his pavilion, as yet hardly pitched. Saladin received them, as became a brave and noble warrior, with mildness and respect. On Raynald alone his eye fell fiercely; for he remembered his oath against him. He ordered sherbet cooled

¹ Reinaud *Extraits* pp. 194-196. Wilken *ibid.* pp. 282-288. The capture of the cross by the Saracens is asserted by Rad. Coggeshale, p. 557; and also by Gaufr. Vinisauf, l. 5. Wilken, writing in A. D. 1819, remarks, that no Arabian writer then known mentions the circumstance; and he relates from Hugo Plagon the story of a Templar, who professed to have buried the cross on the field of bat-

tle, in order to preserve it from the infidels; though he was not able afterwards to find it again; Wilken *ibid.* p. 288. n. But in the "Extraits" of Reinaud, first published in 1822, and again in 1829, the circumstances of the capture of the cross are narrated by 'Emâd ed-Din, as having happened before the last conflict upon Tell Hattin; p. 195. No writer, however, explains what became of it afterwards.

with ice to be presented to the king of Jerusalem ; and when the latter passed it to Raynald, Saladin bade the interpreter declare to the king : "Thou givest him drink, not I ;" in allusion to the well known Arab custom, that whoever gives food or drink to another, is bound to protect him at all hazards. The prisoners were then removed ; and all except Raynald having been refreshed with food, they were reconducted to the presence of Saladin in his tent. The Sultan had determined on his course. Addressing himself to Raynald with looks of wrath, he reminded him of his cruelty and insolence against the Muhammedans and their religion, and invited him now to embrace the doctrines of the prophet. As Raynald declared that he would live and die only in the Christian faith, Saladin rose from his seat, drew his scimeter, and with a single blow struck through the shoulder of the prisoner. The attendants rushed upon him and despatched him. The terrified king and other prisoners expected to share the same fate ; but Saladin reassured them, declaring the massacre of Raynald to be only the punishment due to his atrocities.—All the captive knights, both of the Hospital and of the Temple, were beheaded without mercy and in cold blood, to the number of two hundred. The king and captive princes were transferred to Damascus.¹

Saladin was not slow to profit by his victory. The fortresses of the Christians throughout the country, had been weakened by drawing off their garrisons to the camp at Seffürieh ; and the stately host which there assembled, had now perished, or been made prisoners at Hattin. The castle of Tiberias surrendered the next day ; two days afterwards the Sultan marched against 'Akka, to which he laid siege ; parties of troops spread themselves through the land in various directions, subduing the smaller places ; and before the end of September, 'Akka, Cæsarea, Yâfa, Askelon, and all the cities of the northern coast, except Tyre, as far as to Beirût, were in the hands of the conqueror. The grand catastrophe was completed ; and the power of the Christians in Palestine fully broken, by the capitulation of the Holy City ; which took place on the third day of October, three months after the battle of Hattin.²

¹ This account of Raynald's death is drawn chiefly from Bohaeddin, pp. 70, 71. Comp. Wilken ib. p. 289. Reinaud *Extraits* p. 198.—The Frank writers who give the details of the battle of Hattin are: Bernardus Thesaur. in Muratori *Scriptores Rer. Ital.* Tom. VII. c. 152 sq. Radulph Coggeshale in Martene et Durand *Tom. V.* p. 553 sq. Hugo Plagon, *ibid.* p. 600

Vol. II. —32*

sq.—Arabian cotemporary writers are: Bohaeddin the secretary and friend of Saladin, *Vit. Sal.* p. 67 sq. Ibn el-Athîr in Reinaud *Extraits* pp. 190–199. 'Emâd ed-Din, *ibid.* The latter writer, and perhaps also the two others, were present during the battle.

² Wilken *ib.* pp. 291–311.

We descended from Tell Hattin, the scene of the last struggle in the memorable conflict above described ;¹ and at 12.25 bent our course westwards to regain the road we had left. As however this lay at some distance, we preferred to turn down a cattle-track nearer at hand, though still circuitous ; a steep and stony path, through a narrow and very rugged side Wady. This brought us down at 12.50 to a fine fountain, bursting out just under the western end of the Tell, still in the ravine. A few paces before coming to the fountain, are the remains of a large stone building. All the cattle of the village seemed collected around the water ; so that at first we could hardly approach it.

The village of Hattin lies close at hand, at the mouth of the ravine, which here opens out northwards into the lower plain. It is an ordinary village of no great size ; the houses are of stone, meanly built. The plain is narrow, hardly twenty minutes in breadth, running from N. W. to S. E., and forming the middle step of descent from the high plain south of Tell Hattin, to that of Mejdél and the lake itself. On the southwest it is skirted by the ridge or offset, of which the long Tell forms a part ; the latter rising on this side nearly or quite four hundred feet.² On the northeast it is bordered by what, as here seen, is a slight swelling ridge, but on the other side descends steeply some three hundred feet to the plain of Mejdél and the lake.

Through this plain, called Sahil Hattin, passes down the bed of a mountain torrent, now dry, which has its rise in the hills east of 'Arrábeh and Deir Hanna. At a point about forty minutes N. 75° E. from the village of Hattin, this torrent breaks down abruptly through the ridge to the plain of Mejdél, by a steep, narrow valley, called Wady el-Hamâm. In the precipitous sides, are the singular ruins and caverns of the castle Kûl'at Ibn Ma'ân, of which I shall speak further on. Just at the upper end of this gap, on the south side, are the ruins of what appears to have been an ancient town. It bears N. 80° E. from Hattin, about three quarters of an hour distant ; and the people said, that among the ruins were columns and the remains of churches. It is called Irbid, and is unquestionably the spot, which Pococke describes under the name of "Baitsida ;" where were columns and the ruins of a large church, with a sculptured door-case of white marble.³

That traveller held it to be the Bethsaida of Galilee ; and

¹ So Ibn el-Athîr expressly. Reinaud Extr. pp. 195, 196.

² See above, p. 370

³ Pococke Vol. II. i. p. 68.—Irby and Mangles write the name "Erbed ;" and iii. 249-251

say there are here "a few Roman ruins ;" p. 299. [91.]—See an account of our visit in 1852, in Vol. III. Sect. VIII, under May 18th.

granting his report of the name to be correct, there would be little room for doubt in the case. But here, as in many other instances, I must question the accuracy of Pococke's information. We inquired of old and young; but no one knew of any other ruins in the vicinity, nor of any other name than Irbid. We repeated particularly the names of Bethsaida and Choraazin; but no one had ever heard them. And afterwards, we made similar inquiries at Tiberias and all along the lake, but with no better success. I must therefore believe that Pococke was mistaken in the name; or heard it perhaps from the monks, or from Arabs in some way connected with them; or not impossibly inquired of his Arab guide, if that were not Bethsaida, and received an affirmative reply.¹ That this name is not now known among the common people, is very certain; and there is also good reason to suppose, that this place is no other than the ancient Arbela of Josephus; the form Irbid being probably a corruption for Irbil. I shall recur to this topic again when I come to speak further of the Kul'at Ibn Ma'an; with which these ruins are said to be connected.

We left Hattin at 1 o'clock for Tiberias, keeping near the foot of the Tell on a general course about S. E. by E. along the plain. In this direction were numerous threshing-floors belonging to the village; and the people were yet engaged in gathering the harvest on the plain. As we passed on, the opening of Wady el-Hamam and the site of Irbid lay about twenty minutes distant on our left; but the ruins are so nearly levelled to the ground, that we could not distinctly make them out, even at this short distance. Not far beyond is a low water-shed in the plain, dividing it into two basins; that which we had passed is drained by the Wady el-Hamam; while the waters of that to which we now came, run off through another small Wady, which in like manner breaks down through to the lake, a little more than half an hour north of Tiberias.

Across this latter basin ran a small dry water-course, coming down from the higher plain on our right, from near the reputed place of the miracle of the five loaves and five thousand. Down the same Wady passes the main Damascus road, as it comes from Mount Tabor; leaving Tiberias at some distance on the right. We kept on our course, in the direction of Tiberias, towards the top of the intervening ridge, to which the plain here runs up by a gradual ascent. As we rode along, many flocks of the Semermer or locust bird flew up around us; and

¹ See the remarks on p. 112 of Vol. I. its name was Khan "Bât Szaida;" Zach's
In the same way, perhaps, Seetzen, at the Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 348. Reisen I. p.
well known Khan Minyeh, was told that 344, 345.

we could perceive, that almost every bird had a locust in its mouth. They are a great blessing to the country.

At 2½ o'clock we reached the brow of the height above Tiberias, where a view of nearly the whole lake opened at once upon us. It was a moment of no little interest; for who can look without interest upon that lake, on whose shores the Saviour lived so long, and where he performed so many of his mighty works? Yet to me, I must confess, so long as we continued around the lake, the attraction lay more in these associations, than in the scenery itself. The lake presents indeed a beautiful sheet of limpid water, in a deep depressed basin; from which the shores rise in general steeply and continuously all around, except where a ravine, or sometimes a deep Wady, occasionally interrupts them. The hills are rounded and tame, with little of the picturesque in their form; they are decked by no shrubs nor forests; and even the verdure of the grass and herbage, which earlier in the season might give them a pleasing aspect, was already gone; they were now only naked and dreary. Whoever looks here for the magnificence of the Swiss lakes, or the softer beauty of those of England and the United States, will be disappointed. My expectations had not been of that kind; yet from the romantic character of the scenery around the Dead Sea, and in other parts of Palestine, I certainly had anticipated something more striking than we found around the lake of Tiberias.¹ One interesting object greeted our eyes, a little boat with a white sail gliding over the waters; the only one, as we afterwards found, upon all the lake.

We descended the slope obliquely from the northwest towards Tiberias. Here we had our first sight of the terrors of an earthquake, in the prostrate walls of the town, now presenting little more than heaps of ruins. At 3 o'clock we were opposite the gate upon the west; and keeping along between the wall and the numerous threshing-floors still in operation, we pitched our tent ten minutes later, on the shore of the lake south of the city.

Tiberias, in Arabic Tūbariyeh, lies directly upon the shore, at a point where the heights retire a little, leaving a narrow strip, not exactly of plain, but of undulating land, nearly two miles in length along the lake. Back of this the mountain ridge rises steeply. The town is situated near the northern end of this tract, in the form of a narrow parallelogram, about half a mile long; surrounded towards the land by a thick wall, once

¹ "The lake of Tiberias is a fine sheet of water, but the land about it has no striking features, and the scenery is altogether devoid of character." Irby and Mangles, p. 294. [89.]

not far from twenty feet high, with towers at regular intervals. Towards the sea, the city is open. The castle is an irregular mass of building at the northwest corner. The walls of the town, as we have seen, were thrown down by the earthquake of Jan. 1, 1837; and not a finger had as yet been raised to build them up. In some parts they were still standing, though with breaches; but from every quarter, footpaths led over the ruins into the city. The castle also suffered greatly. Very many of the houses were destroyed; indeed few remained without injury. Several of the minarets were thrown down; but a slender one of wood had escaped. We entered the town directly from our tent, over the prostrate wall, and made our way through the streets in the midst of the sad desolation. Many of the houses had already been rebuilt in a hasty and temporary manner. The whole town made upon us the impression, of being the most mean and miserable place we had yet visited; a picture of disgusting filth and frightful wretchedness.

The Jews occupy a quarter in the middle of the town, adjacent to the lake; this was formerly surrounded by a wall with a single gate, which was closed every night. We found many Jews in the streets; but although I addressed several of them in German, I could get only a few words of reply, enough to make out that they were chiefly from Russian Poland, and could not speak German. The men were poor, haggard, and filthy; the shadows of those I had so often seen in the fairs of Leipsic. The Jewish females, of whom also we saw many, looked much better, and were neatly dressed; many of them in white. Tiberias and Safed are the two holy cities of the modern Jews in ancient Galilee; like Jerusalem and Hebron in Judea. This place retains something of its former renown for Hebrew learning; and before the earthquake there were here two Jewish schools.¹

Upon this people, it was said, fell here in Tiberias the chief weight of the earthquake; and a large portion of the hundreds who then perished, were Jews.² A Muhammedan, with whom my companion fell into conversation at the threshing-floors, related, that he and four others were returning down the mountain west of the city in the afternoon, when the earthquake occurred. All at once the earth opened and closed again, and two of his companions disappeared. He ran home affrighted;

¹ Burckhardt p. 326. Elliott's Travels II. p. 346 — Steph. Schulz in 1754 found here twenty youths studying the Talmud; Leitungen, etc. Th. V. p. 200 sq.

² See also Schubert's Reise III. p. 234. According to the report of Mr Thomson, who visited Safed and Tiberias not three

weeks after the earthquake, bringing alms and aid to the sufferers from Beirût, there probably perished at Tiberias about seven hundred persons, out of a population of twenty-five hundred. Miss. Herald, Nov. 1837. p. 438.

and found that his wife, mother, and two others in the family, had perished. On digging next day where his two companions had disappeared, they were found dead in a standing posture.¹

The earthquake gave of course a terrible blow to the prosperity of the town. All the statistics we could now obtain, were to the following import. Before the earthquake the taxable Muslims were numbered at two hundred; of whom more than one hundred had perished, or been impressed as soldiers. The Christians are all Greek Catholics; and number from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men; while the men among the Jews were reckoned between one hundred and fifty and two hundred. This gives scarcely a population of two thousand souls.² The fullest account of Tiberias in modern times, and particularly of the Jews, is by Burckhardt.³

Close on the shore, in the northern part of the town, is the church dedicated to St. Peter; a long narrow vaulted building, rude and without taste, which has sometimes been compared not inaptly to a boat turned upside down. It is in fact merely a long vault with a pointed arch, without windows; having at its west end a very small court. This court and church have been the usual resting place of Frank travellers in Tiberias; and have in this way become somewhat notorious, for the swarms of fleas by which they, as well as all the houses of the town, are infested.⁴ The church belongs to the Latin convent of Nazareth; the monks visit it annually on St. Peter's day and celebrate mass; at other times it is lent to the Greek Catholics of Tiberias.⁵ Latin monastic tradition places the edifice on the spot, where the miraculous draught of fishes took place after our Lord's resurrection, and where he gave his last charge to Peter.⁶ Almost as a matter of course, too, the building of the church is

¹ In A. D. 1759, Oct. 30th, Tiberias was in like manner laid waste by a similar earthquake. Mariti, who visited it soon after, describes it as utterly in ruins; and says that several buildings were swallowed up; Voyages II. p. 165, 166. Neuw. 1791. According to Volney, the shocks of the same earthquake continued for three months to disquiet the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon; and 20,000 persons were reported to have perished in the valley of el-Bukâ'a; Voyage I. p. 276, Paris 1787. Comp. Bachiene Th II. Bd. IV. p. 134.—I have not been able to find any more full account of this earthquake; which seems to have been not less terrific than that of 1837.

² In 1836 there are said to have been three hundred families of Jews in Tiberias; Elliott's Travels II. p. 346. Burckhardt in 1812 gives the population at 4000 souls,

iii. 255-257

of whom one fourth part were Jews; p. 822. In 1815 the number of houses is given by Turner, on the authority of a respectable Jew, at 400 Turkish, 100 Jewish, and 50 Christian; Tour etc. II. p. 140. Berggren in 1822, also on Jewish authority, gives the number of souls at over 4000, of whom only some 300 were said to be Jews. Reise II. p. 244.

³ Travels pp. 320-328. See also Scholz p. 248.

⁴ Hasselquist p. 181. Burckhardt p. 320. Turner p. 140, 142. Irby and Mangles pp. 294, 295. [89, 90.] Monro I. pp. 309, 313, 316. The natives are said to have here the current saying: "The king of the fleas has his court at Tübariyeh;" Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land p. 478. 4to. Irby and Mangles l. c. Turner l. c.

⁵ Burckh. p. 322. Turner l. c.

⁶ John c. 21.

ascribed to Helena, or at least to the fourth century; and even Dr Clarke chimes in with this absurdity.¹ The pointed arch necessarily limits its antiquity to the time of the crusades, at the earliest; and Irby and Mangles further noticed, "that one of the stones of the building had part of an inverted Arabic inscription on it," which also goes to contradict the legend.² We observed no other traces of antiquity within the walls.³

Passing out of the city again to our tent, we kept on southwards along the lake, to visit the celebrated warm baths. On the way are many traces of ruins, evidently belonging to the ancient city, and showing that it was situated here; or, at least, extended much further than the modern town in this direction. They consist mostly of foundations, with traces of walls, heaps of stones, and a thick wall for some distance along the sea. Near the middle lie several scattered columns of gray granite, twelve or fifteen feet long; and at some distance, a single solitary column is still standing.⁴ Among the threshing-floors on the west of the town, were also two blocks of a column of polished red Syenite granite, about three feet in diameter; they were said to have been carried thither from these ruins. These traces of ancient remains extend nearly to the baths.⁵

The baths are on a part of the shore a little elevated above the lake, at the southern end of the strip of land above described, and about thirty-five minutes from the city. There is an old bathing house, now in decay, though baths for the common people are still kept up in it.⁶ A new building has been erected a few rods further north by Ibrahim Pasha; it was commenced in 1833, and passes here, and with reason, for a splendid edifice. The principal or public bath occupies the centre of the building, consisting of a large circular apartment, with a marble pavement all around the circular reservoir in the middle, to which several steps lead down. The roof is supported by columns. There are

¹ Nicephorus Callistus in the 14th century places here one of Helena's reputed churches; 8. 30. See above, Vol. I. p. 375. Clarke's Travels etc. pp. 465, 466, 4to. See the historical notices of Tiberias further on.

² Travels p. 295. [89.]

³ According to Burckhardt, "in the street, not far from the church, is a large stone, formerly the architrave of some building; upon which are sculptured in bas-relief two lions seizing two sheep." Travels p. 322.

⁴ Burckhardt speaks also of columns of gray granite lying here in the lake; and of others opposite the town, likewise in the water; pp. 321, 328.

⁵ The same ruins have been often men-

tioned; e. g. by Quaresmus II. p. 864. Van Egmond and Heyman II. p. 33. Burckhardt p. 328. Burckhardt says also, that there are other remains on the north of the town, on a hill close to the lake, which commands the town and seems to have been once fortified; p. 329. Irby and Mangles, p. 293. [89.] But these are probably not older than the eighteenth century; see further on, p. 394.

⁶ This is the building described by Burckhardt; p. 339. According to Seetzen it was erected by Jezzir Pasha; Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 349. Reisen I. p. 348. In Hasselquist's day there was only a miserable house in ruins; p. 557. Quaresmus speaks only of a hut (tugurium) with two rooms; II. p. 866.

iii. 257, 258

several doors, and between them niches or recesses in the wall, for the use of the bathers. We passed through this apartment, and found the heat and steam so very oppressive, that I was glad to regain the open air. In the same building are private rooms for wealthier guests; furnished in an uncommonly good oriental style. In the one we entered, was a large and beautiful bath of white marble. Just above the old building is the round reservoir, arched over; in which the water from the springs is first collected, and suffered to cool to the proper temperature for the use of the new baths. There are no traces of antiquity visible around the baths.¹

According to the bath-keeper, there are four springs; one flowing out under the old building, and three others at intervals of a few paces further south.² A covered channel now runs along before them all, collecting the water and conducting it to the reservoir; so that the comparatively small quantity which still flows in their former channels down to the sea, appears merely as if oozing out of the ground, rather than as coming from large springs. The more southern were said to be the largest. The water, as it issues from the ground, is too hot to bear the hand in it; a pocket thermometer held for some time in the water, and then examined in the air, stood at 140° F. Our friend Mr Hebard, a short time before, had carefully examined his thermometer while still in the water, and found it standing at 144° F.³ The taste is excessively salt and bitter, like heated sea water; there is also a strong smell of sulphur, but no taste of it. The water deposits a sediment as it runs down to the sea, which differs in colour below the different springs, being in one white, in another greenish, in a third reddish yellow, etc. I am not aware that the water has ever been carefully analyzed.⁴ These baths are regarded as efficacious in rheumatic complaints, and in cases of debility; and are visited, principally in July, by people from all parts of Syria.

¹ Irby and Mangles speak of a wall beyond the springs, running from the lake to the mountain's side; they regard it as the fortification of Vespasian's camp which is not improbable; p. 294. [89.] See *Joa. B. J.* 3. 10. 1; comp. 4. 1. 8.

² The mountain has here a dark basaltic appearance. Hasselquist describes the rocks under which the springs flow out, as composed of a black and somewhat brittle sulphureous stone, which he seems to regard as the stink-stone of the Dead Sea; p. 556. See above, Vol. I. p. 512.

³ At the time of the earthquake, Jan. 1, 1837, and for some days afterwards, the quantity of water flowing from the springs is said to have been immensely increased; it was also thought to have been hotter

than at ordinary times. See Mr Thomson's report, *Miss. Herald* Nov. 1837, p. 438.

⁴ Monro speaks of an analysis made for him by Dr Turner, the result of which is given very unsatisfactorily as follows: "The deposit consists chiefly of carbonate of lime, with a very small proportion of muriatic salts, differing in no respect from that of the Dead Sea;" *Summer Ramble* I. p. 312. Pococke brought home a bottle of these waters, and says: "It was found, that they had in them a considerable quantity of gross fixed vitriol, some alum, and a mineral salt;" Vol. II. i. p. 69. See also Hasselquist *Reise* p. 556. Burckhardt p. 329.

These warm fountains are mentioned by Pliny, and also not unfrequently by Josephus and in the Talmud.¹ According to Josephus, they were not far from Tiberias, and were called Ammaus, signifying 'warm baths;' so that this name would seem to be very probably merely the Greek form of the Hebrew *Hammath*, which has the same signification, and was the name of a town belonging to the tribe of Naphtali.² The Talmud also everywhere speaks of these baths as the ancient Hammath; and although this position would perhaps fall more naturally within the limits of Zebulun, yet the place might still have been assigned to another tribe, as was done in so many other instances.³ The present Arabic word for warm baths, is in like manner the kindred form Hammâm.—Vespasian for a time had a fortified camp near these springs.⁴ I find no further direct mention of them, except in the Rabbinical writings already referred to, until the time of the crusades; when Benjamin of Tudela describes them. They are rarely spoken of by subsequent travellers before the seventeenth century.⁵

We returned from the baths; and as we sat at evening in the door of our tent, looking out over the placid surface of the lake, its aspect was too inviting not to allure us to take a bath in its limpid waters. The clear and gravelly bottom shelves down in this part very gradually, and is strewn with many pebbles. In or after the rainy season, when the torrents from the neighbouring hills and the more northern mountains, stream into the lake, the water rises to a higher level, and overflows the court-yards of the houses along its shore in Tiberias.⁶ The lake furnishes the only supply of water for the inhabitants; it is sparkling and pleasant to the taste; or at least it was so to us, after drinking so long of water carried in our leathern bottles. Indeed, I should not have hesitated to have joined Josephus and Quaresmius in pronouncing it sweet and most potable,⁷ had not some of our party discerned in it a slight brackish taste; which, considering the very copious brackish fountains that flow into it, is not improbable.⁸ Along the shore, Schubert picked up shells

¹ Plin. H. N. 5. 15, "Ab occidente Tiberiade, aquis calidis salubri." Joseph. Ant. 18. 2. 3. B. J. 2. 21. 6. ib. 4. 1. 3. Vit § 16. For the Talmudic passages, see Lightfoot Op. II. pp. 224, 225. Buxtorf Tiberias p. 18.

² Joseph. Ἀμμαοῦς Ant. 18. 2. 3. B. J. 4. 1. 3. Heb. חַמַּת *Hammath*, Josh. 19, 35.

³ Lightfoot l. c. Reland Palæst. p. 161, 1036.

⁴ Joseph. B. J. 3. 10. 1; comp. 4. 1. 3. See above, p. 384. n. 1.

⁵ E. g. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. p. 84. B. de Vol. II.—33

Salignaco Tom. IX. c. 9. Cotovic. p. 359. Quaresmius II. p. 866, etc. etc.

⁶ Burckhardt p. 332. Turner's Tour II. p. 142. See the remarks on the rise of the Jordan, above, Vol. I. pp. 541, 542.

⁷ Joseph. B. J. 3. 10. 7, λίμνη.... γλυκεῖδ τε ὕμῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ποτιμαστόγη. Quaresmius II. p. 862, "Non oenoses, paludosæ, vel amara, sed clara, dulces, potabiles, et fecundæ."

⁸ Schubert limits the brackish taste of the water to the shallow places along the shore; III. pp. 237, 238.

of the same species of fresh-water snails, which he had before found on the shore of the Dead Sea near the mouth of the Jordan.¹

The lake is full of fish of various kinds ; and Hasselquist was the first in modern times, to note the remarkable circumstance, that some of the same species of fish are met with here, as in the Nile, viz. *Silurus* and *Mugil* (chub), and likewise another which he calls *Sparus Galilaus*, a species of bream.* We had no difficulty in procuring an abundant supply for our evening and morning meal ; and found them delicate and well flavoured. The fishing is carried on only from the shore ; it is usually farmed out by the government ; but we did not learn on what terms it was at present held.³ The little boat which we had seen with its white sail, as we descended to the city, was now lying on the eastern shore five or six miles distant ; it had gone thither in order to fetch wood ; and we pleased ourselves with the idea of taking a sail in it upon the lake the next day. Schubert saw here no boat the preceding year ; though my companion found one, probably the same, in 1834 and again in 1835.⁴

The view of the lake from Tiberias embraces its whole extent, except the southwest extremity. The entrance of the Jordan from the north was distinctly visible, bearing N. E. by N. with a plain extending from it eastwards. Further west, Safed was also seen, N. 6° W. Upon the eastern shore, the mountain, or rather the wall of high table land, rises with more boldness than on the western side, and two deep ravines are seen breaking down through to the lake. That towards the north is the Wady Semak of Seetzen and Burckhardt ; the more southern one is Wady Fik, bearing E. by N. and having its head near the town of the same name.⁵ The view of the southern end of the lake is cut off by a high promontory of the western mountain, which projects considerably, not far beyond the hot springs ; we could distinguish only the southeast corner of the sea, bearing about S. S. E. We would gladly have followed the shore southwards to the

¹ Schubert III. pp. 237, 238.

² Hasselq. Reise pp. 181, 389, 412 sq. 428 sq. Josephus speaks also of kinds of fishes peculiar to this lake, B. J. 3. 10. 7.

³ When Burckhardt was here in 1812, the fishery of the lake was rented at 700 piastres a year ; Trav. p. 332.

⁴ Schubert Reise III. p. 237. Pococke made an excursion upon the lake in a boat, which was kept "in order to bring wood from the other side ;" II. i. p. 69.—Seetzen in 1806 found a single boat on the lake, but not in a state to be used ; Zach's Monat. Corr. XVIII. p. 350. Reisen I. p. 150. Burckhardt in 1812 says the only

boat had fallen to pieces the year before ; p. 332. According to Turner, it had been built by Jezzâr in order to bring wood from the eastern shore ; II. p. 141. Irby and Mangles in 1818 found no boat whatever, p. 295, [90,] although Richardson a year earlier speaks of seeing two ; Vol. II. p. 429. According to Berggren there was none in 1822, II. p. 242 ; and Prokesch affirms the same in 1829 ; p. 139.

⁵ Seetzen in Zach's Mon. Corr. XVIII. p. 347. Reisen I. p. 343. Burckhardt p. 281. For the Wady and village of Fik, see more in Burckhardt, p. 279 sq.

outlet of the lake, where the Jordan issues from it; but our time did not permit.

The distance to the southern end of the lake, according to Pococke, is four miles from Tiberias; according to Mr Fisk it is one hour from the baths.¹ Pococke went thither, and describes the end of the sea as narrow; the Jordan issues near the western side, at first running south for about a furlong, and then turning west for half a mile. In this space, between the river and the lake, there is a rising ground called Kerak, where at present is a Muslim village apparently recently sprung up. Pococke speaks here only of traces of fortifications and ruins; and so too Seetzen and others. On the west of this is a long bridge, or causeway on arches, over marshy ground; under which the water flows into the Jordan when the lake is high, making the site of Kerak an island. There are likewise remains of a bridge over the Jordan itself.² Here was unquestionably the site of the ancient Tarichæa, which Josephus describes as situated below the mountain on the lake, thirty stadia south of Tiberias.³ This was one of the cities fortified by Josephus himself; and was taken with great slaughter by Titus, acting under the orders of Vespasian.⁴

About a quarter of an hour east of the Jordan, on the shore of the lake at its most southern point, lies the village of Semakh, containing thirty or forty poor mud houses, and a few built of black stone. According to Burckhardt, the beach along this part of the sea is a fine gravel of quartz, flint, and tuff-wacke; there is no shallow water; the lake being of considerable depth close in shore, and without either reeds or rushes. The Ghôr is here not cultivated, except a small tract around Semakh. The village is inhabited by Muslims and a few Greek Christians.⁵

¹ Pococke Vol. II. i. p. 70. See Life of Fisk; also Miss. Herald, 1824, p. 308, etc. Berggren has also one hour; Reise II. p. 246.

² This description is drawn chiefly from Pococke, Descr. of the East, II. i. p. 70. It is confirmed further by Hardy, Notices of the Holy Land, Lond. 1835, p. 236. Berggren Reise II. p. 246. Irby and Mangles pp. 296, 300. [90, 91.] The bridge, according to the latter, has ten arches. See also Lynch's Off. Report, p. 16, and Map. Narrat. p. 172.

³ Joseph. B. J. 3. 10. 1. Vita § 32. Pliny says also of the lake: "A meridie, Tarichæa; ab occidente Tiberiade, aquis calidis salubri;" H. N. 5. 15. See Reland Palest. p. 1026.

⁴ Jos B. J. 3. 10. 1-6. Pococke and also Irby and Mangles (as above cited)

suggest, that the place may have been fortified by cutting a channel on the western side, by which means it would be surrounded with water.

⁵ Burckhardt pp. 275, 276. For a description of the Ghôr and the Jordan below the Lake of Tiberias, see above, Vol. I. pp. 537-540; also Vol. III. Sect. VII, under May 15th, 1852.—Besides Kerak and Semakh, the following places were named to us as lying south of the lake in the Ghôr, viz. el-'Obaidiyeh and el-Buk'ah on the western bank of the Jordan; and Delhemiyeh on the eastern bank opposite the latter, about half a mile above the mouth of the Yarmûk. On the eastern shore of the lake, are Khurbet es-Samrah an hour from Semakh, and 'Adweiribân further north; comp. Burckhardt p. 279.

I have already adverted to the probable depression of the lake of Tiberias below the Mediterranean; a depression, however, the amount of which is even yet not accurately ascertained.¹ This gives to the deep basin of the lake, and the adjacent shores and valleys, a climate and vegetable character similar to those around Jericho; though less intense and less marked. The thermometer at sunset stood at 80° F. and at sunrise the next morning at 75° F. A Sirocco wind the next day raised it to 95° F. but it had stood at the same point and even higher on the summit of Tabor. The winter is apparently much more severe and longer at Tiberias, than at Jericho; and even snow sometimes, though very rarely, falls. At the latter place the wheat harvest was nearly completed on the 14th of May; while here at Tiberias it was in about the same state of advance only on the 19th of June. This difference may not improbably arise, in part, from the greater depth and breadth of the Ghôr around Jericho, shut in as it is by far loftier and more naked mountains; and then, too, from the more extensive and powerful reflection of the sun's rays from those mountains, and from the broad tracts of desert sand which occupy the southern portions of the great valley.

The products of the vegetable kingdom around Tiberias, are not unlike those near Jericho; but plants of a more southern clime are here less predominant. Scattered palm trees are seen; and further north, at least around Mejdél, the thorny Nûbk appears again; as also the oleander, which we had found in such abundance in and near Wady Mûsa.² Indigo is also raised, but in no great quantity.³ The usual productions of the fields are wheat, barley, millet, tobacco, melons, grapes, and a few vegetables. The melons raised along the shores of the lake of Tiberias, are said to be of the finest quality, and to be in great demand at 'Akka and Damascus, where that fruit ripens nearly a month later.⁴—The main formation along the lake is everywhere limestone; yet around Tiberias, and as one approaches it from above, black basaltic stones are found scattered upon the surface of the ground, having a volcanic appearance; indeed the walls and houses of Tiberias are in part built of them.⁵ Towards the north end of the lake, as we shall see,

¹ See above, Vol. II. p. 183; also Note XXX, end of Vol. I.

² For the Nûbk see above, Vol. I. pp. 505, 560. For the oleander, see Vol. II. p. 126.

³ Turner p. 141. Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 561.

⁴ Burckhardt p. 323. Burckhardt was told, that the shrub which produces the balsam of Mecca, thrives well at Tiberias,

iii. 264–266

and that several people had it in their gardens; *ibid.* Schubert searched for it; but could neither find it nor hear of it; *Reise III.* p. 238.

⁵ Burckhardt p. 321. Schubert *III.* p. 232. Dr Clarke remarked basaltic phenomena between Kefr Kenna and Tur'an; p. 447; comp. p. 464. 4to. Indeed, the stones all along that plain are volcanic.

they are much more frequent, and thickly cover the ground in some places.

The earliest notice we have of the city of Tiberias, is in the New Testament;¹ and then in Josephus. The latter relates, that the city was founded by Herodes Antipas on the lake of Gennesareth, near the warm baths called Ammaus: and was so named in honour of his friend and patron the emperor Tiberius.² The Jewish historian gives no hint of its being built up on the site of any former place; but the Rabbins, with one voice, regard it as occupying the place of the Rakkath of the Old Testament; and Jerome affirms that it was anciently called Chinnereth.³ The first hypothesis seems to have arisen, merely from the juxtaposition of the names Rakkath and Hammath in the biblical text, the latter of which the Rabbins held to be at the warm baths;⁴ the second is mentioned by Jerome himself merely as a report.⁵ Both are obviously mere conjectures, which can neither be proved nor directly disproved; though the circumstance mentioned by Josephus, that there were here many ancient sepulchres, so that the new city could not be inhabited by Jews without becoming ceremonially polluted, seems to show that no town had formerly occupied the precise spot.⁶

Herod collected inhabitants from all quarters for his new city, and granted them many privileges; he built here a royal palace, which was afterwards destroyed in a popular tumult; and favoured the city so far, that Tiberias became the capital of Galilee, and was not improbably Herod's chief residence.⁷ During his life, and for some time afterwards, it took rank of the earlier Sepphoris; at a later period it was bestowed by Nero with a part of Galilee on the younger Agrippa, who restored Sepphoris to its former rank as the chief city of the district.⁸ In the Jewish war which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, Tiberias bore also a conspicuous part; especially during the command of Josephus in Galilee, who fortified the city, and had frequent occasion to visit it.⁹ At that time there was here an immense Jewish *proseucha*, a house or place of prayer, in which he convened a public assembly of the people.¹⁰ The city, as also Tarichæa, still belonged to Agrippa; and Vespasian under-

¹ John 6, 1. 23. 21, 1.

² Jos. Ant. 18. 2. 3. B. J. 2. 9. 1.

³ Josh. 19, 35. Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 223.—Hieron. Comm. in Ezech. 48, 21, "Tiberias quæ olim appellabatur Chinnereth." Onomast. art. *Chinnereth*. Comp. Deut. 3, 17. Josh. 11, 2. 1 K. 15, 20.

⁴ Josh. 19, 35. See above, p. 385.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Chinnereth*: "Tiberiadem ferunt hoc primum appellatum nomine." This passage is added by Jerome; Eusebius does not mention the rumour.

VOL. II.—33*

⁶ Jos. Ant. 18. 2. 3. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. II. ii. p. 75 sq.

⁷ Jos. Ant. *ibid.*—Vita § 12, 13.—*Ibid.* § 9. Bachiens Th. II. § 693. Rosenmüller l. c. p. 76.

⁸ Jos. Vita § 9, 45, 65. Antiq. 20. 8. 4. B. J. 2. 13. 2. See above under Sepphoris, p. 345.

⁹ Joseph. Vita § 8 sq. 12 sq. 17 sq. 32 sq. 53 sq. 63 sq.—B. J. 2. 20. 6.

¹⁰ Id. Vita § 54.

took to subdue them again to his allegiance. As he approached Tiberias, the principal inhabitants went out to meet him and made their submission, imploring peace. This was granted, in accordance with the wish of Agrippa; and the Roman army entered and occupied the town.¹ They afterwards erected a fortified camp at Ammaus, probably not far south of the warm baths; which continued to be the head quarters during the siege of Tarichæa. That city was captured by troops under the command of Titus; but great numbers of the inhabitants having escaped by water in their boats and small craft, Vespasian caused boats to be built in order to pursue them on the lake. A naval battle took place, in which the Jews were totally overthrown. In this lake fight, and in the capture of the city, the slain amounted to six thousand five hundred persons.² Twelve hundred more, who were either too old or too young to bear arms or to labour, were put to death in cold blood in the stadium of Tiberias.³

It was probably in consequence of this voluntary submission of the city of Tiberias to Vespasian, that the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in still later times, were not only permitted to reside here unmolested, but enjoyed many privileges. Indeed, the terrible catastrophes, which both under Titus and Adrian drove them from the south of Palestine, and cut off their approach to Judea and Jerusalem, seem not to have fallen upon them with a like exterminating power in Galilee.⁴ They continued to occupy this district in great numbers; and Epiphanius, himself a native of Palestine, relates in the fourth century, that especially Tiberias, Sepphoris, Nazareth, and Capernaum, had long been inhabited exclusively by Jews; and none of any other nation, neither heathen, nor Samaritan, nor Christian, was permitted to dwell among them.⁵ Indeed, in his age, or shortly before, they had rebelled against the Romans, and Sepphoris been laid in ruins.⁶

Tiberias itself appears to have remained undisturbed during all these commotions, ending in the overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth. Coins of the city are still extant, bearing the names of the emperors Tiberius, Claudius, Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius.⁷ It would seem too that Adrian undertook here the building of a large temple; which, being left unfinished, bore afterwards the name of the Adrianum.⁸ At

¹ Jos. B. J. 3.9. 7, 8.

² Joseph. B. J. 3. 10. 1, 5, 6, 9, 10. Comp. 4. 1. 3.

³ See above, Vol. I. pp. 367-369, 371.

⁴ Epiphani. adv. Hæres. 1. 11. Opp. T. I. p. 136. Paris 1622. Reland Palest. p. 1038 sq.

iii. 267-269

⁵ See also above, Vol. I. p. 377.

⁶ Eckhel Doctr. Numm. Tom. III. p. 426. Mionnet Médailles Ant. Tom. V. p. 483 sq.

⁷ Epiphani. adv. Hæres. 1. 12. p. 136. Reland Pal. 1039.

any rate, Galilee, and especially Tiberias, became the chief seat of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem and their expulsion from Judea. The national council or Sanhedrim, according to Jewish accounts, which at first had been transferred to Jabneh, came after several removes to Sepphoris and then to Tiberias.¹ This was about the middle of the second century, under the presidency of the celebrated Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh; and from this time, Tiberias became for several centuries the central point of Jewish learning.

Here their most esteemed Rabbins taught in the synagogues; and a school was formed for the cultivation of their law and language. As head of this school, Rabbi Judah collected and committed to writing the great mass of Jewish traditional law, now known as the Mishnah; an immense work, which was completed, according to the best accounts, about A. D. 190, or as some say in A. D. 220.² Rabbi Judah died soon after; and with him faded the chief glory of the academy. The latter however continued to flourish more or less for several centuries; although the school of Babylon soon became its rival, and at a later period eclipsed its fame. In the third century (A. D. 230–270) Rabbi Jochanan compiled here the Gemara, a supplement and commentary to the Mishnah, now usually known as the Jerusalem Talmud.³ In the same school is supposed to have arisen the great critical collection known as the Masora, intended to mark and preserve the purity of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament.⁴ In the days of Jerome, the school of Tiberias continued apparently to flourish; for that father employed one of its most admired teachers as his instructor in Hebrew.⁵ After this time there seem to exist no further certain accounts respecting it.

Already, under the reign of Constantine, the exclusive possession, which according to Epiphanius the Jews had held of Tiberias and other towns of Galilee, was broken in upon; and Josephus, a Jew who had embraced Christianity, was empowered by that emperor to erect churches in Tiberias, Sepphoris, Nazareth, Capernaum, and other neighbouring villages. In Tiberias,

¹ Lightfoot. *Opp. Tom. II.* p. 141–145. *Ultraj.* 1699.

² Buxtorf *Tiberias* p. 19–24. Lightfoot *Opp. T. II.* p. 145.—See in general Basnage *Hist. des Juifs*, *Tom. III.* p. 564. *Rotterd.* 1707.

³ Buxtorf *Tiber.* p. 23. Lightfoot *l. c.* p. 145.—The Gemara or Talmud of Babylon was the product of the Babylonian school, and contains their commentary and supplement to the Mishnah. It is referred to the sixth century; is much more full

and minute; and is more esteemed by the Jews. Buxtorf *Tiber.* p. 24–28. Lightfoot *l. c.* p. 149.

⁴ Buxtorf *Tiber.* p. 28 sq. Lightfoot *l. c.* p. 149.

⁵ Hieron. in *Præf. ad libr. Paralipom. ad Domnionem et Rogat. Opp. Tom. I.* p. 1418. ed. Mart. “De Tiberiade quendam Legis doctorem, qui apud Hebræos admiratione habebatur, assumpsit, et contuli cum eo a vertice, quod aiunt, ad extremum unguem,” etc.

he chose for the site of the church the unfinished temple above mentioned, called the Adrianum ; and being hindered in his proceedings by magic arts, he was able to overcome them by a miracle, which led to the conversion of many Jews.¹ Epiphanius speaks at the same time of a bishop of Tiberias ;² but we have no other notice of any such dignitary, until the name of John, bishop of Tiberias, appears among the subscriptions of the Robber synod of Ephesus, A. D. 449, and again at the council of Chalcedon A. D. 451.³ Another John appears in A. D. 518 ; George in A. D. 553 ; and a bishop Basilius is named so late as the eighth century.⁴

Justinian, in the sixth century, rebuilt the walls of Tiberias ; and the city is barely mentioned by Antoninus Martyr.⁵ On the approach of the Persian army under Chosroes against Jerusalem, in A. D. 614, the Jews of Tiberias and the neighbouring parts of Galilee are said to have joined the expedition ; and to them Eutychius ascribes the chief slaughter of the Christians, on the capture of the Holy City.⁶ The emperor Heraclius, on his return from Persia, is reported to have passed through Tiberias on his way to Jerusalem, bearing the true cross.⁷ With the rest of Palestine, both Tiberias and Galilee in A. D. 637 yielded to the arms of the Khalif Omar and passed under the Muhammedan dominion. The only further notice of the city before the crusades, seems to be that of Willibald, about A. D. 765, who describes it as then containing many churches and a synagogue of the Jews.⁸

Very soon after the crusaders obtained possession of the Holy Land, the district of Galilee, as we have seen, was given by Godfrey of Bouillon as a fief to Tancred ; who subdued Tiberias, and erected here a church, as well as others in neighbouring places.⁹ The city was also made the seat of a Latin bishop, the only suffragan of the archbishopric of Nazareth ; and the title continued in the Latin church for nearly two centuries.¹⁰ The city appears to have remained without interruption in the possession of the Christians until A. D. 1187 ; and the assault upon it by Saladin in that year, became the immediate occasion of the great battle of Hattin, already described, so fatal to the

¹ Epiph. adv. Hær. 1. 4-12. pp. 127-137.

² Ibid. 1. 4. p. 128.

³ Labb. Concil. Tom. IV. pp. 118, 267, 312. Ibid. pp. 82, 328, 460, etc. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 708.

⁴ Le Quien *ibid.* He had previously been stationed at Jericho ; comp. above, Vol. I. p. 566. n. 10.

⁵ Procop. de Edif. Just. 5. 9. Anton. Martyr. Itin. § 7.

iii. 270, 271

⁶ See Vol. I. p. 387. n. 1.

⁷ Anastasius Biblioth. p. 101. ed. Paria. See above, Vol. I. p. 388.

⁸ Hodæpor. § 16, "Ibi sunt multe ecclesie et synagoge Judæorum."

⁹ See above, p. 341. This was very probably the present church of St. Peter, near the shore, as above described, p. 382. So too Morison, p. 203.

¹⁰ See above, p. 342. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 1302.

Christian name and power. The castle of Tiberias surrendered the day after the conflict.¹ Benjamin of Tudela had visited the place some twenty years before, and found here only fifty Jews with a Rabbi at their head; he speaks also of a Jewish cemetery, in which, among others, was the tomb of R. Jochanan.²—At a later period, A. D. 1240, Tiberias reverted for a time into the hands of the Christians, in consequence of a treaty with the Sultan of Damascus; but in A. D. 1247, while in the possession of Odo of Montbeliard, it was again subdued by the troops of the Sultan of Egypt, and remained thenceforth under the Muhammedan dominion.³

From that time onwards until the seventeenth century, we know little of Tiberias. Travellers in the fourteenth century speak of it as a small place; and Arabian writers of the same age, who mention it, describe chiefly the warm baths.⁴ About the middle of the sixteenth century, Bonifacius relates, evidently on hearsay, that Tiberias was no longer habitable, on account of the multitude of serpents; a report which Zuallart and Coto-vicus repeat near the close of the century; but which Quaresmius takes pains expressly to contradict.⁵ The latter writer is the first to describe the city correctly; the inhabitants, he says, were Arabs of the worst character; and the ancient church was then used as a stall for cattle. Other travellers in the same century, and even later, speak of the church in the same manner, and describe the town as in ruins and scarcely inhabited.⁶ A rich Jewess, it was said, had built up the walls, in order that the Jews might reside there; but they were very soon driven out again by the Turks.⁷

About the middle of the eighteenth century, Tiberias made part of the domain of the noted Sheikh Dhâher el-'Omar, whose history is related by Niebuhr and Volney.⁸ His family belonged to the Bedawin on the north of the lake, along the upper

¹ See above, pp. 373, 377.

² Itin. I. p. 87. The Jewish Itinerary in Hottinger's *Cippi Hebraici* mentions here also this tomb, and especially that of R. Akiba with 24,000 of his disciples; p. 54. Ed. 2. See also the Jewish Itineraries published by Carmoly, Brux. 1847, pp. 130, 185, 257, 385, 445. Comp. Light-foot Opp. II. p. 144.—Burokhardt heard of this latter tomb; but the number of disciples had dwindled to 14,000; p. 323.

³ Hugo Plagon in Martene et Durand Tom. V. pp. 722, 731. (Comp. Marin. Sanut. pp. 215, 218.) Wilken *Gesch. der Kr.* VI. pp. 600, 652. Comment. de Bell. Cruc. pp. 201, 205.

⁴ W. de Baldensel in Basnage *Thes.* IV. p. 355. Sir J. Maundeville p. 115. Lond.

1839. Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 84. Ibn el-Wardi *ibid.* p. 184. Yâkût in Schult. Ind. in Vit. Salad. art. *Tiberias*.

⁵ Bonif. de perenn. cultu Terr. Sanct. in Quaresmius II. p. 864; comp. p. 465. Zuallart p. 250. Coto-v. Itin. p. 359.

⁶ Elucid. II. pp. 864, 865. D'Arvieux Mémoires II. p. 276. Paris 1735. Von Troilo pp. 429, 430. Morison p. 203. So too Van Egmond and Heyman, Reizen II. p. 31.

⁷ D'Arvieux l. c. Thevenot *Voyages* II. p. 676. Amst. 1727. Yet this appears to be only an old story revamped; the same is mentioned by Fürer of Haimendorf in 1566, p. 278.

⁸ Niebuhr *Reisebeschr.* III. p. 72 sq. Volney *Voyage c.* xxv. Tom. II. p. 84 sq. iii. 272, 273

Jordan ; and seems to have acquired considerable power in the neighbouring region. On the death of his father 'Omar, he succeeded to the possession of Safed ; to which he afterwards added Tiberias and Nazareth. Pococke found him, in A. D. 1738, erecting a fort on a hill north of Tiberias, and strengthening the old walls with buttresses inside ; he being at that time in strife with the Pasha of Damascus.¹ Hasselquist in A. D. 1751 relates, that he had recently built up walls around the city, and also erected a castle on a hill outside.² In A. D. 1749, Sheikh Dhâher by a sudden march got possession of 'Akka, which he fortified ; and here maintained himself almost as an independent chief for many years, against all the attacks and intrigues of the surrounding Pashas. In A. D. 1775, at the age of ninety years, he was still able to mount a fiery horse ; but a fleet being sent against him in that year by the Porte, he was entrapped by fraud, and his head sent to Constantinople.³

The French had possession of Tiberias for a short time, during the invasion of Syria by Napoleon in A. D. 1799.⁴

Wednesday, June 20th. It had been our plan to proceed from Tiberias along the lake northwards, and so by the Jordan and the shore of el-Huleh to Bâniâs. Here we proposed to search out all the sources of the Jordan, and then take the route up Wady et-Teim by Hâsbeiya and Râsheiya to Damascus. From this city we hoped to cross Anti-Lebanon to Ba'albek, and so by way of the cedars over Lebanon to Beirût. For all this we still had a sufficient number of days at our command. But the time had now come, when the disturbances in the north of Palestine were to affect our plans, and compel us to change our intended course. As we yesterday visited the warm springs, we found there a special messenger with a letter from our friend Abu Nâsir of Nazareth, whom we had left only on Monday morning ; informing us, that soon after our departure news had come, that the rebel Druzes from the Lejah had made an inroad upon Hâsbeiya, seized the place by surprise, and killed the governor and all the Turkish and Christian inhabitants. In consequence, not only this road, but also that by the bridge and Kuneitirah, had become unsafe ; inasmuch as the rebels were on the look out for caravans and travellers, whom they were said not only to rob, but also to murder.

¹ Pococke Descr. of the East, II. i. p. 69.—The ruins spoken of by Burckhardt on the north of the town are perhaps remains of this fort ; see above, p. 383. l. 5.

² Hasselquist Reise pp. 181, 182.

³ Volney l. c. p. 87. Niebuhr l. c. p. 76.

⁴ See Clarke's Travels etc. p. 479. 4ta etc. etc.

We did not doubt but that this intelligence was very greatly exaggerated ; yet as, on inquiry in Tiberias, we learned that similar accounts had been also received from the eastern side of the lake, we thought it more prudent to obtain further information, before we ventured to proceed directly towards Damascus. It was evident that Abu Nâsir had considered the source of his intelligence as trustworthy ; for his solicitude led him to despatch a special messenger on our account ; a kindness which another native would hardly have rendered to us. We concluded therefore to remain this day encamped at Tiberias ; hire the little sail boat, and visit all the places along the western shore as far north as to the entrance of the Jordan ; and the next day proceed directly to Safed, where we might hope to obtain later and more authentic information.

Such was, and such is, this land of wars and rumours of wars ! Reports fly current from mouth to mouth, of which no one can learn whether they are true or false ; suspense, agitation, and anxiety prevail continually ; without the possibility of ascertaining whether or not there actually exists the slightest cause of inquietude. In the present instance, the hopes and wishes of the Christian inhabitants of Palestine, were strongly on the side of the Egyptian troops. " May God give victory to our Effendi," was the concluding prayer of Abu Nâsir's letter to us ; and this wish was not unnatural, although the war itself was totally unjust and conducted with horrible atrocity. The Christians were anxious for the success of Ibrahim, because this was connected with the maintenance of the Egyptian government, in opposition to the Turkish ; under which, for the first time, they were treated as on an equal footing with the Muhammedans, and enjoyed rights and a security in person and property, which they had never known before.

We rose early this morning, in the hope of a pleasant excursion upon the lake, so often honoured by the presence of our Saviour. But a strong southwest wind had been blowing all night and still continued ; so that the boat had not returned, nor could it be expected. Under these circumstances, we determined to set off at once, and proceed to day along the shore of the lake to the entrance of the Jordan ; and thence to morrow to Safed. We started accordingly, following along the western wall, which presented a melancholy spectacle of ruin ; and leaving the gate at 8.20. The hill we had descended yesterday, comes quite down to the shore on the north of the town ; and the path leads along its steep side, at some distance above the water. At about forty minutes from Tiberias, a small Wady breaks down through to the lake ; the upper entrance of

which we had yesterday passed in coming from Hattin.¹ Down this Wady comes the main Damascus road from Mount Tabor; and then follows the shore as far as to Khân Minyeh.

Here, at the mouth of the little Wady, is a small space of arable plain along the shore, on which were a few patches of vegetables, with a miserable hut or two for the keepers. On the lower part, just by the beach, are five or six fountains near each other, one of which is very large and copious; the water rushing forth with violence. The water is clear, and slightly brackish; the temperature was about the same as that of the air, not far from 80° F. The place bears the name of 'Ain el-Bârideh, "Cold spring;" in distinction from the hot sources on the south of Tiberias. We saw here for the first time a kind of structure, which we are not fully able to explain. Each fountain had once been enclosed by a round reservoir of stone, ten or twelve feet deep, perpendicular on the inside, and fifteen or twenty feet in diameter; only two of these are still in tolerable preservation. The obvious purpose of these structures was, to raise and retain the water at a considerable height above the fountain; on the same principle as the reservoirs at the celebrated Râs el-'Ain near Tyre. But whether it was thus raised for bathing, or for irrigation, or for other uses, it is difficult to decide. The former is not impossible; and the waters may anciently have been used in some connection with the hot baths; though we did not learn that any medicinal virtue is attributed to them at the present day. The reservoirs may or may not be of ancient workmanship; there seemed to be no distinctive marks about them.² Upon the plain grow oleanders and trees of the Nûbk.

Beyond this spot, the mountain again comes down to the shore; and the path leads, as before, along its side above the water. At 9½ o'clock another large plain opened before us; and just here lies el-Mejdel, a miserable little Muslim village, looking much like a ruin, though exhibiting no marks of antiquity. From Tiberias hither, or rather from beyond the hot baths, the general direction of the coast is about from S. E. to N. W. But from this point onwards the coast trends off towards the N. N. E. while the hills retire in a curve, leaving a beautiful plain an hour in length and about twenty minutes in breadth, in the form of an irregular parallelogram, verging almost to a crescent. In the southwest, the mountain forming the ridge or step between this plain and the Sahil Hattin is steep, and not less than three or four hundred feet high. The

¹ See above, p. 379.

the exaggerated account of Buckingham.

² Irby and Mangles speak of these as ancient Roman baths; p. 299. [91.] In I can with difficulty recognise the place; Travels in Palestine 4to. p. 465.

Wady el-Hamâm breaks down through it a quarter of an hour west of Mejdel, and its bed runs to the lake just north of that village.¹ On the west and north the hills are lower, and rise less abruptly from the plain. At the northern extremity of the plain, lies the ruined Khân Minyeh; while Mejdel is quite at the southeast corner.

The name Mejdel is obviously the same with the Hebrew Migdal and Greek Magdala; and there is little reason to doubt, that this place is the Magdala of the New Testament, chiefly known as the native town of Mary Magdalene. The ancient notices respecting its position are exceedingly indefinite; yet it seems to follow from the New Testament itself, that it lay on the west side of the lake. After the miraculous feeding of the four thousand, which appears to have taken place in the country east of the lake,² Jesus "took ship and came into the coast of Magdala;" for which Mark writes Dalmanutha.³ Here the Pharisees began to question him; but he "left them, and entering into the ship again, departed to the *other side*;" an expression which in the New Testament is applied almost exclusively to the country east of the lake and the Jordan.⁴ Thence he goes to the northeastern Bethsaida, where he heals a blind man; and so to Cæsarea Philippi.⁵ This view is further confirmed by the testimony of the Rabbins in the Jerusalem Talmud, compiled at Tiberias; who several times speak of Magdala as adjacent to Tiberias and Hammath or the hot springs.⁶ The Migdal-el of the Old Testament in the tribe of Naphtali, was probably the same place.⁷—Quaresmius mentions here the present name, and recognised the place as the Magdala of Scripture.⁸

¹ See above, pp. 378, 379.

² According to Mark 7, 31, Jesus went from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon into the Decapolis; in which connection the miracle is immediately related, Mark 8, 1-9. But all the cities of the Decapolis, except Scythopolis, lay on the east of the lake and the Jordan; Onomast. art. *Decapolis*. Jos. B. J. 3. 9. 7. Reland Pal. p. 203. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. II. ii. p. 11 sq.

³ Matt. 15, 39. Mark 8, 10. Of Dalmanutha we have no further trace.

⁴ Mark 8, 13 ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης eis τὸ πέραν. Comp. Matt. 16, 5. For this use of τὸ πέραν, see Mark 5, 1. 10, 1. Luke 8, 22. Also without adjuncts, Matt. 8, 18. 28. Mark 4, 35. etc.

⁵ Mark 8, 22. 27. Matt. 16, 13.

⁶ Lightfoot Opera II. p. 226. Yet Lightfoot himself (as also Cellarius) places Magdala on the east of the lake, on no better ground, it would seem, than because it is sometimes called מגדל נגד Migdal

Geder, which he translates Magdala of Gadara; ib. pp. 226, 413. But, even if such be the meaning, this name occurs only in the Talmud of Babylou; which in this case is of far less authority.—The text of Josephus too, in the earlier editions, has a Magdala in the vicinity of Gamala; Vita § 24. But, according to Havercamp, all the manuscripts, instead of Magdala, read here Gamala; which he has consequently restored in the text. See Gesenius' Notes on Burckhardt p. 1056.

⁷ Josh. 19, 38.

⁸ Quaresmius II. 366. The testimony of this author was probably unknown to Lightfoot; and has been overlooked by most later writers, who adopted the view of the latter. Comp. Büsching Erdbeschr. Th. XI. p. 491. Van Egmond u. Heyman Reizen II. p. 37.—Steph. Schulz also finds Magdala here an hour north of Tiberias; Leitungen etc. V. p. 205. Whether this was the Magdalum Castrum of Brocardus

Half an hour west of Mejdél, in the high perpendicular cliff forming the southeast side of Wady el-Hamâm, are situated the singular remains of Kûl'at Ibn Ma'ân, to which I have already alluded.¹ These were visited and described by Burckhardt; and, as we were not aware at the time of anything antique about the place, we therefore passed on without examining it more closely.² The following is Burckhardt's account: "In the calcareous mountain are many natural caverns, which have been united together by passages cut in the rock, and enlarged in order to render them more commodious for habitation. Walls have also been built across the natural openings, so that no person could enter them except through the narrow communicating passages; and wherever the nature of the almost perpendicular cliff permitted it, small bastions were built, to defend the entrance of the castle, which has thus been rendered almost impregnable. The perpendicular cliff forms its protection above; and the access below is by a narrow path, so steep as not to allow of a horse mounting it. In the midst of the caverns several deep cisterns have been hewn. The whole might afford refuge to about six hundred men; but the walls are now much damaged.—A few vaults of communication, with pointed arches, denote Gothic architecture."³

I have ventured to copy this description, because it accords remarkably with the account given by Josephus, of certain fortified caverns near the village Arbela in Galilee. They are first mentioned in connection with the march of Bacchides into Judea; at that time they were occupied by many fugitives, and the Syrian general encamped at Arbela long enough to subdue them.⁴ When Herod the Great took possession of Sepphoris, these caverns near Arbela were occupied by a band of robbers, who committed depredations and distressed the inhabitants throughout the region. Herod first sent a detachment of troops to take post at Arbela, to act as a check upon their depreda-

is less certain, though most probable; c. 5. p. 174. It is doubtless that of a writer of the same century, who after speaking of the Mensa Domini, goes on to say; "Ibi prope juxta mare Tiberiadis versus Tabariam est locus qui dicitur Magdalon," etc. See Steph. Baluzii Miscellanea, Tom. VI. p. 369. Paris 1713. 8.

¹ See above pp. 378, 379. It seems to have been first mentioned by Pococke II. i. p. 67.

² In 1852 we passed down through Wady el-Hamâm, beneath the caverns; see Vol. III. Sect. VIII, under May 18th.

³ Burckhardt's Travels, p. 331.—Irby and Mangles describe also an external fortress, just northwest of the mouth of Wady iii. 279–281

el-Hamâm; p. 299. [91.] According to the same travellers (ibid.) "there are some curious old convents" in the side of the cliff between Mejdél and the mouth of Wady el-Hamâm; they are described as "being built several stories high in the perpendicular cliff, with galleries," etc. These we did not notice.

⁴ Joseph. Ant. 12. 11. 1. This is doubtless the same event recorded in 1 Macc. 9, 2; where Bacchides is said to have subdued Messaloth in Arbela. The word Messaloth (Μεσσαλώθ) may perhaps be nothing more than the Heb. מִסְּלָה, in the sense of *steps, stories, terraces*; see 2 Chr. 9, 11.

tions; and after forty days followed with his whole force, in order to exterminate them. On his approach, they boldly gave him battle, and at first routed his left wing; but the battle turning against them, they were put to flight, and pursued beyond the Jordan. Herod now laid siege to the caverns; but as they were situated in the midst of precipitous cliffs, overhanging a deep valley, with only a steep and narrow path leading to the entrance, the attack was exceedingly difficult. Parties of soldiers were at length let down in large boxes, suspended by chains from above, and attacked those who defended the entrance with fire and sword, or dragged them out with long hooks and dashed them down the precipice. In this way the place was at last subdued.¹—The same caverns were afterwards fortified by Josephus himself, during his command in Galilee, against the Romans; in one place he speaks of them as the caverns of Arbela, and in another as the caverns near the lake of Gennesareth.² According to the Talmud likewise, Arbela lay between Sepphoris and Tiberias.³

All these circumstances seem to me very clearly to identify the Arbela of Galilee and its fortified caverns, with the present Kul'at Ibn Ma'an and the adjacent site of ruins now known as Irbid.⁴ This latter name is apparently a corruption of Irbil, the proper Arabic form for Arbela;⁵ for although this change of *l* into *d*, is very uncommon, yet the same name Irbid is found also in a large village in the region east of the Jordan, where we know there was another Arbela.⁶ The same Arbela of Galilee may not improbably have been the Beth-Arbel of the prophet Hosea.⁷—It is singular, that no mention of this fortress occurs during the time of the crusades. William of Tyre describes indeed a very similar fortified cavern, which was regarded as impregnable; but he places it expressly in the country beyond the Jordan, sixteen Italian miles from Tiberias.⁸

¹ Joa. Ant. 14. 15. 4, 5. B. J. 1. 16. 2-4. The latter account is the most full.

² Vita § 37, Ἀρβήλων σπήλαιον. B. J. 2. 20. 6, τὰ περὶ Γεννησαρτὴν λίμνην σπήλαια.

³ Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 231.

⁴ The first suggestion of this identity was made, I believe, by the reviewer of Raumer's Palästina in the "Gelehrte Anzeigen" of Munich, Nov. 1836. p. 870 sq. He does not, however, bring forward all the grounds.

⁵ See above, p. 379. The Arbela where Alexander's great battle took place, is still called in Arabian writers Irbil; see Schult. Ind. in Vit. Salad. art. *Arbela*.

⁶ Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Arbela*: "Est usque hodie vicus Arbel trans Jordanem in finibus Pellæ." There

seems little ground to doubt, that this is the present Irbid (Burckhardt writes Erbad) the chief town of a district east of Um Keis, the ancient Gadara; Burckhardt's Travels, pp. 268, 269.—There is no question but that *d* and *l* are kindred sounds; though the change from the former to the latter is more frequent than the reverse; e. g. Heb. רָצַד and רָצַל; רִישׁ and רִישׁ; Heb. אֶזְל and אֶזְל. Chald. אֶזְל and אֶזְל; Greek and Lat. Ὀδυσσεὺς *Ulysses*, δάκρυον *lacryma*. Lat. *Ægidius*, Engl. *Gilex*. See Gesenius Lex. Heb. lett. ב.

⁷ Hos. 10, 14; where it is implied that Beth-Arbel was regarded as an impregnable fortress.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 22. 15, 21.

The plain upon which we now entered from Mejdel, is at first called Ard el-Mejdel, but further on takes the name of el-Ghuweir, "Little Ghôr;" which strictly perhaps includes the whole. It is unquestionably the Gennesareth of Josephus.¹ Our attention and inquiries were now directed, I may say with the most absorbing and exciting interest, to a search after some trace of the long lost Capernaum, so celebrated in the New Testament, as our Lord's residence and the scene of several of his miracles; a city in that day "exalted unto heaven," but now thrust down so low that its very name and place are utterly forgotten. We had indeed begun our inquiries among the people of Nazareth, and pursued them systematically ever since; but as yet with no success. We now, however, were approaching the spot where the city must have stood; for there was every reason to suppose, that it lay in or near the plain of Gennesareth; or at least must have been situated not very far beyond.

We took a path along the inner side of the plain, at the foot of the western hills, in order to examine some ruins which were said to exist in that direction. Our course was about N. by W. At 9½ o'clock we were opposite to Wady el-Hamâm, as it breaks down through between two lofty ledges of rock. We soon struck an artificial water-course coming down from before us, in which was a considerable brook, irrigating this part of the plain. This we followed up, and found it scattering its rills and diffusing verdure in all directions. At 10.10 we reached a large and beautiful fountain, rising immediately at the foot of the western line of hills. At first we had taken it for the source of the brook which we had followed up; but we now found, that the latter is brought from the stream of Wady er-Rübüdiyeh further north; and is carried along the hill-side above this fountain, to water the more southern parts of the plain.

The fountain bears the name of 'Ain el-Mudauwarah, "Round Fountain;" it interested us exceedingly; for we then thought it, (though incorrectly,) to be the same which Josephus describes as watering and fertilizing the plain of Gennesareth, and which he says was called by the inhabitants Capharnaum.² It is enclosed by a low wall of mason work of hewn stones, forming an oval reservoir more than fifty feet in diameter; the water is perhaps two feet deep, beautifully limpid and sweet, bubbling up and flowing out rapidly in a large stream, to water the plain below. Numerous small fish were sporting in the basin; which is so thickly surrounded by trees and brushwood, that a stranger would be apt to pass by without noticing it.³

¹ Joseph. B. J. 3. 10. 8.

² Joseph. *ibid.*

iii. 282-284

³ Several travellers must have passed on this route between Hattin and Safed; but

The oleander (Diffeh) was growing here in great abundance, now in full bloom ; and trees of the Nûbk were also very frequent. The waters of this fountain irrigate the ground between it and the lake ; but those from Wady er-Rûbüdiyeh, being higher up and still more copious, are carried over the more northern and southern portions of the plain.

Admitting that this fountain was the Capharnaum of Josephus, there was every reason to suppose, that the city of Capernaum must have lain somewhere in the vicinity. The western hill above the fountain, as we could perceive here, and had also noticed from Hattin, is strewn with large stones, having at a distance much the appearance of ruins. I ascended it therefore, excited with the eager hope of finding some trace of a former site, which then I should hardly have hesitated to consider as the remains of Capernaum. But my hope ended in disappointment ; a few stones had indeed been thrown together ; but there was nothing which could indicate that any town or village had ever occupied the spot. The stones which cover the hill, are of the same dark colour and volcanic character, as those around Tiberias. From this point, looking up through Wady el-Hamâm, I could perceive the site of Irbid.¹

After a stop of twenty minutes at 'Ain el-Mudauwarah, we proceeded on the same course along the foot of the hills, and in ten minutes (at 10.40) reached the opening of Wady er-Rûbüdiyeh, coming down from the northwest from the plain of Ramah ; where it bears the name of Wady Sellâmeh. The hills are here low and gentle. The Wady brings down a very copious stream of pure water ; which is scattered over the plain in all directions, by means of small canals and water-courses. Here is a deserted mill, which might easily be repaired ; and also the remains of two or three others. Upon a slight eminence on the north side, are the remains of a village called Abu Shûsheh ; which we visited, in order to see if there was anything, that could be referred to Capernaum. But here too are no traces of antiquity ; no hewn stones nor any mason work ; nothing indeed but the remains of a few dwellings, built of rough volcanic stones ; some of them still used as magazines by the Arabs of the plain. A Wely with a white dome marks the spot.²

I find the fountain certainly mentioned only by Pococke, who also held it to be the Capharnaum of Josephus ; Descr. of the East, II. i. p. 71. Probably Fürer of Haimendorf means the same ; p. 275. Nürnberg. 1646. Quaresmius indeed speaks of a fountain Capharnaum ; but he expressly describes it as under the Mount of

Beatitudes so called, adjacent to the village of Hattin ; II. p. 870. See above, p. 378.

¹ Visited by us in 1852 : see Vol. III Sect. VIII, under May 18th.

² From Abu Shûsheh, Mejdél bore S. 8° E. and Khân Minyeh N. 62° E.

From this point, as well as from the hill over the Round Fountain, there was a fine prospect of the beautiful plain as it lies along the sea. It is exceedingly fertile and well watered; the soil, on the southern part at least, is a rich black mould, which in the vicinity of Mejdél is almost a marsh. Its fertility indeed can hardly be exceeded; all kinds of grain and vegetables are produced in abundance, including rice in the moister parts; while the natural productions, as at Tiberias and Jericho, are those of a more southern latitude. Indeed, in beauty, fertility, and climate, the whole tract answers well enough to the glowing though exaggerated description of Josephus. Among other productions, he speaks here also of walnut trees; but we did not note whether any now exist.¹

Excepting the portion around Mejdél, this plain is not tilled by the 'Fellâhs, but is given up entirely to the Arabs dwelling in tents, the Ghawârineh; who seem here and further north to be an intermediate race, between the Bedawin of the mountains and deserts and the more southern Ghawârineh. A small tribe of them encamp in this quarter, called es-Semekiyeh; who keep a few buildings in repair in Abu Shûsheh, which they use as magazines. A Sheikh was riding about upon a fine horse, entirely naked except his loins; and two or three others were lazily opening a water-course, to carry the water to a different point in the plain.

Thus far we had followed one of the roads from Tiberias to Safed; which hence proceeds up Wady er-Rûbüdiyeh. We now turned northeast still along the foot of the hills, on a direct course to Khân Minyeh. Setting off at 11.10 we passed, after a quarter of an hour, a limestone column lying alone in the plain, some twenty feet long, and at least two feet in diameter; we could discern no trace of any site or ruins in the vicinity. The northern part of the plain is less abundantly watered than the southern; in some parts the ground was dry and parched, and thorny shrubs were growing thickly. At 11½ o'clock the dry bed of a Wady crossed our path, coming down from the western hills, and called Wady el-'Amûd; probably from the column we had passed. It comes from the region between Safed and Meirôn; and is there called Wady Tawâhin.²

¹ According to Josephus this tract would be almost a paradise; B. J. 3. 10. 8.

² Burckhardt in passing along the shore, gives the name el-Leimôn to both the Wadys el-'Amûd and er-Rûbüdiyeh, regarding them as branches of one and the same. Jacotin's map has the latter as el-Leimôn, and the former as er-Rûbüdiyeh. We were aware of all this at the time, and made very minute inquiries of people on the spot; but obtained only the results iii. 285, 286

given above in the text. We could hear nothing of a name Leimôn. Pococke still more incorrectly makes the brook el-Leimôn pass down through Wady el-Hamâm; Vol. II. i. p. 71.—Burckhardt says further, that from about this spot he saw a village on the hills called Senjul, half an hour east of Hattin. This I am unable to explain; we made all possible inquiry, but could hear of no such name or village. The only place so situated in relation to

We reached Khân Minyeh, not far from the shore, at the northern extremity of the plain, at 11.50; having thus occupied an hour and a half in passing from Mejdél around the inner side of the plain, while the distance along the shore is reckoned at one hour.¹ The Khân is now in ruins; it was once a large and well built structure, corresponding to the Khâns at Lejjûn, et-Tujjâr, Jubb Yûsuf, and others along the great Damascus road. The place is mentioned under its present name by Bohæddin in 1189.² The Khân is spoken of by Fürer of Haimendorf, in A. D. 1566; and then at long intervals by Quaresmius, by Nau, by Van Egmond and Heyman, by Schulz, and in the present century by Burckhardt and others.³ Between the Khân and the shore, a large fountain gushes out from beneath the rocks, and forms a brook flowing into the lake a few rods distant. Over this source stands a very large fig tree; from which the fountain takes its name, 'Ain et-Tin. Near by are several other springs. Our guides said these springs were brackish; but Burckhardt, who rested for some time under the great fig tree, describes the water of the main source as sweet. Along the lake is a tract of luxuriant herbage, occasioned by the springs; and on the shore are high reeds.⁴ Large flocks and herds were at pasture in this part of the plain.—A few rods south of the Khân and fountain, is a low mound or swell with ruins, occupying a considerable circumference. The few remains seemed to be mostly dwellings of no very remote date; but there was not enough to make out anything with certainty. We could not learn that the spot bore any other name than that of Khân Minyeh. Close on the north of the Khân and fountain, rocky hills of considerable elevation come down again quite to the lake.

Khân Minyeh, or rather the mound with ruins, is one of the various places which, in the absence of all certainty, have been regarded as the site of the ancient Capernaum. The descriptions of most travellers, who profess to have seen the remains of that city, are in general so very indefinite, that it is almost as difficult to determine what point they mean, as it is to look for the city itself; but in the present instance the testimony of Quaresmius is express, that the Capernaum of his day was at a place with a Khân called by the Arabs Minyeh.⁵ After long

Hattin, is the site of Irbid above described. See Burckhardt p. 319.

¹ Burckhardt p. 320. It is probably a large hour.

² Bohæd. Vit. Salad. p. 98. He too writes the name el-Minyeh.

³ Fürer writes the name *Mini*, Reisebeschr. Nürnberg. 1646. pp. 276, 277. Quaresmius has it *Menich*, Tom. II. p. 868.

Nau, *Elmenie*, p. 570. Van Egmond and Heyman, *el Moinit*, Reizen II. p. 38. Steph. Schulz, *Almuny*, Th. V. p. 205. See Burckhardt p. 319.

⁴ Ali Bey speaks of several patches of rice in the vicinity; Travels II. p. 260.

⁵ Elucid. II. p. 868, "et miserabile diversorium, in quod se viatores recipiunt, Arabice *Menich* nuncupatur." See too

iii. 287, 288

inquiry and investigation, my own mind inclines also to the opinion, that we are here to seek for the probable position of the ancient Capernaum; at least, as it seems to me, there are various probabilities in favour of this spot, which do not exist in connection with any other.

Often as Capernaum is mentioned in the New Testament, as the residence of our Lord and the scene of his teaching and miracles, there yet occurs no specification of its local situation; except the somewhat indefinite notice, that it lay "upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephtholim."¹ This last expression must not be urged too far, nor taken too literally. It does not necessarily imply, that Capernaum was on, or even near, the line of division between the two tribes; but only, that it lay on the sea within the territory of those adjacent tribes; which we know extended along the western coast of the lake of Tiberias.² Some other incidental notices in the Gospels, serve to point out more nearly the part of this western coast, where Capernaum was situated. After the miraculous feeding of the five thousand on the eastern side of the lake, three of the Evangelists relate, that the disciples took ship to return to the other side; and it was on this passage that Jesus came to them during the storm, walking on the water.³ According to Matthew and Mark, "when they were thus gone over, they came into the land of Gennesareth."⁴ But John relates more definitely, that the disciples in setting off from the eastern shore, "went over the sea toward Capernaum;" and after Jesus had stilled the tempest, "immediately the ship was at the land whither they went;" he further relates, that the multitude also "took shipping and came to Capernaum seeking for Jesus," and found him there, or at least not far distant.⁵ From all these notices it follows conclusively, that Capernaum lay on that part of the western shore, known as the region of Gennesareth.—The evangelist Mark likewise says, that the disciples set off to go over the lake to Bethsaida;⁶ from which, in connection with the preceding notices, it further follows, that the Bethsaida

Surius p. 324. Comp. Führer von Haimendorf p. 277. Korte p. 309.

¹ Matt. 4, 13.

² A parallel case is twice presented in Mark 7, 31: "And again, departing from the coasts (τὰ ὅρια) of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis." Here the word translated "coasts," is the same which in Matt. 4, 13, is rendered "borders;" for which in Mark 7, 24 we have also μεθόρια.—The view taken in the text does away the objection, urged by Reland and others, against the identity of the hot

baths of Tiberias with the ancient Hammath, viz that the latter was in Naphtali, while Capernaum, which lay north of Tiberias, was supposed to be on the line of division between Naphtali and Zebulon; Reland Pal. pp. 161, 1036 sq. See above, p. 385.

³ Matt. 14, 13–32. Mark 6, 32–51. John 6, 1–21.

⁴ Matt. 14, 34. Mark 6, 53.

⁵ John 6, 17. 24. 25.

⁶ Mark 6, 45; comp. vs. 53.—See generally Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 227.

of Galilee lay near to Capernaum, and probably in or near the same tract of Gennesareth.¹

As we visited again the shore of the lake in 1852; and I have since had occasion to re-examine the whole subject of the site of Capernaum, as also of Bethsaida and Chorazin, I defer the further consideration of this topic to another volume.² The names of Capernaum and Bethsaida have utterly perished; that of Chorazin possibly survives in the form Kerāzeh, applied to a slight ruin among the hills, an hour west of the lake.³

From Khān Minyeh, and the plain el-Ghuweir, the coast along the lake runs in a general direction northeast quite to the entrance of the Jordan. The high rocky ground on the north of the plain, extends out as a promontory quite into the lake; so that only a narrow and difficult path, hewn in the rock, leads around its point above the water.⁴ The great Damascus road passes up the hill directly from the Khān, and keeps along on a more northerly course over the high ground, by the Khān Jubb Yūsuf, and so to the Jisr Benāt Ya'kōb, the bridge over the Jordan south of the lake el-Hūleh.⁵

We set off at 11.55; our muleteers choosing to ascend the hill on the Damascus road, as the easiest; whence we again descended without a path to the shore on the other side of the promontory, about fifteen minutes distant from the Khān. After a few minutes more, we came at 12.20 to 'Ain et-Tābi-ghah. Here is a small village in a little plain or Wady, with a very copious stream bursting forth from immense fountains, slightly warm, but so brackish as not to be drinkable. The

¹ So too Epiphanius, speaking of Bethsaida and Capernaum, says: *οὐ μακρὰν ὕπταν τῶν τόπων τούτων τῷ διαστήματι.* Adv. Hær lib. II p. 437. Paris 1622.

² See fully, in Vol. III. Sect. VIII, under May 18th, 1852.

³ Turner relates that Burckhardt told him in Cairo, there was a village in this vicinity called "Kafer Naym;" but Burckhardt in his Travels makes not the slightest allusion to any such name; nor could Turner himself hear of any such name or place along the lake. Tour etc. II. p. 143. —Parthey also gives the name Capernaum in Arabic letters, as being still extant; but it appears on inquiry, that he obtained it at Nazareth; Berghaus' Memoir zu s. Karte von Syrien p. 45. —Richardson professes to have heard from Arabs, in reply to a direct question, that Capernaum and Chorazin were quite near, but in ruins. There may be here some doubt as to the correctness of the report; or, if such a reply was actually made (as he says) by persons asking for charity,

they of course gave such an answer as would be likely to propitiate the travellers and open their purses. Travels, etc. II. p. 443. —Pococke, as we have seen, heard the name Bethsaida at Irbid; see above, p. 378. Seetzen heard it applied to Khān Minyeh, probably by the Greek bishop and priests at Hasbeiyeh; Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 348. Keisen I. p. 344, 345. The spot however had long before been held to be Bethsaida; so Radzivil in Reissb. II. p. 154. —Pococke says he inquired for Chorazin, but could only hear of a name Gerasi; Vol. II. i. p. 72. This may have been the present Kerāzeh.

⁴ Nau p. 571. Berggren II. p. 250. Mouru II. p. 5.

⁵ This great road between Egypt and Syria, thus leading along the lake, might, if necessary, not inappropriately be taken as the "way of the sea," Is. 9, 1 [8, 23]. Matt 4, 15. But this expression in the sacred text probably implies nothing more than the region along the sea, the territories of Zebulun and Naphtali.

stream drives one or two mills; and double the same quantity of water runs to waste. Several other mills are in ruins. These mills were erected by the celebrated Dhâher el-'Omar already mentioned; and now belong to the government. They are farmed by people in Safed; and are served by Ghawârineh, for whom a few tents were pitched near by. The rent paid to the government is from twenty-five to thirty purses. Just east of the mills, on the right of the path, is a brackish fountain enclosed by a circular wall of stone, or a reservoir, like those at 'Ain el-Bârideh; it is called 'Ain Eyûb or Tannûr Eyûb, "Fountain or oven of Job."—I find et-Tâbighah mentioned by Cotovicus in A. D. 1598; but the name seems not to appear again until the time of Burckhardt; though Seetzen notices the brackish stream.¹ At present I regard it as the probable site of Bethsaida.²

As we proceeded, the path led along the gentle slope of the hills, which here come quite down to the shore; but they rise from it far less abruptly and to a much less elevation, than on the south of the plain el-Ghuweir. The ground is strewn very thickly with the black volcanic stones already described; among which was an abundance of grass, now dry and scorched by the sun. At 1 o'clock we came to the ruins of Tell Hûm, situated on a small projecting point or rather curve of the shore, slightly elevated above the water. Behind this spot the land slopes upward very gently and gradually for a considerable distance; but does not admit the name of mountain, unless in the most general sense; it certainly cannot be said to enclose the tract of ruins between it and the sea. The path passes at some distance from the ruins, along the gentle acclivity above; and as we turned aside to visit them, we had to pick our way among the profusion of volcanic stones.

The ruins at Tell Hûm are certainly very remarkable; and it is no wonder, that in the absence of all historical or traditional account respecting them, they should have been regarded as marking the site of the ancient Capernaum. Here are the remains of a place of considerable extent; covering a tract of at least half a mile in length along the shore, and about half that breadth inland. They consist chiefly of the foundations and fallen walls of dwellings and other buildings, all of unhewn stones, except two ruins. One of these is a small structure near the

¹ Taboga, Cotov. p. 359. Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 348. Reisen I. p. 344. The name stands upon his map. Burckhardt's Travels, p. 318. Buckingham's account of et-Tâbighah is drawn chiefly from his own imagination; Travels pp. 468, 469. 4to.

iii. 297, 298

² See Vol. III. Sect. VIII.—This spot, et-Tâbighah, has already sometimes been reported as Bethsaida; so Fürer von Haimendorf in 1566; p. 277. Nürnberg. 1646. Elliott's Travels, Lond. 1839. Vol. II. p. 348.

shore, the only one now standing ; on a nearer approach, it is seen to have been laid up in later times, with the hewn stones, columns, and pilasters of former buildings.¹ Not far off are the prostrate ruins of an edifice, which, for expense of labour and ornament, surpasses any thing we had yet seen in Palestine.

The extent of the foundations of this structure, is no longer definitely to be made out. We measured one hundred and five feet along the northern wall, and eighty feet along the western ; perhaps this was their whole length. Within the space thus enclosed and just around, are strewed, in utter confusion, numerous columns of compact limestone, with beautiful Corinthian capitals, sculptured entablatures, ornamented friezes, and the like. The pedestals of the columns are often still in their place, though sometimes overturned and removed. The columns are large, but of no great length. Here we found, for the first time, the singularity of double columns ; that is, two attached shafts, with capitals and base, cut from the same solid block. The shafts are parallel, showing that they were not intended to form the corner of a colonnade. The same singularity is seen on a much larger scale, in some of the immense Syenite columns of the ancient church in Tyre. Another peculiarity here, consists in several blocks of stone, nine feet long by half that width, and of considerable thickness, on one side of which are sculptured pannels with ornamental work, now defaced. They have much the appearance of a stone door ; but have no mark of having been suspended, and were more probably employed as pilasters, or perhaps as pannels, in the ornamented wall.

The stones of this edifice were large ; and the whole must once have been an elegant structure. The material is everywhere compact limestone ; unless some of the blocks may be regarded as passing over into a coarse marble. The character of the building it is difficult to determine. We could discern no connection of the foundations with the shore ; and could only regard the structure as having been either a church or a heathen temple. But the only distinctive mark (if such it be) in favour of the former supposition, was the circumstance, that the longest direction of the building appears to have been from west to east. The confusion is too great and hopeless, to admit of any certainty. Some slight excavations had recently been made among these ruins ; we could not learn by whom or for what purpose. The foundations were thus laid open in spots ; but not enough to make out the plan.²

¹ This is probably the "small church of white marble" of which Pococke speaks. His "round port for small boats" we did not remark. Vol. II. i. p. 72.

² This structure we found, in 1852, to be of Jewish origin ; see Vol. III. Sect. VIII, under May 18th.

The whole place is desolate and mournful. The bright waters of the lake still break upon its shore, and lave the ruins; as once they reflected the edifices and bore the little fleets of what of old was 'no mean city.' But the busy hum of men is gone. A few Arabs only of the Semekiyeh were here encamped in tents; and had built up a few hovels among the ruins, which they used as magazines.¹

That these nameless ruins should have been taken for Capernaum, was not unnatural; they are obviously the remains of a place of some importance, of which it is perhaps no longer possible to ascertain the name. The considerations already adduced, which show with certainty that Capernaum was connected with the plain of Gennesareth, prove conclusively that these ruins, an hour distant from that plain, cannot mark its site. Yet the opinion which regards them as Capernaum goes back for some centuries, but not, apparently, to the time of the crusades; it existed apparently along with that, which fixed the site at Khân Minyeh. I find the name of Tell Hûm for the first time in Nau, and then in Pococke; both of whom visited the spot, and speak of it as the place then commonly shown as Capernaum.² The same position, however, is thought by some to be assigned to Capernaum by Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century; while Brocardus, on the other hand, apparently refers the latter to Khân Minyeh.³ The next notice of Tell Hûm is by Burckhardt, who speaks only from hearsay; and since his day the spot has not unfrequently been visited.⁴ We inquired particularly, both of the Arabs encamped here and of others along the coast, whether there was now or formerly any different name for these ruins; but they had never heard of any other than Tell Hûm.

We left this interesting spot at 1.25, and soon crossed a dry

¹ From Tell Hûm the bearings were: Tiberias S. 20° W. Mejdél S. 45° W. Tell Hattîn S. 52° W.

² Nau writes the name Telhhoum; Voyage p. 572. Pococke has Telhoue, and strangely enough supposes it to be the site of Tarichæa; Vol. II. i. p. 72.—Korte in the same year (1738) seems to have been pointed to Khân Minyeh as Capernaum; p. 309.

³ Marin. Sanut. p. 247, "Cafarnaum prope latus aquilonare maris Galilææ ad duas leucas." If these "two leagues" are to be estimated from a point on the shore near Mejdél, apparently assumed as the foot of the Mount of Beatitudes, of which the writer had just been speaking; they serve to fix the site of his Capernaum at Tell Hûm. Brocardus places it at one league from the same place at the foot of

the same mountain; his account then answers to Khân Minyeh; c. 4. p. 173. If however the two leagues of M. Sanutus are to be reckoned from the north end of the lake, as is most probable, they reach to Khân Minyeh; and he then coincides with Brocardus.

⁴ Burckhardt in returning from Jerash, speaks of Tell Hûm as on the east side of the lake; but afterwards, in passing from Safed to Tiberias, he places it correctly; pp. 279, 319. Subsequent visitors are: Buckingham p. 472, 4to. Berggren Reise II. p. 250. Monro II. p. 8. Elliott II. p. 349, etc. Seetzen passed along this road, but does not speak of Tell Hûm; though the name is found on his map; Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVII. p. 348. Reisen I. p. 344.

Wady, of which we could here learn no name ; but found next day, that higher up towards the north, it is called 'Ayūn el-'Abbâsy. The ground continues all the way to rise gently from the lake towards the northwest ; but there is no high hill, no steep acclivity, as along the southern parts of the lake. The surface is everywhere strewed with the same black stones ; and the path lies at some distance from the shore. At 1.50 we crossed a shallow Wady near its head, with a little water rising from small springs just by ; it is called Wady el-Eshsheh. At 2½ o'clock, after an hour and five minutes from Tell Hūm, we reached the banks of the Jordan, just at its entrance into the lake. The river here runs near the foot of the western hills, which next its valley are steep ; but not high ; while on the other side of the stream, a fine fertile plain stretches off along the end of the lake, for an hour or more, quite to the mountains which skirt the eastern shore.

The estuary of the Jordan here presents an unusual appearance. The strong southerly winds have driven up a bank of sand before the mouth, which now rises above the water, and being connected with the eastern shore, extends out for fifteen or twenty rods southwest, forming a channel for the river for some distance along the shore on that side. We had thought of crossing the Jordan and encamping on the other bank ; but as we found the stream not easily fordable with the luggage, and the ground also at this point was not favourable for encamping, we concluded to go to some tents which we saw on the western bank, eight or ten minutes higher up. An intervening marsh, occupied in part as a rice field, compelled us to make a circuit quite to the foot of the hills ; and after a quarter of an hour we reached the tents and pitched for the night in their neighbourhood. Among the tents were several huts slightly built of reeds ; these are common in this quarter, as well as around the south end of the Dead Sea. The Ghawârineh who dwell here, have a few magazines rudely built of stone. Other similar encampments of the same people, are scattered upon the plain east of the river.

This plain, skirted, as I have said, on the east by the mountains which enclose the lake, is shut in also on the north by similar mountains, or rather hills, of considerable altitude, which approach close to the Jordan higher up, and confine it to a valley of no great width. The plain has much the appearance of an alluvial deposit brought down by the Jordan ;¹ or more probably driven up by the prevailing southerly winds from the bottom of the lake. At the northwest corner of the plain,

¹ So Seetzen, *Zach's Monatl. Corr.* XVIII. p. 346.

a lower spur or promontory from the northern mountains, runs out for some distance southwards along the river, and forms for a time the eastern wall of its valley. On its southern extremity we could distinguish ruins; the people on the spot call it simply et-Tell, and knew for it no other name.¹ The plain itself bears the name of Batihah, signifying a low tract liable to be overflowed by streams.²

As we approached the north end of the lake, I had for some time felt myself unwell. The thermometer for some hours had risen to 95° and 96° F. with a strong southwest wind of the same temperature, sweeping over the lake. I had perhaps unwisely exerted myself too much, in ascending the hill by the Round fountain under such circumstances, and then in overtaking the party on foot at Wady er-Rübüdiyeh. Whatever might be the cause, I now felt myself seized by a burning fever, and the wind came over me with a scorching glow; although to my companions it was cooling and refreshing. I sought for a shade; but not a tree was in sight which afforded one; the many thorn bushes, although large, yielded no shadow; and all I could do, while the tent was pitching, was to cast my Arab cloak over one of these latter, in order to procure shade at least for my head, while I lay down for a few moments in the vain hope of sleep. But the heat was too scorching, and I was glad to retreat as soon as possible to the tent, heated and confined as the air there was. We had proposed to cross the river in order to explore the beautiful plain, and examine several sites of ruins which the Ghawârinah spoke of; and the Sheikh, a very civil and intelligent man, had offered to accompany us. But in my present state, it would have been madness for me to attempt such an excursion; and I was therefore compelled, with sadness, to see my companions depart without me. My only remedy lay in abstinence and sleep. They were absent nearly two and a half hours, and returned highly gratified. The following notices of the plain are drawn chiefly from Mr Smith's notes.

Taking the best mules, and accompanied by the Sheikh on his fine mare, they forded the river below our tent near the lake on a sand-bar, where the water came half way up the sides of the mules. Leaving the ford at 5 o'clock, their course lay at first about S. 40° E. along the shore. In five minutes they came to the ruins of a village of moderate size, called el-A'raj,

¹ So too Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 343. But he also writes the name Tellanihje; *ib.* p. 342, 345; misprinted Tellanihje in Zach's *Mon. Corr.* XVIII. p. 249 sq. Pococke has Telouy, II. i. p. 72. We heard nothing of any such name.

iii. 303, 304

² Burckhardt heard of this name as he crossed the Jordan at the bridge higher up; and by a not unnatural mistake applies it to a village at this point; p. 316. His orthography is also incorrect; see *Freytag Lex. Arab.* Tom. I. p. 180.

consisting entirely of unhewn volcanic stones, like those along the western coast. The only relic of antiquity noticed here, was a small sarcophagus of the same material.

Proceeding still in the same direction along the coast, they reached at 5.20 the similar village of el-Mes'adiyeh. The houses, built of the same species of stone, are mostly in ruins; but several of them are kept in a sort of repair by the Ghawârîneh, as magazines for their grain, and other products.¹

The Sheikh spoke of Dûkah as another like ruin, further down upon the coast; they went on and reached it at 5.47. It occupies a slight eminence projecting a little into the lake, and is considerably larger than either of the villages already described. Like them, it is composed entirely of volcanic stones, and several of the houses are repaired as magazines. It lies within a short distance of the eastern mountains, where they come down to the sea and give to the coast a southern direction.²

The party had now rode, in forty-seven minutes, over nearly the whole length of the plain along the lake, but at a much more rapid pace than usual; so that the whole distance may be taken at somewhat more than an hour, according to the ordinary rate of travel with mules. The average breadth they estimated at perhaps half the length. The general direction of the coast from the mouth of the Jordan to Dûkah is about S. 25° E. From Dûkah to the Tell the course lay diagonally across the plain, and afforded an opportunity of examining it more closely. It is perfectly level, and a more fertile tract can scarcely be imagined. There is a striking resemblance between it and the Ghuweir north of Mejdél, in form, climate, soil, and productions; yet the Batihah appears, if anything, to be superior. Like the other, it is given up to the Ghawârîneh, who cultivate upon it wheat, barley, millet, maize, and rice. Burckhardt says the inhabitants raise large quantities of cucumbers and gourds, which they carry to the market of Damascus, three weeks before the same fruits ripen there. The excellent honey, which according to that traveller is produced here, we did not hear of.³ The Ghawârîneh have also large herds of horned cattle, among which are many buffalos; all these were now returning from pasture across the plain, to pass the night near the tents of their owners; and presented a greater appearance of ease, not to say of wealth, than we had yet seen among the Arabs.

¹ The following bearings were taken here: Tiberias S. 39° W. A'raj N. 40° W. et-Tell N. 5° E. Dûkah about S. 25° E.

² From Dûkah, Tiberias bore S. 54° W. Kûrûn Hattin S. 70° W. et-Tell N. 5° W.

³ Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 316.

These buffalos are of course a different species from the vast herds bearing that name, which roam over the western wilds of North America. They are very common in Egypt, being kept both for milk and for labour; and are found also in Italy, especially in the Pontine marshes. In Egypt, as likewise here and around the lake el-Hûleh, they are mingled with the neat cattle, and are applied in general to the same uses. But they are a shy, ill-looking, ill-tempered animal. They doubtless existed anciently in Palestine; though probably in a wild state, or unsubdued to labour, as at the present day in Abyssinia.¹ The remark was made to me in Egypt, that the Abyssinians, when they come to that country, are astonished at the comparative tameness of the buffalo, and stand in much greater fear of them than the Egyptians do. The actual existence of this animal in Palestine, leaves little doubt that it is the *Reem* of the Hebrew Scriptures; for which both ancient and modern versions have substituted the apparently fabulous unicorn.² The present name of the buffalo in Arabic is Jâmûs.

The plain is owned by the government, which receives a share of the produce from the Ghawârineh, its only cultivators. The extreme fertility is owing not only to the fine soil of black loam, but also the abundance of water. Not less than three perennial streams, besides the Jordan, contribute to its irrigation. These were crossed by my companions in passing from Dûkah to the Tell. The easternmost and largest, Wady es-Sûnâm, they reached at ten minutes past 6 o'clock; it comes down from the mountains through a large ravine at the north-east corner of the plain. The next, Wady ed-Dâlieh, was crossed at 6½ o'clock; and the third, Wady es-Sûfa, five minutes later; these two descend near each other from the mountains north of the plain. All were thickly bordered with oleanders now in full blossom. My companions failed to notice where these waters enter the lake; for though in passing along the coast, they crossed two or three small creeks, yet none of them attracted attention at the moment as the mouths of Wadys.

The Ghawârineh were encamped all along the shore, mostly in small huts made of reeds and rushes; though a few had tents of black cloth. They never live in houses. There may have been in all not far from a hundred and fifty of these temporary dwellings. The people, for the most part, were sitting listless in and around their open tents and huts; exposing themselves fully to the strong lake breeze under the temperature of 90° F. and apparently enjoying themselves in

¹ See Bruce's Travels, etc. Vol. V. p. 82. [11.] The Reem is several times coupled

² Num. 23, 22. Deut. 33, 17. Job 39, with, or compared to, the ox; see especially Job 1 c.

iii. 306, 307

their indolent mode of life. They had been all disarmed, and soldiers had been taken from them by the government; as was also the case with the Arabs we saw on the west of the lake. On the east of the river, in the district of Jaulân and elsewhere, the Arabs had not been disarmed.

The party reachd et-Tell at 6.40. It is the largest of all the ruins around the plain, and is considered as a sort of capital by the Ghawârineh; although they have lost the ancient name, and now occupy in it only a few houses as magazines. The Tell, as we have seen, extends from the foot of the northern mountains southwards, near the point where the Jordan issues from them. The ruins cover a large portion of it, and are quite extensive; but so far as could be observed, consist entirely of unhewn volcanic stones, without any distinct trace of ancient architecture.¹

In returning, they forded the Jordan not far from the Tell, where the water reached no higher than the bellies of the mules. The land along the banks was here so abundantly irrigated, as to become in several places almost a marsh. They reached our tent at twenty minutes past 7 o'clock.²

This Tell and the ruins upon it above described, are probably no other than the site of the ancient Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, afterwards called Julias; which Pliny places on the east of the lake and the Jordan, and Josephus describes as situated in lower Gaulonitis, just above the entrance of the Jordan into the lake.³ It was originally but a village, called Bethsaida; but was built up and enlarged by Philip the Tetrarch, not long after the birth of Christ, and received the name of Julias in honour of Julia the daughter of Augustus.⁴ Philip would seem to have made it in part his residence; here he died and was buried in a costly tomb.⁵ This is the Bethsaida near to which Jesus fed the five thousand on the east of the lake; and probably also the same, where the blind man was healed.⁶

¹ From the Tell, Tiberias bore S 34° W. Entrance of the Jordan S 45° W. Kûrûn Hattin S. 54° W.

² The following are the bearings taken from the tent: Tiberias S. 87° W. Tabor S. 50° W. Mejdcl S. 54° W. Kûrûn Hattin S. 60° W. et-Tell N. 60° E.

³ Plin. H. N. 5 15: "Jordanes in lacum se fundit, . . . amœnis circumseptum oppidis, ab oriente Juliade et Hippo."—Jos. B. J. 2. 9. 1, 'Ο μὲν (Φίλιππος) πρὸς ταῖς Ἰορδάνου πηγαῖς ἐν Πανεδδί πόλιν κτίσει Καισάρειαν, κἂν τῇ κάτω Γαυλανιτικῇ Ἰουλιᾷδα. Ib. 3. 10. 7, Διαμείψας δὲ (ὁ Ἰορδάνης) ἐτέρους ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι σταδίου, μετὰ πόλιν Ἰουλιᾷδα διεκτέμνει τὴν Γεννησάρ μέσσην. See also ib. 3. 5. 5. The mention of Gaulonitis fixes this place on

the east of the Jordan, as decidedly as that of Galilee does the other Bethsaida on the west; John 12, 21. To this day the adjacent district on the east of the Jordan bears the name of Jaulân.—So too Jerome, Comm. in Matt. 16, 13: "Philippus . . . ex nomine filiae ejus (Augusti) Juliadem trans Jordanem extruxit."

⁴ Luke 3, 1. Joseph. Ant. 18. 2. 1, Φίλιππος . . . κώμην δὲ Βηθσαιδὰν πρὸς λίμνῃ δὲ τῇ Γεννησαοῖτιδι, πόλιος παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα, πλῆθει τε οἰκητόρων δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει, Ἰουλίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος δμῶνυμον ἐκδόλεσεν.—See also the preceding note

⁵ Joseph. Ant. 18. 4. 6.

⁶ Luke 9, 10. Mark 8, 22. See above, p. 397. n. 2. However definitely the two

There seems to be no later historical notice of the place whatever.¹

The Jordan, as we saw it here, is less broad, less deep, and less rapid, than where we had come upon it near the Dead Sea. I estimated the breadth at about two thirds of what it was at Jericho; that is, from sixty to seventy-five feet. It is a sluggish stream, turbid, but not clayey; winding between low alluvial banks, from which it washes off portions in one place to deposit them in another; so that the channel would seem to be continually changing. There are many bars and shallows, where the river may occasionally be forded; in other parts the water has considerable depth, but no strength of current.² We saw many neat cattle and buffalos swimming the river. The latter require somewhat deep water in order to swim; as only a small part of the head appears above the surface.

The portion of the Jordan between the lake of Tiberias and that of el-Huleh, was to us a matter of no little interest;³ and becomes perhaps the more important, in connection with the varying and inconsistent accounts of the difference of elevation between the two lakes. Yet I am not aware that any traveller except Pococke, had then passed along this part of the river; Seetzen travelled from the bridge above, to the lake of Tiberias, over the high land on the east of the valley.⁴ From our encampment, and especially from the Tell further north, we could see up the valley of the river for at least an hour from the lower lake; above which the river appeared to issue from a still narrower, and, as we afterwards saw from higher ground, a somewhat winding valley with steep banks, which breaks down through the tract of table land between the two lakes.

The Arabs living on the spot informed us, that the valley continues narrow quite up to the bridge, with no intervening smaller lake or spreading of the river. The distance from the mouth of the Jordan to the bridge, is reckoned at two hours. This accords with the information obtained by Burckhardt; who

Bethsaldas of Galilee and Gaulonitis are thus distinguished, yet Reland appears to have been the first to assume two different places, *Palæst* p. 653 sq. Cellarius felt the difficulty as one of the greatest in sacred geography, but could not solve it; *Notit. Orb.* II. p. 536.

¹ Pococke calls the Tell in question "Telouy," and also makes it the site of Julius; of which name, he strangely enough holds his "Telouy" to be a corruption; *Vol. II. i. p. 72. fol.* Seetzen places Julius at his "Tallauhiye;" *Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 346.* See above, p. 410. n. 1.

² The story told by Dr Clarke and iii. 309, 310

others, that the Jordan maintains its course through the middle of the lake without mingling its waters, is nothing more than a fable. It seems to have sprung out of the language of Josephus, who says the Jordan *divides* the lake; *B. J. 3. 10. 7.* See Clarke's *Travels in the Holy Land* 4to. p. 474. So too Irby and Mangles, p. 295. [90.]

³ Burckhardt says the river in this part is called Urdun by the inhabitants; *Travels*, p. 43. We did not hear this name.

⁴ Pococke *Descr. of the East*, II. i. pp 72, 73. Seetzen in *Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 346.* *Reisen* I. p. 343.

further gives the distance from the bridge to the lake el-Hûleh, at three quarters of an hour.¹ At the bridge, the river is described by the same traveller, as flowing in a narrow bed with a rapid stream; Schubert speaks also of the rapid current, and gives the breadth at about eighty feet, the depth being about four feet.² The stream can be seen below the bridge for nearly an English mile; where a sort of tumulus and ruins are visible.³ From the bridge to the point to which we could look up the valley, is of course about an hour of distance. In that interval, according to Pococke, the river, "passes between the hills over the rocks with a great noise; and the stream is almost hid by shady trees, chiefly of the *platanus* kind."⁴ Lieut. Lynch and his party here "followed the Jordan up the high mountain pass, down which it rushed a foaming torrent."⁵ According to Wildenbruch, the Jordan below the bridge forms a continued waterfall."⁶ The path appears to lie not in the chasm itself, but along the hills on the west.⁷

We naturally felt a strong desire to pass up through this valley; but our muleteers were averse to it, and the Arabs described the path as neglected and difficult, on account of the many thorny shrubs. At that time, we expected still to cross the bridge, on our way to Damascus, and were therefore less disposed to insist upon taking this route; but we afterwards greatly regretted, that we did not proceed first to the bridge and thence to Safed.

We here quitted the shores of the lake of Tiberias; and in respect to the general impression made upon us by the scenery of its coasts, I have nothing to add to what I have already said, upon our first approach.⁸ The form of its basin is not unlike

¹ Burckhardt pp. 315, 316. The distance from the bridge to the plain Batthah is given by Burckhardt correctly at 1½ hour; ib.—Pococke says the Jordan runs about ten English miles between the two lakes. He everywhere reckons three miles to an hour; but as the path is here bad, his estimate is doubtless too great. *Descr. of the East* l. c.—From the bridge to el-Hûleh, Pococke makes a mile and a half; while Monro gives it at only half a mile. *Summer Ramble* II. p. 44. The estimate of Burckhardt is probably nearest the truth.—Between the bridge and the Hûleh, Pococke describes a mineral fountain walled in, like those south of Mejdal; p. 73:

² Burckhardt l. c. Schubert *Reise*. III. p. 259. Seetzen (l. c.) gives the breadth of the river at 35 paces; Cotovicus the length of the bridge at 60 paces; p. 361. According to Schubert's estimate, the breadth of the stream is not much more than half the length of the bridge.

³ Monro II. p. 44. Pococke l. c. p. 73.

⁴ Pococke l. c. p. 72

⁵ *Off. Report*, p. 43. *Narrat.* p. 470. In this last passage, the river is said to be here "a perfect torrent."

⁶ *Monathsber. e. Ges. f. Erdk.* III. p. 271, and *Sect.* Berlin, 1846.

⁷ The barometrical measurements of Schubert give the difference of elevation, between the lake of Tiberias and the Jordan at the bridge, as equal to 880 Paris feet; *Reise* III. p. 259. Berton in like manner gives the difference between the two lakes at 224.2 Fr. metres, or nearly 700 Paris feet. *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.* Sept. 1839. pp. 145, 146. Wildenbruch gives 793.3 Paris feet; *Monathsber.* p. 271. Hence, in the distance of little more than an hour, as mentioned in the text, according to the least of these estimates, the stream must have a descent of not less than 500 feet.

⁸ See above, p. 380.

an oval ; but the regular and almost unbroken heights which enclose it, bear no comparison, as to vivid and powerful effect, with the wild and stern magnificence of the mountains around the caldron of the Dead Sea. On the southern part of the lake, and along its whole eastern coast, the mountain wall may be estimated as elevated eight hundred or a thousand feet above the water, steep, but not precipitous. On the east the mountains spread off into the high uneven table land of Jaulân (Gaulonitis), and on the west into the large plain north of Tabor ; rising indeed very slightly, if at all, above these high plains. Along the northwest part of the lake, beyond Mejdél, the hills are lower, and the country back of them more broken ; they rise with a gradual ascent from the shore, and do not reach at first an elevation of more than from three to five hundred feet. Such is the tract of broken table land occupying the space between the two lakes of Tiberias and Hùleh ; though more in the northwest it has perhaps an elevation of eight hundred feet. Still further in the northwest the higher mountains of Safed rise abruptly from this table land, and reach at length an elevation not much less than two thousand five hundred feet above the lake.

The position of this lake, embosomed deep in the midst of higher tracts of country, exposes it, as a matter of course, to gusts of wind, and in winter to tempests. One such storm is recorded during the course of our Lord's ministry.¹ But in order to account for this, it is surely not necessary to assume, (as is sometimes done,) any peculiarly tempestuous character in the lake itself ; nor does it appear, either from the testimony of the ancients or of the present inhabitants, that storms are more frequent within the basin, than in the region round about.²

The volcanic nature of the basin of this lake, and of the surrounding country, is not to be mistaken. The hot springs near Tiberias and at Um Keis southeast of the lake, as also the lukewarm fountains along the western shore ; the frequent and violent earthquakes ; and the black basaltic stones, which thickly strew the ground ; all leave no room for doubt on this point. Although the main formation is limestone, yet the basalt continues to appear, more or less, quite through the basin of the Hùleh as far as to Bâniâs ; the bridge between the lakes, as also the adjacent Khân, is built of basaltic stones ; and the

¹ Matt. 8, 23 sq. Mark 4, 35 sq. Luke 8, 22 sq.—In the other instance, where Jesus followed his disciples, walking on the water, it is only said that the wind was contrary, and as John adds, great ; Matt. 14, 24. Mark 6, 48. John 6, 18 All this would apply to the lake, as we saw it ;

iii. 312. 313

and to the detention of the boat on the other side which hindered us from hiring it ; see above. p. 395.

² Jac. de Vitruv. c. 53. p. 1075. Mariti Voyages II. p. 168. Neuw. 1791. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land, 4to. p. 474. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. II. ii p. 180.

wild and dreary region on the east, between that bridge and the lower lake, consists wholly of basalt.¹ Other traces of volcanic action exist, as we shall see, in the northwest of Safed.

The extent of the lake has sometimes been greatly overrated. We had now travelled along its western shore for nearly its whole length; and the results afford a means of forming an estimate approaching more nearly to the truth. The distances are as follows:

From the southern end of the lake to

	H. Min.
1. The Warm Baths ²	1.
2. Tiberias	— 35
3. Mejdél	1. 10
4. Khán Minyeh ³	1. —
5. Tell Hâm	1. 05
6. Entrance of the Jordan,	1. 05
<hr/>	
Whole length of the western coast	5. 55

This distance of six hours is equivalent to about fourteen and a half geographical miles along the western coast. But as the latter forms a deep curve at Mejdél, the distance in a straight line from the entrance of the Jordan on the north, to its exit in the south, cannot be more than eleven or twelve geographical miles; and the same result is also obtained from the construction of the map. The greatest breadth, opposite to Mejdél, is about half the length, or not far from six geographical miles; while the breadth opposite Tiberias is about five miles.⁴

Lieut. Lynch and his party made no regular survey of the lake of Tiberias; but they determined the length to be somewhat over eleven geographical miles.⁵ The bottom is a concave basin; and the greatest depth ascertained by sounding was 165 feet.⁶ The depression of the surface below the Mediterranean has as yet been measured only with the barometer, with varying results.⁶

Thursday, June 21st. We rose early, and I rejoiced to find myself better and able to proceed. Abstinence and quiet rest

¹ Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII pp. 345, 346. Schubert Reise III. p. 260. Burckhardt p. 319. Anderson's Geol. Report, p. 124, 134.

² The distance No. 1, is from Pococke and Fisk; see above, p. 387. That along the shore from Mejdél to Khán Minyeh is from Burckhardt, p. 320. The rest are from our own observations.

³ Josephus gives the breadth of the lake at 40 stadia or 5 Roman miles; the length

at 140 stadia or 17½ Roman miles; which if reckoned along the shore, accords very nearly with our result of about 6 hours. Joseph. B. J. 3. 10. 7. Probably such was the intention of Josephus; but his account has usually been understood of the absolute length of the lake.

⁴ See in Note XXX, end of Vol. I.

⁵ Off. Report, p. 15.

⁶ See in Note XXX, end of Vol. I.

had done a good work. Our neighbours, the Ghawârineh, were already busied with their herds, milking and sending them off to pasture. At the side of the reed huts, the females plied their cares with the dairy; one was churning in the manner we had often seen; having the milk in a large goat skin suspended in a slight frame of sticks; the skin being then moved to and fro with a jerk.¹ The morning was bright and balmy; the scene was enlivened by the moving herds; and I watched them with some interest, especially the buffalos, as they descended into the Jordan, swam through its tide with only their noses above water, and again emerged slowly and awkwardly upon the other side.

We set off at 5.50 for Safed. The usual path leads directly up the somewhat steep hill on the west of the Jordan valley, and is considerably travelled by persons coming to trade with the Ghawârineh of this tract. But our younger muleteer, who was a native of Safed and well acquainted with the ground, chose to avoid the steep ascent, by taking us back for some distance along the shore on our path of yesterday, and then striking up the more gradual rise without a path, in order to regain the direct road. A large pelican was swimming on the smooth waters of the lake. At 6½ o'clock we reached the proper Safed road, nearly upon the high table land; having lost by the detour about fifteen minutes.

Our course was now not far from W. N. W. verging perhaps more towards the northwest and affording noble views of the lake in all its extent. This region of table land is less elevated than the plain south of Tell Hattin, and far more undulating and uneven. It is also exceedingly stony, being thickly strewn with the black volcanic stones already described, which are here larger, and so numerous, that the path is often obstructed. At 8.10 we passed the broad and shallow beginning of a Wady which runs down to the lake east of Tell Hûm; in it at this point are several scanty wells called 'Ayûn el-'Abbasy.

At 8.40 we crossed the great Damascus road, which comes up from Khân Minyeh, and here passes along the eastern base of the higher Safed hills, now just before us. Further on, this road bends more towards the northeast to the bridge over the Jordan; while a less frequented branch keeps along the western side of the Hûleh, and proceeds up Wady et-Teim by Hâsbeiya and Râsheiyeh, and so to Damascus. On this road, about fifteen minutes south of the point where we crossed, lies Khân Jubb Yûsuf, the Khân of Joseph's Pit; so called because of a well connected with it, which has long passed with Christians

¹ See Vol. I. p. 485.

and Muslims, for the pit or cistern into which Joseph was thrown by his brethren. This is another of the large Khâns which mark the Damascus road ; it is falling to ruin, although still partially kept in repair as a resting place for caravans. There is a well within the walls, and near by is a large tank for water. We learned at Safed, that a caravan was soon to leave 'Akka for Damascus ; and the governor of Safed had received orders, to furnish a supply of provisions and necessities for it at this Khân.

The reputed pit of Joseph is in the court by the side of the Khân, and is described by Burckhardt as three feet in diameter and at least thirty feet deep ; the bottom is said to be hewn in the rock, and the water never to fail ; the sides are built up with masonry.¹ The Christian tradition, which makes this the place of Joseph's abduction, fixes here also as a matter of course Dothaim ; and the whole legend was probably at first connected with the hypothesis, that the adjacent fortress of Safed was the Bethulia of Judith. Bethulia and Dothaim are indeed represented as not far distant from each other ; but the book of Judith obviously speaks of them as on the south of the plain of Esdraelon ; while Eusebius and Jerome definitely place Dothaim at twelve Roman miles north of Sebaste.² Yet this legend, clumsy as it is, goes back to the time of the crusades. This place is distinctly pointed out by Brocardus as Dothaim, at the foot of the mountains of Bethulia, on the great road leading from Syria to Egypt.³ Not long after, Abulfeda mentions here also the Jubb Yûsuf.⁴ The Khân and cisterns are spoken of by Fürer and Radzivil in the sixteenth century ; and Quaresmius in the seventeenth appears to yield full faith to the tradition.⁵

After crossing the Damascus road, the volcanic stones ceased ; and we began almost immediately to ascend the limestone mountain before us by a steep acclivity. We came out upon the high ground above at 9½ o'clock ; but still continued to ascend more gradually over higher table land, on the same general course as before. At 9.55 we came in sight of Safed, lying still higher up. We had already fallen in with many of the inhabitants of that place, gathering the scanty harvest, which they cultivate upon the naked and rather barren hills and

¹ Burckhardt p. 318.

² Judith 4, 5. 7, 1. 8. Onomast. art. *Dothaim*.

³ Cap. 5. 174. Brocardus says the very cistern of Joseph was still shown ; but adds the saving clause : " si incolis fides sit habenda."—Eugesippus relates the same story perhaps earlier ; but fixes the

place at four miles *south* of Tiberias ; for which possibly we ought to read *north* ; Eugesipp. in L. Allatii Symmikt. p. 109. Col. Agr. 1653.

⁴ Abulf. Tah. Syr. p. 82.

⁵ Fürer von Haimend. p. 278. Nürnberg. 1646. Radzivil in Reissb. II. p. 154. Quaresmius II. p. 870

table land, for quite a distance around. They were mostly females; and seemed well acquainted with our younger muleteer, their townsman. Descending into a deep ravine running up west, we reached at 10.10 its junction with another coming down from the north, and having its head just below the castle of Safed, towards the northeast. At the point of junction is a fountain much frequented by the flocks; and also a thick and verdant garden of pomegranate trees below. We now ascended this steep ravine towards the north, and at 10½ o'clock pitched our tent near the head of the same valley, below the castle, on the east.

Safed lies on a high isolated hill or peak, rising upon the northern end of a steep ridge, which runs down towards the S. S. W., between the eastern valley through which we had ascended, and another still deeper one on the west. The latter has its beginning, as a deep narrow basin, on the north of the hill of Safed; the water-shed between it and the eastern Wady being on the northeast of the castle, just north of where we were encamped. The two valleys, after running for some time parallel, come together and thus terminate the ridge; the united Wady then passes on down to the lake of Tiberias across the plain el-Ghuweir as Wady el-'Amūd. The most elevated conical point of Safed is towards the north, and is crowned by the castle, high above the deep valley in the north and west, and considerably higher also than the head of the eastern valley and the water-shed on the northeast. This castellated summit rises likewise high and rocky above the more southern part of the ridge; just at its southern base is a slight depression or gap in the ridge itself; south of which is another lower rocky point or summit.—The town of Safed was properly divided into three distinct quarters, separated by the nature of the ground. One was upon this lower southern summit, overagainst the castle; another below the castle in the head of the eastern valley near our tent; and the third, the seat of the Jews, was on the steep western and northwestern side of the main summit, immediately below the castle. Between this and the southern quarter, is the market.

Safed was formerly a busy, thriving place, with a population of eight or nine thousand inhabitants; among whom were some Christians and a large proportion of Jews, chiefly from Poland; though there were also some from Germany, Austria, and Spain.¹ Muhammedans occupied the southern and eastern

¹ We unfortunately obtained no statistical data at Safed; and the estimates which exist, vary exceedingly. In connection with the earthquake, the whole population was spoken of as amounting to 10,000 souls, of

whom more than 5000 were Jews and Christians; see Mr Thomson's Report, *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1837, pp. 433, 438. This is perhaps too large. In 1836, Elliott, travelling with Mr Nicolayson,

quarters; their houses were built chiefly of stone, and seem to have had more solidity than those of the Jews. The people, or at least the individuals whom we met, appeared to be a more active and enterprising race than those further south. The young men especially made much more display, than we had been accustomed to find. Here for the first time, we saw the short close jacket, with embroidered sleeves hanging loose from the shoulders; the back being at the same time ornamented with strips of cloth of another colour. This, with a certain peculiar twist of their white turbans, gave them quite a jaunty air. Our younger muleteer, who was here at home, was of this class; but he had taken care not to appear in this costume until we approached Safed.—Around the town are large plantations of olives; and, to my surprise, we found here vineyards. The chief occupation of the inhabitants was formerly dyeing with indigo, and the manufacture of cotton cloth.¹

The Jewish quarter was far more slightly built, as well as more crowded. Clinging to the steep western declivity below the castle, their houses were often of mud, and stood in rows one above another, almost like the seats of an amphitheatre; so that, in some instances, the flat roofs of one row actually served as the street for those next above.² Safed is one of the holy places of the Jews in Galilee, and for several centuries has been more visited by them than Tiberias; though the chief Rabbi of the latter city, is said to take rank of the one in Safed.³ Of their former flourishing state and their celebrated schools, I shall speak further on; but even since the period of their decay, they have had six or seven synagogues, and a school for the study of the Talmud, as in Tiberias. More than all this, too, they have had a printing office dating from the sixteenth century; in connection with which, in 1833, some thirty persons found regular employment.⁴

gives the whole number at 6000; of whom 1500 were Jews, and about 50 Christians; Travels II. p. 353. This again would seem to be too small. In 1833, Hardy, travelling also with Messrs Nicolayson and Thomson, fixes the whole number at 8000; Notices etc. p. 243. Mr Jowett, who was here with Mr Fisk in 1824, estimates the whole population at 7000, among whom were 400 families of Jews; Chr. Res. in Syr. p. 180. Lond. Berggren in 1822 gives 3000 Muhammedans with 800 Jewish and 80 Christian families; Reisen II. pp 253–255. Burckhardt estimated the houses at 600 in all; of which 150 belonged to the Jews, and 80 to 100 to Christians; p. 317. All this seems to indicate at least, that the population had been gradually increasing.

VOL. II.—36

¹ Burckhardt p. 317. Hardy Notices, etc. p. 243.

² Elliott l. c. p. 353, "As the hill on which the town is built is precipitous, and the roofs are flat, public convenience has sanctioned the conversion of these into thoroughfares; so that, both on mules and on foot, we repeatedly passed over the tops of dwellings."

³ Jowett Chr. Res. in Syria, p. 180. Lond.

⁴ Nau in 1674 speaks of seven synagogues; p. 561. So too Von Egmond and Heyman, and afterwards Pococke; the former also mention the high school and printing office; Reizen II. p. 41. Pococke II. i. p. 76. Schulz in 1755 gives the number of Jews at two hundred; the iii. 319, 320

Crowning the rocky summit, above the whole town, was the extensive Gothic castle, a remnant of the times of the crusades, forming a most conspicuous object at a great distance in every direction, except towards the north. Though already partially in ruins before the earthquake, it was nevertheless sufficiently in repair to be the official residence of the Mutesellim; and on a former visit to Safed, my companion had paid his respects to that officer within its walls. The fortress is described as having been strong and imposing, with two fine large round towers; it was surrounded by a wall lower down, with a broad trench.¹

Such was Safed down to the close of the year 1836. But on the first day of January, 1837, the new year was ushered in by the tremendous shocks of an earthquake, which rent the earth in many places, and in a few moments prostrated most of the houses, and buried thousands of the inhabitants of Safed beneath the ruins. The castle was utterly thrown down; the Muhammedan quarters, standing on more level ground and being more solidly built, were somewhat less injured; while here, as in Tiberias, the calamity, in its full weight, fell with relentless fury upon the ill fated Jews. The very manner in which their houses were erected along the steep hill-side, exposed them to a more fearful destruction; for when the terrific shock dashed their dwellings to the ground, those above fell upon those lower down; so that, at length, the latter were covered with accumulated masses of ruins. Slight shocks continued at intervals for several weeks; serving to aggravate the scene of unspeakable dismay and distress, which now prevailed here. Many were killed outright by the falling ruins; very many were engulfed and died a miserable death before they could be dug out; some were extricated even after five or six days, covered with wounds and bruises, only to prolong for a few hours a painful existence; while others, with broken limbs, but more tenacity of life, lived to recover. The spectacle which was presented for several weeks after the catastrophe,—in every quarter the wounded, the dying, and the dead, without shelter, without attendance, without a place to lay their heads; on every side “wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores, that had not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment,”²—these scenes were described

number of students in the school at twenty; and says the printing office had been in the village 'Ain ez-Zeitûn in the valley north, but was then given up. Leitungen, etc. Th. V. pp. 211, 212. In 1833 Mr Hardy mentions two presses at work, and two others in the course of erection. The type and furniture were said to be made here under the direction of the master. The execution of the works printed was

iii. 321, 322

quite respectable; and near thirty persons were employed in the different departments of composing, press work, and binding. See Hardy's Notices, p. 244. Comp. Monro II. p. 13. See more further on.

¹ Van Egmond and Heyman II. p. 48 sq. Pococke II. i p. 76. Burckhardt p. 317.

² Is. 1, 6.

to us by eyewitnesses as inexpressibly painful, and sometimes revolting even to loathsomeness. According to the best accounts, there perished, in all, not far from five thousand persons ; of whom about one thousand were Muhammedans and the rest chiefly Jews.¹

So soon as certain intelligence of these sufferings arrived at Beirût, contributions were immediately made to relieve the survivors ; and persons were appointed to proceed to the scene of distress, in order to superintend the distribution of the various articles contributed, and provide for the taking care of the wounded. The Rev. Mr Thomson, American Missionary, accompanied by Mr Calman, departed on this errand of mercy, and reached Safed on the 18th of January. To his friendly communications I have been much indebted. He wrote also an account of his journey and of the horrors of the scene at Safed, which was soon after published. I subjoin it in a note, as a graphic and authentic record of this awful catastrophe.²

Nearly eighteen months had now elapsed since the calamity, when we visited Safed. The frightful spectacle of human misery, had of course passed away ; but the place was still little more than one great mass of ruins. In the eastern quarter, where we had pitched our tent, many of the houses had been again built up ; though more still lay around us level with the ground. The southern quarter was perhaps the least injured of all ; here the rubbish had been cleared away, and this was now the chief seat of the Muhammedan population. Here too the Mutesellim had taken up his abode. The castle remained in the same state in which it had been left by the earthquake, a shapeless heap of ruins ; so shapeless indeed, that it was difficult to make out its original form. In the Jews' quarter, many houses had likewise been temporarily rebuilt ; but the rubbish had not been removed from the streets. We passed throughout the whole quarter, and found the poor Jews still wandering amid the ruins, among which we could scarcely wend our way. Many of them were employed in digging among the rubbish, each apparently before what had once been his dwelling. In general, the town was beginning to revive ; and the appearance of the place was more busy and far less desolate, than I had expected to find it. The usual Friday market was again regularly held, and attended by the peasants of the surrounding villages, even from a considerable distance.³

¹ It would not be at all surprising, if this estimate of the destruction of life were found to be considerably exaggerated. Compare the varying estimates of the population of Safed above, p. 420, note. See Mr Thomson's Report, referred to in the next note

² See Note XLI, end of the volume. Mr Thomson's Report was first published in the *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1837, p 433 sq. Boston.

³ This market is also mentioned by Burckhardt, p. 317.

In a few more years, the traces of the earthquake will probably be no longer visible in Safed. Such is the tenor of oriental life. Earthquakes and the desolations of war have time and again swept over the land, and laid waste its cities and villages ; but the inhabitants cling to the soil, rebuild their towns, and live on as if nothing had happened ; until, after an interval, another and perhaps more terrible destruction overtakes them. Thus Safed itself, like Tiberias, was laid in ruins, and a great portion of its inhabitants destroyed, in the great earthquake of Oct. 30th, 1759.¹

Safed appears obviously to have formed the central point of this mighty concussion, and to have suffered more, in proportion, than any other place ; except perhaps the adjacent villages of 'Ain ez-Zeitûn and el-Jish. Yet the destruction, as we have seen, extended more or less to Tiberias and the region around Nazareth ; many of the villages in the region east of the lake were likewise laid in ruins ; many houses were thrown down in Tyre and Sidon, and several were cracked and injured even in Beirut. In Nâbulus, also, the shock was severely felt, and a number of persons were killed. It is a remarkable circumstance, that some villages remained entirely unaffected by the earthquake, although situated directly between other places, which were destroyed. Thus a small village near to el-Jish and Safed was uninjured. On the way from Tiberias to Nazareth, esh-Shajerah was overthrown ; Kefr Kenna received no harm ; er-Reineh was levelled to the ground ; Nazareth sustained little damage ; and Seffûrieh escaped entirely. All these places lie upon the same range of hills, with no visible obstruction to break the shocks between them ; and the exceptions are therefore the more wonderful.²

A very high antiquity has usually been ascribed to Safed ; which, however, so far as it depends on any historical accounts, appears not to be well founded. The only trace of the name Safed before the time of the crusades, is found in the Latin Vulgate ;³ where, in describing the native place of Tobit, as situated in the tribe of Naphtali in Upper Galilee, that version marks it as "having on the left the city of Sephet."⁴ This is a

¹ Mariti Voyages II. p. 164. Neuw. 1791. Bachiene Th. II. Bd. IV. p. 134. Volney Voyage I p. 276. II. p. 213. See above, p. 382. n. 1.

² Mr Thomson visited all these places in the course of his journey ; see his Report, Miss. Herald Nov. 1837. pp. 442, 443.

³ Unless perhaps it be in the name Seph (Σέφ), one of the places fortified by Josephus in upper Galilee ; B. J. 2. 20. 6. The name ΣΕΦ occurs also in the Jerusalem

Talmud, Rosh Hashana ii. But there is nothing to connect these names definitely with this spot.

⁴ Vulg. Tobit 1, 1, "in sinistro habens civitatem Sephet." The Greek original has nothing of the kind.—On the strength of this notice, apparently, Brocardus makes Safed (Sephet) to have been one of the cities of the Decapolis ; c. 6. p. 175. See too Adrichomius p. 114.

pure addition to the Greek original, and no one knows whence it came. Modern ecclesiastical tradition has often regarded Safed as the Bethulia of the book of Judith; which, however, as we have seen, is said to have lain near the plain of Esdraclon not far from Dothaim, and guarded one of the passes towards Jerusalem.¹ Brocardus indeed, and others, seem to distinguish Bethulia from Safed, and place the former on a mountain further south; but the description they give of it, as seen conspicuously throughout all the region, and as having a castle and other ruins, applies particularly to Safed; while the indefiniteness and confusion of their accounts, render it not very improbable, that they are only speaking of one and the same place under different names.² It is only within the last two centuries, that the identity with Bethulia has been distinctly assumed by some, and denied by others.³

As therefore there is no evidence that any ancient place existed on the present site of Safed, the supposition that this was the "city set on a hill," alluded to by our Lord in his Sermon on the Mount, falls of itself to the ground, or can at most be considered only as a fanciful conjecture.⁴ Of the same nature is the hypothesis, which regards this as the mountain on which our Lord was transfigured.⁵

Even in the times of the crusades, it is not until the Christians had been in possession of the Holy Land for more than

¹ See p. 419, above. Judith 7, 1. 3. 4. 5. Reland Palest. p. 658. Eusebius and Jerome place Dothaim twelve Roman miles north of Sebaste; Onom. art. *Dothaim*.

² Brocardus pp. 173, 175. Eugesippus in L. Allat. Symmikt. 1653. p. 109. Adrichomius pp. 114, 137. Doubdan p. 578. The first notice I find, which points distinctly to Safed as Bethulia, is in the journal of Melchior von Seydlitz in A. D. 1556; he has Bethulia upon a high mountain on the left (not right) hand after passing Jubb Yûsuf, and before coming to the bridge of the Jordan; see Reissb. ins h. Land p. 487.

³ See the preceding note. Quaresmius describes Safed, but says not a word of Bethulia; II. p. 904. D'Arvieux says, some held it in his day to be Bethulia, but the latter lay a league distant from Safed; II. p. 322. Par. 1735. Von Troilo p. 425. Nau relates, that some of the Jews of Safed regarded that place as Bethulia, and he seems inclined to adopt their view; p. 563. Maundrell Apr. 19th. Van Egmond and Heyman II p. 39. Pococke II. i. p. 77.—In the present century, several travellers appear to adopt Safed without

question as Bethulia; e. g. Scholz p. 157. Monro II. p. 11. Elliott II. p. 352. Berggren doubtfully, Reisen II. p. 252.—Burckhardt says Safed was the ancient Japhet; he probably had in mind the Japha (Ἰαφά) of Josephus, the present Yâfa near Nazareth; since there is no notice of any ancient place called Japhet; Travels p. 317. In the Itineraries of William of Baldensel and L. de Suchem, the name is also printed Japhet, obviously by mistake for Saphet. Basnage Thesaur. Tom. IV. p. 355. L. de Suchem, Itin. p. 97. Reissb. p. 852.—Some travellers curiously enough make Safed the birth-place of queen Esther; so Stochove Voyage du Levant p. 342. Thevenot Voyages II. p. 685. Amst. 1727.

⁴ Matt 5, 14. Maundrell, Apr. 19th.

⁵ Büsching Erdbeschr. Th. XI. i. p. 488. Pococke l. c. p. 77. Hamelsveld II. p. 366. Did the sacred writers say that the mount of the Transfiguration was the *highest* in all these parts, then the description would certainly apply to the two peaks just north of Safed. But their language is simply "a high mountain;" Matt. 17, 1. Mark 9, 2. Luke only says "a mountain," 9, 28.

half a century, that we find any notice of Safed. It seems to be first distinctly mentioned by William of Tyre, who in describing the surprise and defeat of the Christians under Baldwin III, at the ford below the lake el-Hûleh in A. D. 1157, relates, that the king escaped with difficulty to the castle of Safed situated on the adjacent mountain; an Arabian writer narrating the same events, speaks of it as a small castle; and it is twice again cursorily mentioned by the archbishop of Tyre.¹ The somewhat later writer Jacob de Vitry relates, that the Christians had erected strong fortresses upon the extremities of their territory, in order to protect their borders from the inroads of the Saracens, viz. Montroyal (Shôbek) and Kerak in the southeast, and Safed and Belvoir (Kaukab) in the northeast against Syria.² The date of the erection of these latter fortresses is not specified; but they would seem not improbably to have been built, perhaps nearly in the same period with those of Kerak, Beit Jibrin, and Tell es-Sâfieh, in the latter years of king Fulco, not long before A. D. 1140.³ In respect to neither Safed nor Kaukab is any hint given, that a fortress had formerly existed on the spot. The charge of the castle at Safed appears to have been committed to the knights Templars, who afterwards laid claim to all the country around.⁴

In A. D. 1188, a year after the battle of Hattin, all the country and cities of Palestine, except Tyre, were in the possession of Saladin; he had even threatened Antioch, but at length returned to Damascus. By his orders, his brother now laid siege to Shôbek and Kerak and subdued them; while the Sultan himself marched against the two remaining fortresses of Safed and Kaukab. In the mean time, Safed would appear to have been strengthened and perhaps enlarged; for both Christian and Arabian writers speak of it as exceedingly strong, and impregnable by its position; it had also become very troublesome to the Muhammedans.⁵ Saladin with his army sat down before the place late in October, and pressed the siege with great vigour; the Sultan himself conducting all the operations night and day. After about five weeks, Safed capitulated; and the inhabitants were permitted to withdraw to Tyre.⁶ Saladin immediately proceeded to lay siege to Kaukab, as already related.⁷

Safed now continued for half a century in the power of the Muhammedans. In A. D. 1220, Melek el-Mu'adh-dhem, Sultan

¹ Will. Tyr. 18. 14. ib. 21. 28. ib. 22. 16. Abu Shameh, quoted in Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. pp. 44, 45.

² Jac. de Vitry. c. 49. p. 1074.

³ Marin. Sanutus expressly ascribes the charge to king Fulco; p. 166.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 21. 30.

iii. 326-328

⁵ Jac. de Vitry. c. 49, 95. Bohaed. Vit. Salad. p. 87. Reinaud Extraits, p. 232.

⁶ Bohaed. p. 87. Abulf. Annal. A. H. 584. Reinaud Extr. p. 232. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. IV. pp. 244, 245, and Beyl. p. 83.

⁷ See above, p. 361.

of Damascus, dreading lest the Christians should again get possession of the strong holds of the country, caused the fortress of Safed to be demolished; just as the year before he had adopted the same course with the walls of Jerusalem, and the castles of Bâniâs and Tibnin.¹

In A. D. 1240, in consequence of a treaty with the Sultan Isma'il of Damascus, Safed, together with the castle esh-Shūkif and Tiberias, reverted into the hands of the Christians.² The Templars were desirous immediately to rebuild the castle, and were promised protection and aid in the work, by the king of Navarre and other princes then at 'Akka; but as neither men nor money were furnished, the work was not begun. In the mean time, Benedict, bishop of Marseilles, who was then in the Holy Land, having travelled from Damascus by way of Safed to 'Akka, was so impressed with the importance of a fortress at that point, as a shield to the cities on the coast and a means of overawing and harassing Damascus and the interjacent region, that after persevering exertion, he prevailed on the Templars to undertake the rebuilding of the castle, upon the strength of their own resources. The work was immediately commenced; the bishop himself laid the corner stone in December of the same year; and deposited upon it a cask of gold and silver coins as his own contribution. He remained near at hand, until the walls were so far advanced as to be defensible; and then returned to his home, leaving behind his blessing and all his property in Palestine to the fortress, as to a beloved child. On a second visit to the Holy Land in Oct. 1260, he found the castle of Safed completed with admirable strength and magnificence, nearly inaccessible from its position, and impregnable through the solidity and skill of its construction.³

¹ Jac. de Vitry. Hist. orient. lib. III. p. 1144. Marin. Sanut. p. 209. Oliverii Schol. Hist. c. 26, in Eccardi Corp. Histor. med. Ævi Tom. II. p. 1421. Wilken I. c. VI. p. 308.—The text of Jac. de Vitry (which Marin. Sanut. copies) instead of Mu'adh-dhem has "Coradinus," and reads as follows: "Anno Dom. 1220, Coradinus Princeps Damasci destruxit Safed castrum firmissimum," etc. This is copied by the editor of Van Egmond and Heyman with the remarkable substitution of *extruxit* for *dstruxit*, just inverting the meaning of the writer; Reizen II. p. 42. This error, which makes Mu'adh-dhem the builder up instead of the destroyer of Safed, has been several times copied; e. g. Bachiene Th. II. § 685. Hamelsveld II. p. 367.

² Hugo Plagon in Mart. et Durand Tom. V. p. 723. Marin. Sanut. p. 215. Reinaud Extr. pp. 440, 443. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. VI. p. 600.

³ See the extracts from a Ms. in the Biblioth. Colbert. in Steph. Baluzii Miscellaneor. lib. VI. Tom. VI. pp. 357–369. Paris 1713. 8. From various expressions in this tract, which gives a particular account of Benedict's efforts, it appears to have been written between A. D. 1260 and 1266; i. e. before the final capture of Safed by Bibars. Many Muhammedan captives were employed in the building up of Safed; see Reinaud Extr. p. 444. Wilken I. c. VI. p. 629.—The circumstances thus far related, serve to contradict the common impression, that the present castle of Safed was of Roman origin; a view which seems to rest chiefly on the weak authority of Stephen Schulz; Leitungen etc. Th. V. p. 209. Büsching Erdbesch. Th. XI. p. 487. The best account of the castle, as it existed a century ago, is in Van Egmond and Heyman Reizen II. p. 43 sq.

The Templars were not permitted long to possess their new fortress in peace. In June, A. D. 1266, the formidable Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, having already made himself master of most of the Holy Land, laid siege to Safed, and pressed it with such reckless vehemence, that in July the garrison were compelled to make terms of capitulation. These were granted; the garrison marched out; and having placed themselves in the power of the conqueror, were put to death in cold blood to the number of two thousand men. The prior of the Templars and two Franciscan monks, who had exhorted the Christians to constancy in their faith, are said to have been flayed alive. The circumstances of this brutal perfidy, as related by Arabian historians, are even more atrocious than they are described by Christian writers.¹—Bibars immediately restored the fortifications of Safed, and posted there a strong garrison; gave orders for the erection of two mosks; and established in the town a colony brought from Damascus.² The next year he again strengthened and completed the fortifications, so as to render Safed the bulwark of all Syria.³

We hear little more of the political state of Safed. Abulfeda speaks of it as a fortress, and of the town as divided into three parts; and the same is repeated by edh-Dhāhīry about the middle of the fifteenth century; the latter describes the castle as of surpassing strength, and adds that the town contained mosks, tombs of saints, schools, baths, and markets.⁴ All this indicates a high degree of prosperity; and Safed at this time was the head of a province.—During the eighteenth century, as we have seen, it was the beginning of Sheikh Dhāher's power; and its desolation by the earthquake of A. D. 1759 has already been mentioned.⁵ During the invasion of Syria by the French in 1799, they occupied Safed with a garrison of about four hundred men, whose outposts were advanced as far as to the bridge of the Jordan. After their retreat the Jews' quarter was sacked by the Turks.⁶

The origin of the Jewish settlement at Safed, and of the celebrated Rabbinic school, although of comparatively modern date, is nevertheless involved in obscurity. Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in Palestine about A. D. 1165, and is careful to speak of every place where even two or three Jews were to be found, visited and describes the adjacent cemetery of Meirōn,

¹ See Makrizi and other Arabian writers in Reinaud *Extraits* pp. 494–498. Marin Sanut. p. 222. Wilken l. c. VIII. pp. 486–492.

² Reinaud l. c. p. 498. Wilken l. c. p. 493.

³ Reinaud l. c. p. 502. Wilken l. c. p. 515.

⁴ Abulf. *Tab. Syr.* p. 83. Edh-Dhāhīry in Rosenmueller *Analect. Arab. Pars.* III. p. 19, Arab. p. 40, Lat.—W. de Baldensel speaks also of Safed in A. D. 1336 as a strong fortress, surpassed only by Kerak; p. 353. ed. Basnage.

⁵ See above, pp. 393 sq. 424.

⁶ Burekhardt p. 317.

but says not one word of Safed.¹ The latter was then a fortress in the hands of the Christians ; and it follows conclusively from Benjamin's silence, that no Jews at that time dwelt in the place. Nor were the circumstances of Safed, during that and the following century, such as were likely to allure them to take up their abode there. The rules and sway of the Templars were not favourable to tolerance, and least of all to the Jews. During the fifty years of Muhammedan dominion, after the capture of Safed by Saladin, it is indeed possible, that some of this people may have repaired thither ; but when in A. D. 1240 the Templars regained possession for six and twenty years, it is hardly to be supposed, that Jews could have formed a portion of the inhabitants. Bibars, as we have seen, re-peopled the place anew with a colony from Damascus. Most writers also of the two following centuries, make no mention of Jews at Safed.² Later Jewish Itineraries speak here of the tomb of the prophet Hosea.³

But in whatever period the first establishment of that people here may fall, or whenever their school of learning may have been founded, it is certain, that the latter was in its most flourishing state about the middle of the sixteenth century ; and various circumstances render the supposition probable, that its origin is not to be placed much if any further back, than the early part of the same century.⁴ All the celebrated Rabbis, who are known to have lived and taught in Safed, fall within this period. One of the first mentioned is Jacob Be-Rab, a Spanish exile, who was first chief Rabbi at Fez in Africa and then at Safed, where he became celebrated as a writer and teacher, and died in A. D. 1541. Among his more distinguished pupils, who became also his colleagues and successors at Safed, were : Moses de Trani of Apulia, who taught as Rabbi for fifty-four years from 1525 to 1580, the year of his death ; Joseph Karo of Spanish descent, one of the chief ornaments of the academy from 1545 until his death in 1575 ; and Solomon Alkabez, who began to distinguish himself as a writer in 1529, and was still living in 1561.⁵ A pupil and colleague of Karo and Alkabez

¹ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 82.

² The only exception I formerly found is Ludolf de Suchem (A. D. 1336-50), who merely relates that in his time a Jew and his wife from Westphalia were living at Safed ; Itin. p. 97. Reissb. p. 852. See Brocardus c. 4. p. 173. Marin. Sanut. pp. 222, 248. W. de Baldensel p. 355. Sir J. Maundeville p. 117. London 1839.— But the Jewish Itinerary of Samuel bar Simson in 1210 speaks of communities of the Jews at Safed ; see Carmoly, Brux. 1847. pp. 132, 133, comp. pp. 187, 261, 447.

Parchi a century later has the name Tse-fath ; but nothing more ; see in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 420.

³ Carmoly, p. 381, 447. Hottinger Cippi Heb. p. 58.

⁴ Basnage adduces the silence of Benjamin, as showing that there could then have been no Jewish school at Safed ; but remarks conjecturally, or at least without referring to any authority, that it was founded not long after. Hist. des Juifs Tom. V. p. 1942. Rotterd. 1707.

⁵ See De Rossi Dizionario Storico degli i. i. 331, 332

was Moses of Cordova, the most famous cabbalist since the days of Simeon Ben Jochai ; he died as chief Rabbi of Safed in A. D. 1570. Moses Galanté, a native of Rome, was somewhat later and died in 1618. But the academy was not indebted for its fame to strangers alone ; Samuel Oseida and Moses Alsheikh, both natives of Safed, contributed to its celebrity during the sixteenth century ; the latter died between 1592 and 1601.¹

The writings of all these learned men are numerous and of high renown in Jewish literature ; and under their teaching, the school of Safed became famous, and was frequented by pupils from every quarter. It appears also, that a printing-office was already established ; and a work of Galanté, a comment on the book of Ecclesiastes, is extant, bearing the imprint of Safed 1578.² To this period is doubtless to be referred the description of the former prosperity of the Jews in Safed, as given by Nau nearly a century later. Safed was to them like another Jerusalem. They dwelt there in great numbers ; and had a vast Khân like a square fortress, covered with lead, in which many lived, and where there was a fine synagogue. Besides the schools in which the sciences were taught, they counted eighteen synagogues distinguished by the names of the several nations which possessed them ; as the Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and others.³

The cessation of this prosperity is ascribed to the oppressions of the Muhammedans ; and probably took place by degrees. Some of the renowned Rabbis, as appears above, continued their labours into the seventeenth century ; and Quaresmius, writing about A. D. 1625, speaks of Safed as inhabited chiefly by Hebrews, who had their synagogues and schools ; and for whose sustenance, contributions were made by the Jews in other parts of the world.⁴ The further accounts of this people in Safed, from the middle of the seventeenth century onward, have already been adverted to.⁵

Closely connected with the history of the Jews in Safed, and perhaps originally the occasion of their settling here, is the village of Meirôn, lying about two hours distant W. N. W.⁶ Here are the reputed tombs of several ancient holy Rabbis ; and as a place of pilgrimage for the Jews, this is now the most famous and venerated in Palestine. It seems to be mentioned in the

Autori Ebrei, etc. Parma 1802, arts. *Be-Rab, Trani, Karo, Alkabcz*. See also for these and the other Rabbins mentioned, Bartolucci Biblioth. Rabbin. under the several names. Basnage Hist. des Juifs Tom. V. p. 1943 sq. Rotterd. 1707.

¹ De Rossi l. c. arts. *Cordovero, Galante, Oseida, Alscheich*.

² The title of the book is "Kehilat iii. 332-334

Jakob ;" De Rossi l. c. art. *Galante*. Bartolucci Biblioth. Rabbin. Tom. IV. p. 67. The later accounts of this press have already been given ; see above, p. 421.

³ Nau Voyage, etc. pp. 560, 561.

⁴ Quaresmius II. p. 904.

⁵ See above, p. 421.

⁶ We visited Meirôn in 1852 ; see in Vol. III Sect. II, under Apr. 14th.

Talmud as Meron and Beth Meron.¹ Benjamin of Tudela speaks of it about A. D. 1165; and relates that in a cavern near by, were the sepulchres of the celebrated Jewish doctors Hillel and Shammai, as also of twenty of their disciples and other Rabbis.² The Jewish Itinerary of Samuel bar Simson (1210) mentions here likewise the tombs of these two masters, and describes in addition the sepulchre of R. Simeon Ben Jochai, the reputed author of the cabbalistic book Zohar; while later Itineraries in like manner speak of all these tombs.³ At the present day, there is at Meirôn quite a cemetery of ancient Jewish tombs. The sepulchres are described as hewn out of the rock, each large enough to contain several bodies, and covered with immense stones, some of them a foot in thickness.⁴ The most sacred of the tombs at present, is that reputed to belong to R. Simeon Ben Jochai; but which, to judge from the silence of Benjamin, must be of far later date. To this tomb the Jews make an annual procession in May, in memory of the saint; and over it they are said to burn the most costly articles they possess, including sometimes valuable Cashmere shawls.⁵ The occasion was described to us, I hope slanderously, as a festival, during which the Jews give themselves up to revelry and intoxication.⁶

The situation of Safed, as we have seen, is very high. The whole region of Galilee is in general less elevated, than the mountainous tract of Judea; yet Safed itself, and especially the two eminences half an hour further north, cannot well be much lower than Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. These eminences, although as here seen only rounded hills, form one of the highest points of Galilee; around which in winter the clouds gather, and cause an abundance of rain. In summer

¹ See the passages in Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 593. Reland Pal. p. 817.

² Benj. of Tud. I. p. 82.—Hillel and Shammai are reputed to have been the heads of different schools before the Christian era. Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 6. fol.

³ See in Carmoly, p. 135; also pp. 184, 260, 381. Parchi in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 427. Hottinger's Cippi Hebr. Ed. 2. p. 68; compare above, Vol. I. p. 332. n. 2. Niebuhr Reisebeschr. III. p. 69.—R. Ben Jochai is said to have been a pupil of R. Akiba, and to have flourished about A. D. 120. The Zohar is a cabbalistic commentary upon the Pentateuch; De Rossi regards it as having been compiled by the pupils of Ben Jochai, half a century later. See De Rossi Dizionario Storico, etc. art. *Jochai*. Comp. Wolf Biblioth. Rabb. I. p. 1134. Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 144.

⁴ See the similar description, Hottinger l. c. p. 68.

⁵ Elliott's Travels, etc. II. pp. 355, 356.

⁶ I have mentioned above the story current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that a rich Jewess had built up a part of Tiberias, in order that the Jews might dwell there; but that they had been driven out by the Turks; see above, p. 393. This report, or at least the building up, is mentioned by Fürer in A. D. 1566. Taking this story in connection with the apparent rise of the school in Safed, about the beginning of the same century, it seems not improbable, that the main impulse for the settlement of Jews at the latter place, may have been given by a colony thus driven out from Tiberias; who fixed themselves at Safed, perhaps, on account of its vicinity to Meirôn.

the air is pure, and the climate not unlike that of the Holy City. Our thermometer stood here in the afternoon with a west wind at 82° F., and the next morning at 61°; but at ten o'clock it had risen to 87° F. with a serene atmosphere and the heat not oppressive. The olive, the pomegranate, the fig, and the vine, were here frequent, and seemed to thrive.

From the isolated hill of Safed, and particularly from the castle, there is a wide and diversified prospect on every side except the north; where the view is cut off by the two higher peaks above mentioned. In the southeast the lake of Tiberias lies spread out before the spectator in its deep basin; while beyond, and towards the east, the eye takes in the whole extent of the high table land of Jaulân, the ancient Gaulonitis, presenting the appearance of a vast uneven plain, intersected by deep valleys and chasms running towards the lake. The view stretches even beyond this district; and embraces a great part of Haurân, quite to the borders of el-Lejah. The sightly mountain Kuleib Haurân, "the Dog," which is everywhere a conspicuous object in travelling through that country, was here very distinctly visible.¹ Far in the south, the fine mountains of 'Ajlûn, around el-Husn, were seen across the Ghôr below the lake; and then more towards the right came Tabor, the little Hermon, and a small portion of the great plain northwest of Jenin, with the mountains of Samaria. In the southwest and west, two dark mountain ridges, partially covered with shrubs and trees, shut in the view at the distance of two or three hours. Towards the east and north, the mountains around Safed are naked.²

A visit to Safed had not been included in our original plan; and our main object in coming hither, was to obtain intelligence respecting the safety of the roads to Damascus. This therefore had been our earliest inquiry; but we could gather at first very little information; every one being silent for fear of the government. Every one advised us, however, not to go at all by the way of Hâsbeiya; nor by the way of the bridge without a caravan. By degrees, the intelligence we had received at Tiberias was here confirmed; and it was further supposed, that by this time, the troops which had been sent against the rebels must have been successful, and that the roads were now open and safe, or would soon become so. Indeed, in this expectation, a small company of muleteers and merchants was already forming at Safed, to set off for Damascus on Saturday. The regular

¹ See Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 90, 92. Col. Leake regards this mountain as the Alsadamus of Ptolemy, lib. 5. 15. Pref. to Burckhardt p. xii.

iii. 335-337

² Bearings at Safed from the castle: Jebel Kuleib Haurân S. 69° E. Semâ'y S. 80° W. Meirân two hours distant N. 67° W. Sa'aa' N. 45° W.

Friday's fair was to be held in Safed to-morrow, which is usually attended by persons from Hâsbeiya and Râsheiya; and the merchants in question were now waiting to receive further information from this source. We concluded to join the company, should it depart as proposed; and at any rate to wait here until Friday noon, for the sake of the expected intelligence.

All these items we could pick up only by degrees and with difficulty, chiefly by the aid of our muleteers, and from their associates. The agent of the American consul at Beirût, who resides here, was now absent; as were also two or three other individuals whom we had hoped to find. My companion called upon the Mutesellim, where he was for the first time on our journey received with impoliteness; that dignitary would say nothing, but that the road to Damascus was open; whether it was safe or not, he would not aver. I lighted upon a Jewish Rabbi who spoke tolerable German; but the same fear of the government kept him back from giving any explicit information. Some other Jews whom I addressed, seemed almost too stupid to reply.

The next morning, Friday, the expected fair was held at Safed; but not an individual appeared from Hâsbeiya or its immediate vicinity. People from the northern part of the basin of the Hûleh were there; and reported, that Hâsbeiya was in a state of siege from the troops of the Pasha; that predatory bands of the Druzes had made inroads even into the Hûleh and the villages round about it, and especially upon the eastern roads to Damascus. There was too a rumour, that the troops had been worsted in an encounter with the rebels; but this seemed to need confirmation. The general news, however, was of such a tenor, that the company at Safed gave up their purpose of proceeding next day to Damascus; and we were thus again left to ourselves. We did not deem it prudent to set off alone. We might indeed wait for the larger caravan, which was soon to leave 'Akka for Damascus, and pass the night at the Khân Jubb Yûsuf; but we could not learn when it was to start, and no orders had yet been received, when to furnish supplies at the Khân. Add to all this, our time was limited; for the steamer was to leave Beirût at the very latest on the 10th of July. Under these circumstances, we felt reluctantly compelled to abandon our further journey towards Damascus, and proceed directly to Beirût by way of Tyre and Sidon; flattering ourselves, that from Beirût we should still be able to make an excursion to Ba'albek, and return by way of the cedars of Lebanon.—It was well that we now came to this determination; for we afterwards learned at Beirût, that just at this period the whole region of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon had been

unsafe and impassable; and all the roads, even between Damascus and Beirût, had been for a time shut up.

Towards the close of the fair, I strolled to the market place where it was held, on the southwest side of the castle hill. Many people were still there, though the business was mostly over. The main articles exposed for sale, were new wheat and barley; the rest were chiefly garden vegetables and fruits. There seemed not to have been many purchasers.—The first time we passed over the market place, not long after our arrival, we were hailed by a quarantine guard with the question, Whence we came? On our replying, From Hebron, they inquired further: Whether we had been in Jerusalem? Our answer in the negative put an end to the examination.

REGION OF THE HULEH.

While we were thus waiting in uncertainty at Safed, being very desirous to obtain a view of the basin of the Hûleh and the country around the sources of the Jordan, our younger muleteer, who was here at home, proposed to take us to a spot about an hour northeast of the town, where he said we might have an extensive prospect. We accordingly set off about 4 o'clock of Thursday afternoon, and proceeding northeasterly around the head of the deep valley on the north and northwest of Safed, came in half an hour to the ridge constituting the gap between the two higher peaks already mentioned. Here Safed bore S. 40° W. and Benit, the place to which we were going, N. 45° E. The path now descended a little, crossing the heads of one or two Wadys which run off eastwards, but keeping in general upon high table land, until in about twenty-five minutes more, we reached Benit. Here are the slight remains of a former village, situated directly on the brow of the mountains enclosing the Hûleh, and commanding a splendid view over the whole basin and the surrounding region.

Almost directly at our feet lay the lake el-Hûleh, separated from the mountain on which we stood only by a lower tract of uneven table land, the continuation of that between the mountains of Safed and the Jordan. This lower intervening tract hid from our view the southwestern and western shores of the lake itself, and caused it to appear to us as of a triangular form, running out almost to a point at its southeast extremity, where the Jordan issues from it about an hour above the bridge. The length of the lake we estimated at about two hours, or from four to five geographical miles; its breadth at the northern end is

probably not less than four miles.¹ On the north the waters of the lake are skirted by a marshy tract of considerable extent, covered with tall reeds and flags ; into which our guide assured us neither man nor beast could penetrate.

At the season when the lake is full, if not indeed at all times, this tract is doubtless covered with water ; so that the whole may properly be regarded as pertaining to the area of the lake. Viewed in this light, the lake and its marshes may be said to occupy nearly the southern half of the basin of the Hûleh, and may be reckoned at five or six geographical miles in length by four or five in breadth. Through this great marsh, two or three small streams are seen pursuing their way towards the lake, chiefly from the north, and one or more from the west ; they wind exceedingly, and occasionally swell out into small ponds. These glitter in the midst of the marsh and among the reeds ; but neither deserve, nor admit, the name of separate lakes.²

On the east, the lake extends quite to the foot of the high ground, which shuts in the basin on that side. On the south-western and western side, there is a tract of arable land all the way between the lake and the mountains, along which the road passes. This would seem to be somewhat uneven ; for my companion, in travelling through it twice, in A. D. 1834 and the following year, had been able to get from the road only one or two glimpses of the lake. At the northwest corner of the clear part of the lake, adjacent to the marsh, a small mill stream enters, which rises from a single large fountain called 'Ain el-Mellâhah, at the foot of the western mountain.³ The tract on the southern end of the lake and on its western side, as far north as to el-Mellâhah, is called Ard el-Khait or Belâd el-Khait ; and the lake itself sometimes takes the same name, el-Khait. This district, which is arable and apparently nowhere marshy, is under the government of Safed. Near 'Ain el-Mellâhah, there is usually a large encampment of the Ghawârin in tents and reed huts.

North of el-Mellâhah, the arable tract still continues of variable width, between the marsh and the western mountain. At the distance of an hour is another similar fountain, called Belât or Belâteh, with a copious stream running into the marsh,

¹ Pococke describes the lake as four miles broad at its northern end, and two miles at the southern ; the waters, he says, are muddy and reckoned unwholesome. Vol. II. i. p. 73.

² Something of this kind doubtless gave occasion for the story of a small lake north of the Hûleh ; Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes p. 406. 4to.

³ Burckhardt extends the name of the fountain, el-Mellâhah, by mistake, to the whole southwest coast of the lake ; which he wrongly says is covered by a saline crust ; Travels p. 316. This name is here of long standing ; for William of Tyre applies it to the whole lake : "circa lacum *Meleha* ;" Will. Tyr. 18. 13.

and usually a like encampment of Ghawârineh. The water of both these copious fountains is not cold; and is described by my companion as much resembling that of 'Ain es-Sultân near Jericho. At these points, and along these streams, the marsh extends up westwards almost to the fountains.—The marsh itself, towards the north, gradually passes over into a still more extensive and broader tract of fine meadow land, occupied by nomadic Arabs, who are mostly if not entirely Ghawârineh, and whose main employment is the raising of cattle, chiefly buffaloes.¹ The road passes up on the western side; and along it, for a considerable distance, runs an artificial ditch or canal for irrigation, which can be crossed only with difficulty; east of it the ground is more firm, though still so low, that the Arabs cultivate rice. This canal branches off from the stream which comes from Hâsbeiya, not far below the bridge Jisr el-Ghūjar;² and forms with the main stream a sort of Delta, in which, near the northern end, is the miserable village ez-Zūk belonging to the Ghawârineh. Still further north, the ground rises more; and a most fertile plain extends towards Bâniâs, on which grain is cultivated. But the whole region is given up to Bedawin and Ghawârineh. A few villages are scattered upon the eastern hills; two or three of which are inhabited by Nusairiyeh. The whole length of the basin may thus be about fifteen geographical miles.

The name el-Hûleh, therefore, as used at present by the inhabitants, belongs strictly to that part of the basin north of el-Mellâhah and the lake; though it is commonly so extended as to comprise the whole.³ The more eastern portion, including some villages around Bâniâs, is called Hûlet Bâniâs, and belongs to the government of Hâsbeiya. Around and below Bâniâs itself, the region is called Ard Bâniâs.⁴ The northwest part of the basin falls within the district of Merj 'Ayûn, which extends down so as to embrace it. In 1834, my companion, Mr Smith, on his way to Damascus, travelled from Tiberias to Hâsbeiya, a good two days' journey, encamping for the night at 'Ain el-Mellâhah. The next year he passed from Safed along the lake, encamped at Belât, and pursued his journey through Merj 'Ayûn and by Jezzin and Deir el-Kamr to Beirût. In neither instance, did he hear of any inhabited village in the Hûleh near the road.

¹ Willibald in the eighth century speaks here also of buffaloes: "*Armenta mirabilia longo dorso, brevibus cruribus, magnis cornibus creati; omnes sunt unius coloris*." He describes them in summer as immersing themselves wholly in the marshes, except the head, etc. *Hodœpor.* § 17. p. 375.

iii. 341-343

² So called from the village el-Ghūjar not far distant.

³ So already Bohaeddin, *Vit. Salad.* p. 98. Abulfeda speaks only of the lake of Bâniâs; *Tab. Syr.* pp. 147, 155.

⁴ Burckhardt p. 38.

Such was the amount of our observations and information, in respect to the lake and basin of the Hüleh itself. The town of Bâniâs in its northeast quarter we could not here see ; it being hidden behind some projections of the hills in its vicinity. But the ruined Saracenic castle, Kûl'at Bâniâs, called by Arabian writers Kûl'at es-Subeibeh, standing upon a thin ridge cut off from Jebel esh-Sheikh by a deep ravine, was distinctly visible. From the point where we now stood, this castle bore N. 40° E. and we judged the distance to be not far from fifteen or sixteen geographical miles. Beyond it, nearly in the same direction, and perhaps twice as remote, towered the lofty summit of Jebel esh-Sheikh, here seen in all its majesty, with its long narrow glaciers, like stripes of snow, extending down below its icy crown, and glittering in the sun. Our position enabled us to obtain a good general idea of the country on the north, around the sources of the Jordan ; and the same was confirmed by further observation, on our subsequent journey.

The mighty parallel ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the Jebel Libnân and Jebel esh-Shûrky (East Mountain) of the Arabs,¹ enclose the noble valley now called el-Bûkâ'a, once Cœle-Syria proper, watered throughout the greater portion of its length by the river Litâny, the ancient Leontes. The general direction of the mountains, the valley, and the stream, is from northeast to southwest. The lofty southern end of Anti-Lebanon is called Jebel esh-Sheikh. It rises to its highest elevation nearly south of Râsheiya and over Hâsbeiya ; and is supposed to be somewhat higher than Jebel Sûnnin near Beirût. The usual estimate of its height is ten thousand feet above the Mediterranean. The top is partially crowned with snow, or rather ice, during the whole year ; which however lies only in the ravines, and thus presents at a distance the appearance of radiant stripes, around and below the summit. The mountain afterwards slopes off gradually and irregularly towards the W. S. W. quite down to the opening of Wady et-Teim upon the plain, northwest of Bâniâs. In this part there is some cultivation, and several villages. From the southeastern base of the high part of Jebel esh-Sheikh, a low broad spur or mountainous tract runs off towards the south, forming the high land which shuts in the basin and lake of the Hüleh on the east. According to Burckhardt, this tract is called Jebel Heish ; the higher portion of it terminates at Tell el-Faras, nearly three hours north of Fik ; but the same high plain of Jaulân continues towards the

¹ These are general names ; but the Arabs more commonly employ particular names for different parts of these mountains ; e. g. Jebel esh-Sheikh, Jebel Sûn-

nin, etc.—The name Jebel Libnân occurs in Edrisi, par Jaubert pp. 336, 355, 361. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. pp. 163, 164.

south, until the mountains of 'Ajlûn rise again above it, in the district el-Wastiyeh and around el-Husn.¹

The chain of Lebanon or at least its higher ridges, may be said to terminate at the point, where it is broken through by the river Litâny, somewhat north of Tyre. But a broad and lower mountainous tract continues towards the south, bordering the basin of the Hûleh on the west; it rises to its greatest elevation around Safed (Jebel Safed); and ends at length abruptly in the mountains of Nazareth, as the northern wall of the plain of Esdraelon. This high tract may be regarded as the prolongation of Mount Lebanon.

Wady et-Teim lies along the western base of Jebel esh-Sheikh and Anti-Lebanon; being separated from the proper valley of the Litâny by a ridge and line of hills, extending north as far as 'Anjar. The water-shed, which is also the head of the southern valley, is not far north of Râsheiya. It enters the basin of the Hûleh about an hour west of Bâniâs. It is a fertile valley with a considerable stream; skirted on each side by declivities of various height, usually cultivated; with no plain along the middle, except at the southern end. On the hills are many villages. It is divided into two districts, called the Upper and Lower Wady et-Teim; the capital of the former being Râsheiya, and that of the latter Hâsbeiya. The lower district includes also Bâniâs and the vicinity. These and some other districts, form the province of Jebel esh-Sheikh.²

West of the southern part of Wady et-Teim, between it and the Litâny, lies the fine region of Merj 'Ayûn, separated from the Teim by a range of hills. It is an oval or almost circular basin, about an hour in diameter, a beautiful, fertile, well-watered plain, surrounded by hills, which in some parts are high, but mostly arable. On the north, they retain this character quite to the brow of the descent towards the Litâny. Towards the south, Merj 'Ayûn communicates with the plain of the Hûleh by a narrow entrance, through which flows a stream.

Merj 'Ayûn³ forms a district within the government of Belâd Beshârah, a large province occupying the mountains between the Hûleh and the plain of Tyre, and having for its capital the castle of Tibnin.⁴ The route of my companion from

¹ Burekhardt pp. 281, 286 sq.

² The Arabian writer edh-Dhâhîry in the 15th century, speaks of Wady et-Teim as a district in the province of Damascus, so called from the Wady, and containing 360 villages; see Rosenmüller's *Analect. Arab.* III. p. 22. Lat. p. 46.

³ Not improbably the word 'Ayûn in this name may have some relation to the iii. 345. 346

city Ijon, (Heb. יִזְנָה) of the Old Testament, which lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dan and Naphtali. 1 Kings 15, 20. 2 Chr. 16, 4.

⁴ The district of Merj 'Ayûn is mentioned under the same name by Arabian historians of the times of the crusades; see Bohaed. Vit. Salad. pp. 89, 93; and in the same work, Excerpta Abulfed. A. H. 585,

Safed to Deir el-Kamr in 1835, led him directly through Merj 'Ayûn, and so over the bridge of the Litâny near the castle esh-Shûkif to Jezzîn.

The preceding account has been corrected by observations made during a visit to Bâniâs and the sources of the Jordan in 1852. The fuller account of the region now in view belongs to another volume.¹

The high tract of country bordering the Hûleh on the west, is thickly populated. It bore everywhere the marks of tillage, and many villages were in sight, the names of which our guide did not know. One was mentioned on the hills opposite the marshes, still bearing the name of Kedes; it is without doubt the ancient Kedesh of Naphtali, a city of refuge and of the Levites, the birthplace of Barak, situated twenty Roman miles from Tyre and not far from Paneas.²

The view from Benît, the spot where we stood, was very extensive and magnificent. Before us rose Jebel esh-Sheikh in all his glory; while more on the left, the ridges of Lebanon were visible to a great distance, terminated far in the N. N. E. by the snowy peak of Jebel Sûnnin near Beirût. On the east of Jebel esh-Sheikh, the eye scanned the lower mountains and high table land which extends off far southwards; including the districts of Kuncitirah and Jaulân; and beyond these Haurân with its mountain.³—The bridge Benât Ya'kôb was not itself visible; but we could see the Khân upon its eastern side, and could distinctly trace the outline of the narrow valley of the Jordan, from the Hûleh to the Lake of Tiberias. A portion of the latter lake, the northeastern part, could also be perceived, like a separate lake, deep among the mountains;⁴ and beyond it the "high hills" of Bashan presented their beautiful outline. Towards the south and west the view was shut out by the adjacent higher ground. But the place of the ancient Dan was before us; and we thus had been permitted to behold the Promised Land in all its length, even from Dan to Beersheba.⁵

p. 47. Schultens Index Geogr. art. *Marj-Ojoun*—Abulfeda writes the name with the article, Merj el-'Ayûn.

¹ See in Vol. III. Sect. IX.

² Josh. 19, 37. 20, 7. 21, 32. Judg. 4, 6. Afterwards conquered by Tiglath-pileser, 1 Kings 15, 29. Onomast. art. *Cedes*. The place is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, I. p. 82; and by Brocardus, c. 4, p. 173. It is said to have been visited a few years since by Lady Hester Stanhope, and again soon after we left Syria by Bertou; Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. Sept 1839. p. 144.

³ See above, under Safed, p. 432.

⁴ Some such partial view of the lake of

Tiberias, aided by its apparent nearness as seen through the transparent atmosphere, has doubtless given occasion for the story of another small lake between that of Tiberias and the Hûleh. Richardson's Travels II. p. 446. An English traveller, whom we afterwards met at Beirût, had fallen into the same error on the testimony of his own eyes, as he supposed.

⁵ The bearings taken from Benît were as follows: Kul'at Bâniâs N 40° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 40° E. Mouth of Wady et-Teim about N. 20° E. Snowy peak of Jebel Sûnnin N. 24° E. Lake el-Hûleh north end N. 41° E. (?) Lake el-Hûleh south end N. 65° E. Khân at Jisr Benât

We returned to Safed highly delighted with our excursion; which we felt assured had given us a better idea of the Hûleh and the adjacent country, than we could have obtained by simply passing through the plain. Such, at least, was the experience of my companion, who had already twice travelled along the Hûleh; where the road is so low as to afford no prospect of the land, and only occasional glimpses of the lake.

A few historical notices of the Hûleh and two or three places in and around it, may close this section.

The lake *el-Hûleh* is mentioned in the Old Testament as the waters of Merom; in the vicinity of which Joshua smote Jabin king of Hazor and the Canaanites, with a great slaughter.¹ Josephus, speaking of another Jabin, also king of Hazor, places that city over the lake Samochonitis, the appellation by which alone he knows these waters.² The name *el-Hûleh* goes back, as we have seen, at least to the period of the crusades; while Abulfeda describes it only as the lake of Bâniâs.³

In *Jebel esh-Sheikh* we have the majestic Hermon of the Old Testament, which is put as the northern limit of the territory of Israel beyond Jordan, "from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon."⁴ The Psalmist couples it with Tabor, as the representatives of all the mountains of the Promised Land.⁵ Eusebius describes Mount Hermon as overagainst Paneas and Lebanon; Jerome learned from his Hebrew teacher, that Hermon impended over Paneas; and in that day its snows were carried in summer to Tyre as a luxury.⁶—Mount Hermon bore also the name of Sion; was called by the Sidonians, Shirion; and by the Ammonites, Senir; which latter name in the Arabic form *Sûnir* was still applied, in Abulfeda's day, to the portion of Anti-Lebanon north of *Jebel esh-Sheikh*.⁷ Very early too Hermon began to receive the appellation of the "Snowy Mountain," in Chaldee *Tûr Telga*, in Arabic *Jebel eth-Thelj*; which latter was its common name in the time of Abulfeda, and is

Ya'kôb N. 81° E. Dûkah on the lake of Tiberias S. 35° E. Delita, village, N. 23° E.—Delita is mentioned in the Jewish Itineraries as a place of Jewish tombs; Carmoly, pp. 135, 185, 263, 373, 450. Hottinger Cippi Hebr. Ed. 2. p. 66.

¹ Josh. 11, 5, 7.

² Joseph. Ant. 5. 5. 1. B. J. 3. 10. 7. ib 4. 1. 1.

³ Bohaed. Vit. Salad. p. 98. Edh-Dhahiry in Rosenm. Analect. Arab. III. p. 22. Lat. p. 45. Abulf. Tab. Syr. pp. 147, 155. See above, p. 436. For the name *Melcha*, probably a mere extension of 'Ain el-Mel-lisah, see p. 435.

⁴ Deut. 3, 8, 4, 48. Comp. Josh. 11, 3. 17, 13, 11.

iii. 356, 357

⁵ Ps. 89, 12. [13.] See above, pp. 326, 357. Comp. Ps. 42, 6. 133, 3.

⁶ Onomast. art. *Ermoni*, *Ermon*, "Hebraeus vero quo praelegente Scripturas didici, affirmat montem Ermon Paneadi imminere; . . . de quo nunc aestivæ nives Tyrum ob deliciis feruntur."

⁷ Sion Deut. 4, 48. *Senir* Deut. 3, 9. Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 164.—The Sion (Heb. שִׁיֹן) here spoken of, is a wholly different name from the Zion (Heb. צִיּוֹן) in the Holy City; and can therefore have nothing to do with the explanation of the difficult passage in Ps. 133, 3; where only the latter name is read.

perhaps heard occasionally at the present day.¹ The monkish transposition of Hermon to the plain of Esdraelon, where the name of Little Hermon is still sometimes employed, has been already sufficiently considered.²

The *Jisr Benât Ya'kôb*, "Bridge of the daughters of Jacob," appears to be later than the time of the crusades, and was probably erected in connection with the great caravan road from Egypt to Damascus, with its numerous Khâns. The writers of that period speak only of a ford of Jacob; according to a legendary tradition or supposition, that the patriarch here crossed the Jordan on his return from Mesopotamia. Abulfeda, about A. D. 1300, calls the spot Beit Ya'kôb (Jacob's house), and the ford, el-Ajrân.⁴

Travellers of the fourteenth century, on their way from Palestine to Damascus, journeying apparently with the regular caravans, crossed the Jordan below the lake of Tiberias.⁵ In Jan. A. D. 1450, the party of Gumpenberg is described as travelling to Damascus along the lake of Tiberias northwards, then over hills, and afterwards crossing a bridge where was a toll; this answers to the bridge in question, though the Jordan is not named.⁶ In the remainder of the fifteenth, and the greater portion of the sixteenth century, the tide of travel among the pilgrims turned from Jerusalem southwards towards Sinai and Egypt; but about the middle of the sixteenth, we find Belon passing to Damascus by the present great road and bridge; and he was followed by several others in the same century.⁷

It would appear, therefore, that this great caravan route had been established, the bridge built, and the Khâns erected, probably before the middle of the fifteenth century. The Khân near the bridge, at its eastern end, is similar to the rest, as we

¹ Chald. כִּיר הַלֵּבָא, Targ. Hierosol. Deut. 4, 48. So too Vers. Samarit. ibid. See Reland Pal. pp. 323, 324.—Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 163.

² See above, pp. 326, 327.—For Dan and Baniâs, see Vol. III. Sect. IX, 1852.

³ Instead of *Benât Ya'kôb*, Burckhardt has incorrectly *Beni Ya'kôb*, 'Sons of Jacob;' p. 315.

⁴ "Vadum Jacob," Will. Tyr. 18, 13. ib. 21, 26. ib. 22, 22, "per locum, cui nomen Vadum Jacob, fluvium pertransiens" Quaresmius II. p. 871. Abulfed. Annal. A. H. 575; in Bohaed. Vit. Salad. Excerpt. p. 26. Bonifacius has here also a "domus Jacob;" Quaresmius l. c. p. 872; and Pococke speaks of a small hill north of the bridge with some ruins, called the town of Jacob; II. i. p. 73.—But Jacob, in returning from Mesopotamia,

came first to the ford of the Jabbok, the present Zerka, north of Jericho; here Esau met him, having come from Mount Seir. Gen. 32, 22; comp. vs 3.

⁵ W. de Baldensel ed. Basnage p. 355, "Jordanem transivi ponte in eo loco, ubi ipse fluvius se a mari Galilææ separat." Sir J. Maundeville p. 115. Lond. 1839.—So late as A. D. 1508, Baumgarten crossed the Jordan near Jericho, and proceeded thence to Damascus, on the east side of the river; p. 107 sq.

⁶ Reissb. in h. Land p. 451. The stream is merely spoken of as "a water Dale."

⁷ Belon Observ. Paris 1588, p. 331. Then followed M. Seidlitz as a prisoner in 1556, Reissb. p. 489; Radzivil in 1583, Reissb. II. p. 153; Cotovicus in 1598, p. 361 sq. Comp. Quaresmius Elucidat. Tom. II. p. 871.

could see ; and is the fifth upon this great public road, after it enters the plain of Esdraelon at Lejjûn.¹ The bridge itself is built of the black volcanic stones of the region ; has four pointed arches ; and is sixty paces long by about sixteen feet in breadth.²

This passage of the Jordan was however a point of great importance, even in the era of the crusades. It was here that king Baldwin III, in A. D. 1157, while proceeding from Bâniâs to Tiberias, after having relieved the former place, was surprised by Nureddin ; his attendants were mostly captured, and he himself escaped with difficulty to the castle of Safed.³ In October, A. D. 1178, Baldwin IV. laid here, by the ford, the foundations of a new fortress, upon an eminence of moderate height, on the west side of the river. The castle was quadrangular ; the walls of great thickness and solidity, and of appropriate height. The whole work was completed in about six months ; and gave the Christians entire control of this important pass. The charge of the castle was committed to the Templars ; and it thus formed a sort of outpost to their adjacent and more formidable fortress of Safed.⁴ The Christians had carried on the works without interruption from the Saracens, except one or two attacks from robber hordes. But in June A. D. 1179, not three months after the fortress was completed, it was assaulted by Saladin, at first without success. Having, however, defeated the Christians in a subsequent engagement near Bâniâs, in which the constable Honfroy was mortally wounded, and the Grand Master of the Templars, and others, made prisoners, the Sultan again invested the castle, became master of it by storm, put the garrison mostly to the sword, and razed the fortress to the foundations.⁵ The remains of this castle are doubtless the ruins, which travellers describe as situated on a tumulus-like hill on the west side of the river, about a mile below the bridge.⁶

¹ These are the Khâns el-Lejjûn, et-Tujjâr, el-Minyeh, Jubb Yûsuf, el-Jisr.

² Burekhardt, p. 315. Cotovicus p. 361. Comp. above, pp. 414, 415.

³ Will. Tyr. 18. 13, 14. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 44. Comp. above, p. 426.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 21. 26, 30. Wilken ibid. p. 189.

⁵ Will. Tyr. 21. 27-30. Reinaud Extraits p. 182. Abulfed. Annal. A. H. 575. Bar Hebr. Chron. Syr. pp. 380, 381. Wilken ib. pp. 191-194. Id. Comment. de Bell. Cruc. p. 126.

iii. 363, 364

⁶ Pococke Vol. II. i. p. 73, "A small mile below the bridge, there is an oblong square hill, which seems to have been made by art ; round the summit of it are the foundations of a strong wall ; and on the south end and on the east side, I saw the remains of two very handsome gates of hewn stone, with round turrets at the corners. At the north end there is a great heap of ruins, probably of a castle ; the whole is about half a mile in circumference." Monro Vol. II. p. 44.

SECTION XVI.

FROM SAFED BY TYRE AND SIDON TO BEIRÛT.

Friday, June 22d, 1838. Having been thus compelled to turn away from exploring personally the sources of the Jordan, and from visiting Damascus, we felt that the other parts of our general plan had been accomplished, and that the main objects of our journey were at an end. In proceeding from Safed to Tyre, and thence by Sidon to Beirût, we supposed that we were about to travel a beaten track, which had been repeatedly described, and could therefore present nothing of novelty; whatever there might be of interest connected with the renowned emporiums of ancient Phenicia. Under the influence of this impression, and feeling that our work was done, I am sorry to say, we paid a less exact attention to our course and to the various objects along the way, than had been hitherto our custom. I regret this the more; because it turns out, that the country between Safed and Tyre was altogether unknown; and even the route along the coast between Tyre and Beirût, although often travelled, has never been accurately described. Indeed, all this portion of the coast of Syria has never yet been fully surveyed, nor the positions of its chief towns correctly determined; and although it is now constantly visited by steamers and vessels of war, yet there exists up to the present time (1856), neither a good chart of the coast, nor the materials from which one might be constructed.

Our missionary friends from Beirût, a few weeks before, had travelled from Safed to Tyre by a somewhat different road; and had also been for several years in the habit of passing between these two places. Indeed, the route was regarded as a common one; and I first learned after returning to Europe, and not without some surprise, that it had hitherto been almost or quite unknown in books. On examination, I find that Nau, in A. D. 1674, travelled from the mouth of the Kâsimiyeh, north of

Tyre to Safed ; but he gives merely the names of a few villages along his route.¹ In A. D. 1833, Monro too went from Safed to Tyre, and returned to Safed ; but his account is meager, though overcharged ; and his road appears to have been a different one from ours, at least for a great part of the way.² Mr Thomson likewise took this route to Safed, after the earthquake of 1837 ; and mentions the names of a few places.³ These appear to be the only printed notices of the whole region between Safed and Tyre.

We set off from our place of encampment in Safed at 12½ o'clock ; and passing around the north side of the hill, below the castle, began at once to descend into the northwestern valley, here not less than three or four hundred feet deep. We reached the bottom about 12.35 ; and had on our right, in the valley, the large village 'Ain ez-Zeitûn with its fine vineyards, north of Safed. The village at this distance had a thrifty appearance, although it was laid in ruins by the earthquake. This great valley, as we have seen, passes down at first about S. S. W. and after receiving the eastern Wady, runs to the lake of Tiberias as Wady el-'Amûd. We now crossed two low ridges, or swells, between smaller Wadys ; and had Meirôn in view on our left, near the foot of the mountain in that direction. Further on, we began to pass up a narrow lateral Wady, coming down from the northwest. Upon the height on our left, was the village of Kadita, which at 1.40 was directly over us. Another village on our right, perhaps half an hour distant, was called Teitebeh. Kadita has many vineyards and fig trees in its neighbourhood, and was greatly injured by the earthquake.

We were now again in a region of dark volcanic stones, like those around the lake of Tiberias. We soon came out upon a high open plain, about on the level of Kadita, or perhaps higher ; and the volcanic stones increased as we advanced, until they took the place of every other ; and, besides covering the surface of the ground, seemed also to compose the solid formation of the tract. In the midst of this plain, at five minutes past 2 o'clock, we came upon heaps of black stones and lava, surrounding what had evidently once been the crater of a volcano. It is an oval basin, sunk in the plain in the direction from S. W. by S. to N. W. by N. between three and four hundred feet in length, and about one hundred and twenty feet in breadth. The depth is perhaps forty feet. The sides are shelving, but steep and ragged, obviously composed of lava ; of which our friend Mr Hebard had been able to distinguish three

¹ *Nau Voyage Nouv. de la Terre Sainte* p. 550 sq.

² See his Report in the *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1837, p. 435 sq.

³ *Summer Ramble*, Vol. II. p. 16 sq. 83.

iii. 366, 367

different kinds or ages.—Near the northwestern extremity, a space of a few feet in width slopes up more gradually from the bottom, leaving a sort of entrance through the wall of the crater. The basin is usually filled with water, forming a pond; but was now nearly or quite dry, and contained nothing but mud. All around it are the traces of its former action, exhibited in the strata of lava and the vast masses of volcanic stones. It may not improbably have been the central point or *Ableiter* of the earthquake of 1837. Mr Thomson, who passed here a short time afterwards, mentions the spot in his report; but appears not to have examined it in reference to its possible connection with the earthquake.¹ Our friends also, a few weeks before, had seen it; and in their letters had directed our attention to it.² The pond bears the name of Birket el-Jish, from the next village.³

Further on, and still in the plain, one road to Tyre goes off more to the left; our friends who preceded us, had taken this route, and visited upon it a place, where a species of chalcedony is found in great abundance. Our path continued straight onward; at 2.25 we reached the extremity of the high plain, and had before us a fine lower basin-like plain, tilled and surrounded by bushy hills. Its waters here flow off northwest through a narrow valley. Before us was el-Jish on a conical hill; and further to the left, Sa'sa', on a similar hill, on the north of the line of mountains already mentioned, running off northwest from the vicinity of Safed, and limiting the prospect on that side.⁴

We came to the foot of the hill on which el-Jish is situated at 2.35, on the north of the beautiful plain just described, and having in the northeast a deep narrow Wady, a ravine, running N. N. W. Jish was totally destroyed by the earthquake; not a house of any kind was left standing. The Christians were at prayers in their church; which fell upon them, and destroyed more than one hundred and thirty persons. Two hundred and thirty-five names, in all, of those who perished in the village, were returned to the government. A large rent in the ground just on the east of the village, when seen nearly three weeks afterwards, was about a foot wide and fifty feet long; it was described as having been at first much larger.⁵ As we now saw the village, it had been partly rebuilt, and began to assume again its former aspect.

¹ See his Report, *Miss. Herald* l. c. p. 436.

² See on this crater, Anderson's *Geol. Report* p. 128. Dr Anderson found two other similar craters near Teitebeh and Deir el-Jish; *ibid.* p. 129.

VOL. II.—38

³ From the crater, Safed bore S. 27° E. and Benit S. 65° E. See p. 434, above.

⁴ See above, p. 432.

⁵ Mr Thomson's Report, *Miss. Herald* l. c. p. 435.—West of el-Jish Mr T. seems to have followed another road.

The name el-Jish enables us to recognise here the Giscala of Josephus, a place several times mentioned by this writer, and fortified by his orders. It was the last fortress in Galilee to hold out against the Romans; but finally made terms with Titus, and surrendered itself, contrary to the will of John, a native leader, who retired to Jerusalem and became one of the defenders of that city against Titus.¹ Jerome relates, as a fable, the story, that the parents of the apostle Paul were from Giscala.² It is the same place spoken of in the Talmud under the name of Gush Halab, situated not far from Meirôn, and celebrated for its oil.³—Benjamin of Tudela mentions it as containing a score of Jews in his time, and lying a day's journey from Tibnin; in the following centuries, the tombs of several Jewish Rabbis are enumerated here, and there is said also to have been a synagogue.⁴

From the foot of the hill of Jish, Sa'sa' bore N. 77° W. distant about an hour. This place is also mentioned in the fourteenth century and later, as containing the tombs of several Jewish Rabbis.⁵ It is now a Muhammedan village.

Instead of entering the village of Jish, we passed below it, around the right side of the hill, along the brink of the deep valley above mentioned, into which we gradually descended. We came to the bottom at 2.55, where was a very small streamlet of water.—Further down were two or three small fountains, where shepherds were watering their flocks. This valley is called Wady el-Mu'addamiyeh; the banks are very steep and high, so that we could for a time see nothing of the country. After half an hour we reached its junction with another larger Wady coming from the southwest. We followed down this valley towards the north for fifteen minutes; here it turns again northeast and goes to join another Wady called Hendâj, which descends into the Ard el-Khait, and enters the lake el-Hûleh at its southern extremity.

Leaving this valley, we ascended by a steep lateral Wady towards the N. N. W. and came out at 4½ o'clock upon high undulating table land, arable and everywhere tilled, with swelling hills in view all around, covered with shrubs and trees. The stones had mostly disappeared. Here too we had a view

¹ Joseph. B. J. 2. 20. 6. Ib. 4. 1. 1. ib. 4. 2. 1–5. ib. c. 3. Vita § 38. Comp. §§ 10, 13. Reland Pal. p. 812.

² Hieron. Comm. in Philem. 23, "Talem fabulam accepimus: Aiunt parentes Apostoli Pauli de Gys'alīs regione Judææ," etc. Reland p. 813.

³ See the Talmudic passages, Lightfoot Opera II. p. 593. Reland Pal. p. 817; comp. 813. The Rabbinic form is

iii. 369, 370

גִּישׁ חֵלֶב, of which the Arabic retains only the first word.

⁴ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 82. Carmoly, pp. 183, 184, 262, 380, 452. Hottinger Cippi Hebraici Ed. 2. p. 70. The writer of this latter Itinerary speaks of the synagogue, and refers it back to R. Simeon Ben Jochai

⁵ Carmoly, pp. 262, 380, 451. Hottinger Cippi Heb. p. 68.

of a fine tract of open cultivated country towards the Hùleh, with several villages upon it.¹ Passing on over a tract of high ground, covered with small oaks, we descended a little along a fine shallow basin on our left, in which the reapers were gathering an abundant harvest. Its waters are drained off towards the southwest, and become tributary, we were told, to a Wady called el-'Ayùn, which runs to the western sea just north of Râs el-Abyad, the *Promontorium album*. As we rode along the northeastern border of the basin, we had on our right the open country around Fârah, as already mentioned; the waters of which descend to the Hùleh.

We came now upon still higher ground, and had soon upon our left a large village, about half an hour distant, named Yârôn;² while another called Mârôn was on a higher hill at about the same distance on our right. Just beyond these, at 4½ o'clock, we saw on our left, near the road, a very large sarcophagus, lying here in utter loneliness. It is of limestone, plainly hewn, and measures eight feet in length by four and a half feet in breadth and height. The lid is thrown off, and measures two feet thick; the upper side is slanted off like a double roof; the ends resemble a pediment. Scattered around it are columns and fragments of columns of moderate size. It would seem as if the sarcophagus had stood originally on or near this spot, with a small temple over it; forming a solitary tomb, not unlike that of Hiram nearer Tyre.

The way now led us along an almost level ridge, on the water-summit between the Hùleh and the Mediterranean. It was a fine and fertile strip of land, and patches of it were occupied by a species of vetch, called in Arabic Hummûs. At 4.55 we crossed a small shallow Wady running west, and ascended a ridge wooded with small oak trees, on a course northwest. The whole country was now a succession of swelling wooded hills and valleys, a soft and pleasing landscape, especially towards the southwest. The prickly oak is very abundant. Half an hour later, we reached the top of the ridge, and our course became north. This soon brought us to a broad shallow arable valley, called Wady Rumeish, running off towards the south to the village of that name to join Wady el-'Ayùn. We passed up along its eastern side, and came at 6.10 to Bint Jebeil, a large

¹ Among others, Fârah bore N. 85° E. Râs el-Ahmar S. 45° E. el-Jish S. 10° E.

² In A. D. 1674, Nau and his party spent a night at Yârôn; he describes there the remains of a monastery and church on an eminence near by, with the bases and fragments of many columns; pp. 551, 552.

These are probably the "ruins of a church of white marble" spoken of by Monro; who appears also to have seen the sarcophagus mentioned in the text, though I am unable to recognise it in his description; Vol. II. p. 17. West of this point, his route seems to have been different from ours.

village, surrounded by many vineyards, where we proposed to halt for the night.

We were about to pitch our tent outside of the village, near the threshing-floors, where the people were still at work, when the Sheikh and head men of the village came to us, saying they were exposed to an attack from the rebel Druzes now in arms in and around Hāsbeiya. A village in the north, not far off, had been robbed the night before ; and to night their village might be plundered ; they therefore advised us to go on further. We at first regarded all this as a mere pretext ; and our muleteers also declined to go on, as it was now late and no other village near. The men then proposed that we should lodge within the village in a Medāfeh, where we should be more secure ; since our tent would naturally at once attract the notice, and excite the cupidity of plunderers. This advice also we were not disposed to follow, well knowing the torments to which we should thus be subjected. Meanwhile, one of the chief men invited us to lodge in his own house ; and as this very unusual step testified at least their sincerity, we at length, though unwillingly, accepted his proposal. The whole house was given up to us ; the women and children being removed out of it for the night. Our muleteers were lodged at a Medāfeh.

The inhabitants of Bint Jebeil are all, or nearly all, Metāwileh, (Sing. Mutawāly,) a Muhammedan sect here regarded as heretical, though their tenets accord for the most part with those of the sect of 'Aly, or the Shiites (Shi'ah) of Persia.¹ Their chief practical characteristic, which forces itself upon the notice of a stranger, is the custom neither to eat nor drink with those of another religion ; to which they rigidly adhere. They use no vessel, for instance, out of which a Christian has eaten or drank, until it has been thoroughly cleansed ; and if a Christian chance to drink out of one of their earthen vessels, they break it in pieces. They are said even to regard themselves as unclean, should a stranger touch their clothes. All these circumstances in their character went to show the sincerity of our host, when he gave up his house for our use. We were treated in all respects with great civility ; yet both our host and his friends absolutely refused to partake of our evening meal ; and those who came to visit us, would not touch our coffee.—In this manifestation of kindness, they did not profess to be wholly disinterested ; for if any thing happened to us, the government, they said, would hold them responsible. It only showed the reality of their alarm ; which, however, for this time proved groundless.

The house to which we were thus introduced, was one of the

¹ See Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc. c. viii. Niebuhr Reisebeschr. II. p. 426 sq. Volney Voyage II. p. 77 sq.

iii. 372. 373

best in the village, and marked a man of some wealth. It stood with its north end on one of the lanes; on the west side was a very small court adjoining the lane; and in the corner of it a small shed serving as a kitchen. The door entered from this court; and one trod within first upon the ground, and then upon the floor, raised like a low platform on two sides of the interior, leaving an unfloored space of about one third of the whole interior to serve as a stable. Here a donkey was already enjoying his night-quarters; while we spread our beds upon the adjacent floor. The room and floor might be termed neat for a Syrian village; and the walls were even not destitute of ornament. In one corner was a small fireplace, having little cupboards over it decorated with carved work; rudely done indeed, but yet ornamental. Our host and several people of the village sat with us till late at night.

We were now in the province called Belâd Beshârah; this includes also the two villages Yârôn and Mârôn which we had passed, and extends to the plain of Sûr. On the north it is bordered by the Litâny, and embraces the district of Merj 'Ayûn. It is a large province, having a governor of its own, who was now residing in Sûr (Tyre); though the proper capital of the province is Tibnin. It contains many thrifty villages, inhabited mostly by Metâwileh; with only a few Christians, chiefly of the Maronite sect. One characteristic of the region is, that it cultivates few olive trees and makes little oil. On the other hand, butter is abundant; and our lamp to-night was filled with butter instead of oil. The part of the district which we traversed, is a beautiful country; and was to us not the less interesting, for being well wooded. Here, for the first time in Palæstine, we saw the hills thickly clothed with trees.

South of Belâd Beshârah, between Safed and 'Akka, is the smaller district called el-Jebel, in which, although inhabited chiefly by Muhammedans, the Druzes are very frequent. Between this district and Nazareth, is another called esh-Shâghûr, which has likewise a few Druzes.¹

Saturday, June 23d. We prepared for a very early start; but a new hindrance arose, which delayed us for a time. Our younger muleteer had been ill more or less all the way from Jerusalem, so that he was often unable to help load the animals. Yet he had gradually been gaining in health; and as we approached Safed, his native place, his minute acquaintance with the country, and his obliging disposition, had rendered his services quite valuable. Indeed, he had never appeared in better spirits, nor had we ever estimated his intelligence and good-nature more highly, than on our little excursion from Safed to

¹ See above, p. 371. n. 2.

Benit. But during the night in Safed, he had probably been guilty of excesses, which had yesterday made him again quite ill, and now rendered him unable to proceed. He was therefore left at Bint Jebeil ; and his partner hired a young man to go on with us, as his servant. The latter was a Mutawâly ; but made no scruple to eat and drink with our Muhammedan servants.

We set off at length without breakfast at 4½ o'clock, on a course at first N. N. W. crossing Wady Rumeish ; on the east side of which Bint Jebeil is situated. The country continued as before, undulating, cultivated, wooded, and beautiful ; a succession of hill and dale, with more distant hills still higher and more thickly wooded. Indeed, from this whole region, considerable quantities of wood for fuel are carried to the coast, for transportation by sea. The chief supply for Beirût comes from this quarter. The little village of Tيره we saw a few minutes distant on our left, at 5.20 ; the ground declining in that direction. At 6 o'clock we came out upon an elevated ridge, where there was a distant glimpse of the western sea. Here we had our last view of the country behind us ; Sa'sa' bore S. 5° W. showing the general direction of our course ; and Tershihah S. 45° W. Both are Muhammedan villages in the district el-Jebel.

The way now led us for some time down a densely wooded hill side. After ten minutes, the view opened before us over an open tract, with the village Haddâta in front ; while more on the right was an extensive, undulating, cultivated region, of great beauty, with the castle of Tibnin on an isolated hill in the midst. Around the base of the castle hill is the town of the same name, regarded as the chief place of the district Belâd Beshârah. The waters of all this tract run northwestwards to the Litâny. At 6½ o'clock we passed Haddâta, a large village close on our left. Here Tibnin bore N. 30° E. about half an hour distant. The castle appeared large, and the walls not greatly impaired, though dilapidated. It is obviously of the time of the crusades. In it resides a family of Sheikhs, which is regarded as the head of all the Metâwileh of this region ; called the house of 'Aly es-Sûghir. They boast of high antiquity ; and are exclusive in their marriages, like the Sheikhs of the Druzes. —A small village called 'Aithah was also on our right, at the distance of about fifteen minutes. The valley on our right passed off N. N. W. towards the Litâny.

Five minutes further on, at 6.35, the great castle Kul'at esh-Shukif opened on our view, bearing N. 40° E. at the distance of several hours. This fortress stands on a precipice, which overhangs the western bank of the Litâny, near the bridge northwest of Merj 'Ayûn. It is in high renown among the

natives, as a place of wonderful structure and vast strength. It gives name to the adjacent district, called Belâd esh-Shūkif; lying between the Litâny on the south, and the territory of the Emir Beshir of Mount Lebanon on the north, and extending west to the plain along the coast.

These two great fortresses of Tibnin and esh-Shūkif figure not unfrequently in the history of the crusades; but lying in the mountains at a distance from the common routes, they have subsequently escaped the observation of almost all travellers. A few further notices of them, may therefore be here not out of place.

The fortress of *Tibnin*, as we are informed by William of Tyre, was erected in A. D. 1107 by Hugh of St. Omer, then lord of Tiberias. This chieftain was in the habit of making incursions upon the city and territory of Tyre, which had not yet been subdued by the Franks; and built this castle as a strong hold, in furtherance of his plans, on the way between the two cities; selecting for its site a conspicuous height, in the midst of a rich and cultivated tract upon the mountains, abounding in vineyards, fruits, and forests. To this new fortress, built up most probably on earlier foundations, the founder gave the name of Toron, by which it is usually mentioned among the Franks; Arabian writers know it only as Tibnin.¹ It became an important fortress, and gave name to the family of its possessors. In A. D. 1551, Honfroy of Toron was appointed as the constable of king Baldwin III; he is described as having large possessions in Phenicia, and in the mountains around Tyre; and after having acted a conspicuous part in the transactions of the succeeding years, was at last mortally wounded in the battle near Bâniâs in A. D. 1179.² His grandson of the same name, married the younger sister of Baldwin IV; and was afterwards offered the crown of Jerusalem, by the barons assembled at Nâbulus, in opposition to Guy of Lusignan. This he was wise enough to decline; and having joined the banner of Guy, was taken prisoner at the battle of Hattin.³ Immediately after this battle, in the same year, A. D. 1187, the fortress was invested by Saladin himself, and captured after an assault of six days.⁴

¹ Will. Tyr. 11. 5, "In montibus . . . ab eadem urbe Tyrensi quasi per decem distantibus miliaria, in locum cui nomen priscum *Tibenin*, castrum edificare, cui . . . nomen indidit *Toronum*." Jacob de Vitry copies the language of William of Tyre, omitting the date; c. 43, p. 1072. Wilken quotes the latter author, and appears to have overlooked the original account of the former; hence he remarks only, that Toron was built before the cap-

ture of Tyre in A. D. 1124; Gesch. der Kr. V. p. 42. n.

² Will. Tyr. 17. 14. ib. 21. 27. Wilken l. c. III. ii. pp. 13, 191. See above, p. 442.

³ Will. Tyr. 22. 5. Jac. de Vitry. c. 93. p. 1117. Wilken l. c. pp. 201, 255, 287. Comp. above, p. 376.

⁴ Bohaed. Vit. Salad. pp. 71, 72. Reinard. xtr. p. 202. Wilken l. c. III. ii. p. 295.

The original relations of Tibnin and Tyre were now reversed ; and the Saracens in possession of the former, henceforth harassed from it the Christians as masters of the latter. To do away this evil, the new host of pilgrims and crusaders, chiefly from Germany, which arrived in the Holy Land in A. D. 1197, undertook among other enterprises the reduction of the castle of Tibnin. The Christian host sat down before the fortress on the 11th of December, under the command of the Duke of Brabant ; not indeed with unanimity and confidence ; for distrust already existed between the Syrian Franks and the new comers, who longed to press forward against Jerusalem. Yet the siege was urged with vigour ; and as the steepness of the hill on which the castle stood, prevented the approach of the usual machines, mines were driven under the hill beneath the walls. In this labour, the many pilgrims from Goslar in Germany, who were practically acquainted with mining for metals, rendered great service. At length after four weeks the mines were sprung, and breaches formed in the walls in many places.

The Muslim garrison now desired to capitulate, and sent seven of their leaders to the Christian camp to propose terms. Their proposals were favourably received by the princes ; but the voice of discontent broke out in the host, and especially among the Syrian Franks, that the now defenceless fortress should not be carried by storm, and an example be made which should strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. Yet after long wavering, the terms proposed were accepted ; and a portion of the delegates remained as hostages in the camp, while the rest returned to the fortress. But such was their report of the disunion prevailing among the Christian warriors, that the garrison resolved to maintain their post ; and continued the defence with obstinacy, leaving the hostages to their fate.

The besiegers now renewed their assaults ; with the more energy perhaps, because they had reason to dread the approach of Melek el-Adil with a Saracen army. On the last day of January a council of war was held, and a general storm of the fortress determined upon for the next day. The announcement of this measure was received with joy ; and all parties united in mutual resolves and exhortations, either to conquer or die. Meantime it was reported through the host, that the servants of the princes, with their baggage, had left the camp on their way to Tyre. The pilgrims instantly followed the example ; loaded up their baggage, and hurried off in the same direction, on horseback and on foot ; abandoning the camp in such haste and confusion, that many lost all their effects, and the sick and wounded were left behind. To heighten the confusion and dismay, a violent storm of rain and hail burst upon the heads of

the Christians during their disgraceful flight. Thus shamefully ended this memorable siege ; after having twice been on the point of being brought to a successful conclusion.¹

We hear little more of Tibnin. In A. D. 1219 it was dismantled, like other fortresses, by the Sultan Mu'adh-dhem, in order that it might not again become a strong hold of the Christians.² Yet it appears once more to have come into their hands ; for in A. D. 1266 we find Sultan Bibars taking possession of it, after the siege and capture of Safed.³ The place is spoken of by Benjamin of Tudela, and also by Brocardus ; but appears ever since to have remained unvisited and *unknown*, except the slight mention of the name by Nau, who passed here in A. D. 1674.⁴

The castle *esh-Shūkif* bears among the Frank historians of the crusades the name of Belfort or Beaufort.⁵ The date of its erection is not given, nor are we informed whether it was erected by Christians or Saracens ; though not improbably it was built up by the Christians, like the neighbouring fortresses of Tibnin, Safed, Kaukab or Belvoir, and others. It is mentioned by William of Tyre, in A. D. 1179, as a castle of the Franks ; he relates that after the partial defeat of the Christians in that year by Saladin near Baniās, many of the knights and troops took refuge in the neighbouring fortress of Belfort.⁶ In A. D. 1189, nearly two years after the battle of Hattin, Saladin with his army sat down on the last day of April before *esh-Shūkif*. The siege was prolonged by the artifices of Raynald of Sidon, the commander of the castle ; who came into Saladin's camp and offered to deliver up the fortress, provided the Sultan would grant him three months' time, in order to remove his family and effects from Tyre to a place of security. The conditions were accepted ; but when the time expired, Raynald still sought by various pretexts to obtain further delay. Meantime the investment of 'Akka by a new host of crusaders, called off the attention of Saladin ; and tired of the subterfuges of Raynald, he sent him in chains to Damascus, and broke off for a time the siege of *esh-Shūkif*, in order to watch the army of the Franks. Yet the fortress was again invested, and was surrendered to him in April

¹ The particulars of this siege are given by Arnold of Lubeck lib. V. c. 4 sq. in Leibnitz Scriptor. Rerum Brunsvic. Tom. II. p. 706 sq. Oliver. Scholast. in Eccardi Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, Tom. II. p. 1391 sq. Comp. Ibn el-Athir in Reinaud Extr. pp. 380, 381. See Wilken Gesch. der Kr. V. p. 42-53.

² Wilken ib. VI. p. 236, and Abu Shā-meh as there cited.

³ Reinaud l. c. p. 498. Wilken ib. VII. p. 493.

⁴ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 108 ; comp. Hottinger Cippi Hebr. Ed. 2. p. 66.—Brocardus c. 3. p. 172. Nau Voyage etc. p. 552.

⁵ See the third following note. Among Arabian writers its common appellation is *esh-Shūkif Arnūn*, to distinguish it from several other fortresses of less note also called *esh-Shūkif*. Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 98. Schultens Index in Vita Salad. art. *Sjakyfum*.

⁶ Will. Tyr. 21. 29. Wilken ib. III. ii. p. 193.

of the next year ; on condition of the liberation of Raynald, and the unmolested retirement of the garrison.¹

The castle esh-Shūkif was restored to the Franks in A. D. 1240, along with Safed, in consequence of a treaty with Isma'il, Sultan of Damascus.² The garrison, however, refused to deliver it up to the Christians, and surrendered it at last only to Isma'il himself, leaving him to do with it what he pleased.³ Twenty years later, in A. D. 1260, the Templars acquired Sidon and the fortress of Belfort by purchase ;⁴ and they still held possession of it, when Bibars, in April A. D. 1268, suddenly appeared before it, and began a vehement assault. A portion of the garrison had been withdrawn the preceding day ; and there remained not enough to hold out against the vigorous attacks of the enemy. After a few days of vain resistance, the Christians surrendered at discretion ; the men were distributed as slaves among the attendants of the conqueror, while the women and children were sent to Tyre. The fortress was again built up, and furnished with a garrison, a Kâdy, and Imans for the mosk.⁵ It is mentioned not long after by Abulfeda, and again by edh-Dhâhiry ;⁶ but from that time until the present century, esh-Shūkif appears to have been lost sight of by all travellers.⁷

Our course as we descended towards Haddâta had become about northwest and continued in this general direction, or rather N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. quite to Tyre. Twenty minutes from Haddâta, at 6.50, we passed a village on the left, called el-Hâris ;⁸ and five minutes beyond, came out upon the brow of a steep and long descent, leading down from the high broad region of mountainous country, over which we had hitherto been travelling, to a lower tract of hills and valleys lying intermediate between this upper region and the plain of Tyre ; not unlike that which skirts the mountains of Jerusalem on the west. These hills extend for

¹ Bohaeddin Vit. Salad. p. 89 sq. 95 sq. 113. Reinaud Extr. pp. 237, 239, 240. Wilken ib. IV. pp. 247, 255, 259, 274.

² See above, p. 427. In recording this transaction, the Arabian historians speak of esh-Shūkif and Safed, while the Christian writers have Belfort and Safed. Reinaud p. 440. Abulf. Annal. A. H. 638. Tom. IV. p. 462. Hugo Plagon p. 723. Marin. Sanut. p. 215. Comp. Wilken ib. VI. p. 600.—Marin. Sanutus further describes the river el-Kāsimiyeh (Litany) as flowing close under Belfort ; p. 245.

³ Reinaud p. 441. Wilken l. c. p. 603.

⁴ Hugo Plagon p. 736. Marin. Sanut. p. 221. Wilken ib. VII. p. 400.

⁵ Makrizi in Reinaud p. 504. Marin. Sanut. p. 223. Wilken ib. pp. 518, 519.

iii. 381, 382

⁶ Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 98. Rosenmüller Analect. Arab. III. p. 20 Arab. p. 41 Lat.

⁷ Unless perhaps it be the "Elkiffe" of Sandys, which he says was strongly fortified by Fakhr ed-Din ; p. 165. Burckhardt heard of esh-Shūkif in A. D. 1810, in passing from Hâsbeiya to Baniās ; p. 36. Buckingham passed near it in 1816 on his way from Baniās to Sidon ; but merely mentions the name ; Travels among the Arab Tribes 4to. p. 407. In 1835 the route of Mr Smith through the Hûleh and Merj 'Ayûn to Jezzin, led him very near it ; see above, pp. 436, 438 sq.—We visited esh-Shūkif in 1852 ; see Vol. III. Sect. II, under Apr. 9th.

⁸ Not Hadith, as in the former edition.

some distance north of the Litány, here called el-Kâsimiyeh. The point where we stood, may have been from twelve to fifteen hundred feet above the sea.

Here was a most extensive and magnificent view of the hills and plains, the coast and sparkling waters of the Mediterranean ; on which last we could distinguish several vessels under sail, like white specks in the distance. Directly before us, and the only object to break the monotony of the flat coast itself, was Sûr and its peninsula ; while its plain, and the lower region of hills, teeming with villages, and variegated with cultivated fields and wooded heights, were spread out before us in great distinctness and beauty. It ranked high among the many beautiful prospects we had seen.—Sûr bears from this spot N. 57° W. My companion took here the bearings of ten villages ; but afterwards found reason to doubt whether our Mutawâly guide had given him the name of a single one correctly ; and therefore did not record them. We greatly regretted the loss of our more trusty muleteer.¹

The path now led us down, after a great descent, into the head of a deep and narrow Wady, which we followed for a long distance directly on our course. It is called Wady 'Ashûr, and was now without water ; but the steep sides are thickly wooded with prickly oak, maple, arbutus, sumac, and other trees and bushes, reaching quite down to the bottom ; so that we often travelled among the trees. It reminded me strongly, of some of the more romantic valleys among the Green mountains in Vermont. Beneath the fine shades of this sequestered dell, we stopped at 8½ o'clock for breakfast. The morning was serene and beautiful ; and as the journey of the day was to be short, we gave ourselves up for a time to the luxury of rest.

At five minutes past 10 o'clock we proceeded down the valley, still in a northwest direction. The bed of the Wady began now to be studded with oleanders in blossom. After half an hour, the hills became lower, the valley wider and cultivated. At 10½ o'clock, there was a village on the hill at our left, called el-Beyâd ; and another high up on the right, named el-Mezra'ah. Further on, the valley turns north, and runs to the Litány. We ascended the cultivated ridge which here skirts it on the west ; and reaching the top at 11 o'clock, began to descend immediately into another broad fertile valley, also running towards the north. We crossed its water-bed at 11.20 ; and ascending again gradually to an undulating region of cultivated country, passed at 11.40 the large village of Kâna, on the brow of the valley ; and close by it another called Mûkhshikeh.

¹ We came to this point again in 1852 ; that the view was less extensive than now but the weather was misty and showery, so See Vol. III. Sect. II, under Apr. 12th.

In this Kána we may doubtless recognise the *Kanah* of the book of Joshua, described as one of the towns in the northern part of the tribe of Asher, whose border extended unto Sidon.¹ The name is recorded by Eusebius and Jerome; but I am not aware that the place has been noticed by any pilgrim or traveler, from that time until the present day.²

The hill country, as we here approached Sûr, is fully tilled; and a peculiar characteristic of it, is the production of great quantities of tobacco. Throughout all Palestine, this plant is cultivated more or less for home consumption, in small patches around most of the villages where the soil permits; but here it is largely raised for exportation, and actually forms one of the main exports of Sûr, if not the chief; being carried mostly to Damietta.

Proceeding over the hilly tract with a gradual descent, we had a village above us on our left at 12.25, called Hanâweih.³ Ten minutes further on, we came to one of the most remarkable monuments of antiquity, yet remaining in the Holy Land. It is an immense sarcophagus of limestone, resting upon a lofty pedestal of large hewn stones; a conspicuous ancient tomb, bearing among the common people the name of Kabr Hairân, "Sepulchre of Hiram." The sarcophagus measures twelve feet long by six feet in height and breadth; the lid is three feet thick, and remains in its original position; but a hole has been broken through the sarcophagus at one end.⁴ The pedestal consists of three layers of the like species of stone, each three feet thick, the upper layer projecting over the others; the stones are large, and one of them measures nine feet in length. This gray weather-beaten monument stands here alone and solitary, bearing the marks of high antiquity; but the name and the record of him by whom or for whom it was erected, have perished, like his ashes, for ever. It is indeed possible, that the present name may have come down by tradition; and that this sepulchre once held the dust of the friend and ally of Solomon; more probably, however, it is merely of Muhammedan application, like so many other names of Hebrew renown, attached to their Welys and monuments in every part of Palestine. I know of no historical trace

¹ Josh. 19, 28. By way of distinction, probably, the Cana of the New Testament is called Cana of Galilee, now Kána el-Jelil.

² Onomast. art. *Cana*. The text of Jerome is here exceedingly confused, and probably corrupted. Eusebius seems not to distinguish this Cana from that of Galilee.—Mr Thomson lodged at Kána on his way from Tyre to Safed in 1837; Miss. Herald for Nov. 1837, p. 434. Pococke heard of the name, as he passed along the coast.

³ A mile east of this village, Monro describes various Egyptian figures sculptured on tablets cut in the rocks; II. p. 23-25. See in Vol. III. Sect. II, under Apr. 10th, penult.

⁴ Such tombs, composed of a single stones or sarcophagus, of immense size, are not uncommon in Asia Minor; see Fellows's Journal in Asia Minor, Lond. 1839. pp. 48, 219, 248.

having reference to this tomb ; and it had first been mentioned by a Frank traveller only five years before.¹

Still descending gradually along a Wady, we turned off at a quarter before one from the main road to Sûr ; taking a path more to the left in order to visit Râs el-'Ain. We kept along down the same Wady ; and having passed the villages of Beit Ūlia and Dâr Kânôn at a little distance on our left, entered the plain and reached Râs el-'Ain at 1½ o'clock. Here we made our mid-day halt of nearly two and a half hours, for rest, and in order to examine those remarkable works of ancient days.

Râs el-'Ain has its name as being the 'fountain-head' of the aqueducts, by which Tyre was anciently supplied with water. The place lies in the plain, hardly a quarter of an hour from the sea shore, and one hour from Tyre on the direct road. It is a collection of large fountains ; where the water gushes up in several places with great force, and in very large quantities. These sources in themselves are not unlike those at Tâbighah and elsewhere along the lakes of Tiberias and the Hûleh, as to quantity and force of ebullition ; but the water is here clear and fine. In order to raise them to a head sufficient to carry off the water by aqueducts, the ancients built around them elevated reservoirs, with walls of large stones, immensely thick and fifteen or twenty feet high. There are four of these reservoirs in all, at this place. Two on the east are adjacent and connected together ; these are of an irregular form, and have steps to ascend to the top, where is a broad space or walk forming the border around the basins.² We measured the depth of water in one of these, and found it fourteen feet.

Directly from these two reservoirs, an ancient aqueduct goes off N. N. E. through the plain, exhibiting strong and excellent masonry, with round arches and a continuous cornice above them, evidently of Roman architecture. The channel is about four feet in breadth, and two or three in depth, and remains for some distance ten or fifteen feet above the ground ; afterward, the surface of the land rises nearly to its level. The water must contain large quantities of lime in solution ; for, wherever it has flowed over the aqueduct, or percolated through, large stalactites have been formed, which in some places fill up the arches.—On the other side too of the fountains, towards the south, an aqueduct with pointed arches, runs off, carrying water to some gardens. This is obviously a more modern Saracenic work.

The third and principal source and reservoir, is some rods

¹ By Monro in 1833, whose road had again fallen into ours ; Vol II. p. 25. The tomb is also described by Mr Thomson in 1837 ; l. c. p. 435.

² Maundrell describes these basins, one as twelve, the other as twenty yards square : Journal, March 21.

west of those now described. It is octagonal, and somewhat higher above the ground ; with a very wide border, and a broad way leading to the top, so that one might ride up. The water rises in it, and rushes from it, with more violence and in greater quantity, than from all the others together. This basin was anciently connected by an aqueduct with the two former ; or rather, the main aqueduct began here, and was first carried eastwards to the other two ; but this part has been broken away, and only some very large masses of stalactites still remain to show its place.¹ The water in this reservoir is in constant ebullition, and must be difficult to sound ; the people said it was sixty feet deep ; but Maundrell found it only thirty feet, and this is probably too great. The water of this fountain is now used only to turn a single mill, which stands immediately under the north side of the basin, having tub wheels, like most mills in Syria. Several other mills formerly stood here, to which the water was distributed ; but it now runs in a single rapid brook to the adjacent sea.² In the same direction is an isolated hill of a considerable elevation.

There is still a fourth fountain and reservoir, but much smaller, with an aqueduct of modern construction.

Around these fountains there is much verdure and many trees. We made our noon-day halt in an orchard of fig trees ; and the whole scene was rural and refreshing.³ There is also something of a village. A few years ago, the Pasha of Egypt began to erect here several factories for cloth ; and for this purpose removed two or three mills. But after a while, the expenses were found to be so great, that the project was abandoned. The foundations of two buildings yet remained, as they were then left ; and the materials collected, still lay upon the ground.

The opinion has long prevailed, that these fountains must be brought, by an artificial subterranean channel, from some

¹ This aqueduct appears to have been standing in Volney's day ; Voyage II. p. 199. Maundrell and Pococke also mention it expressly ; and the latter even says there were two ; Vol. II i. p. 81. Pococke's plan has little resemblance to the spot.

² Maundrell, under March 21st, gives a full and perhaps accurate description of this reservoir, as being "of an octagonal figure, 22 yards in diameter. It is elevated above the ground nine yards on the south side, and six on the north ; and within is said to be of unfathomable deepness, but ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is of no better a material than gravel and small pebbles ; but consolidated with so strong and tenacious a cement, that it seems to be all one entire vessel of rock.

iii. 387-389

Upon the brink of it you have a walk round, eight feet broad ; from which, descending by one step on the south side and by two on the north, you have another walk, twenty-one feet broad. . . . The aqueduct, now dry, is carried eastwards about 120 paces, and then approaches the two other basins." As to the materials, our notes speak also of large stones, many of which are decayed ; and Niebuhr says expressly, that this basin is built up with large squared stones ; Reisebeschr. III. p. 78.—In the days of Brocardus there were here six mills ; c. 2 p. 170.

³ Hasselquist notes as growing here : Salix (Sufsaf), Vitex agnus castus (Rish-rash), Palma Christi in abundance, Solanum, etc. Reise pp. 187, 556.

part of the adjacent mountains.¹ But there is nothing to limit such a supposition to these sources alone; and if it be adopted here, it may with the same reason be applied to all the other fountains along the coast, and also to those north of Tiberias and in the Hûleh. They are merely very copious natural springs, gathering their waters doubtless beneath inclined strata at the foot of the hills; and thus issuing with such force, as to admit of being raised to so great an elevation.

The piety of the middle ages referred these remarkable fountains and works to Solomon; or at least regarded them as the spot alluded to in the Canticles: "A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon."² This, however, is merely fanciful. Yet in all probability, ancient Tyre was supplied by aqueducts from these sources, long before the present Roman works were erected; and to them apparently the language of Menander is to be applied, who relates from the Tyrian archives, that when Shalmaneser retired from the siege of insular Tyre, he left guards behind to cut off the Tyrians from the stream and the aqueducts; so that for five years, they drank water only from the wells they dug.³

The first distinct notice we have of these fountains in their present state, is in the historical work of the venerable archbishop of Tyre, near the close of the twelfth century. He describes them as they still exist; and speaks particularly of the easy and solid steps leading to the top of the reservoirs, by which horsemen could ascend without difficulty. In that age, the abundant waters were applied to the irrigation of the adjacent plain; which was full of gardens and orchards of fruit trees; and where particularly the sugar cane was cultivated to a great extent; since sugar, although new to the first crusaders, now began to be regarded as a necessary of life.⁴ It was not improbably in connection with the previous culture of this plant by the Muhammedans, that the Saracenic aqueducts were built, which carry the waters over the plain south of the fountains; being coëval perhaps with those around Jericho, erected apparently for a like object.⁵

We set off from Râs el-'Ain at 4.25 for Sûr, taking a road on the right of the usual one, and more inland, in order to

¹ Even Maundrell adopts this view; *ibid.*

² Cant. 4, 15. The Vulgate corresponds still better: "Fons hortorum, puteus aquarum viventium, quæ fluit impetu de Libano." So Will. Tyr. 13. 3. Jac. de Vit. c. 43. p. 1071. Brocardus c. 2. p. 170. Quaresminus *Elucidat.* Tom. II. p. 904, etc. etc.

³ Menander in Joseph. *Antiq.* 9. 14. 2.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 13. 3, "et canamellas, unde preciosissima usibus et salutis mortalium necessaria maxime, conficitur *Zachara*: unde per institores ad ultimas orbis partes deportatur." Such is the close of this writer's description of Râs el-'Ain. Comp. also 7 22. Jac. de Vit. c. 43. p. 1071. Brocardus, c. 2. p. 170. Marin. *Sanut.* pp. 160, 245.

⁵ See above, Vol. I. p. 561.

follow for a time the ancient aqueduct. Twenty minutes brought us to two other fountains and reservoirs, similar to those of Râs el-'Ain, but not so large nor abundant. Their waters are now used merely to irrigate adjacent gardens and meadows towards the sea. As we advanced, the great aqueduct could be seen running off through the plain in a N. N. E. direction towards el-Ma'shûk, a round rocky isolated hill in the plain on the east of Sûr, nearly half an hour distant from the city, and crowned by a white Wely or tomb of a Muhammedan saint. For a considerable portion of the way, the channel is nearly or quite on a level with the ground; in other parts it rests on low round arches. We were told in Tyre, that this aqueduct had been cleared out, and in some parts repaired, not many years ago, by a governor of the place; so that the water is now carried through it nearly or quite to el-Ma'shûk, and used for irrigating the meadows, gardens, and cotton-fields, in the plain east of the city.

From el-Ma'shûk again, a range of arches in ruins, belonging to an ancient aqueduct, runs directly towards Tyre; but the greater part are broken away. Those remaining have the appearance of being much higher than the aqueduct from the south; and our first thought was, that the water of the latter might in some way have been raised to a higher level at Ma'shûk, in order to be carried to the city. But the height of the arches was probably occasioned by the declivity of the ground; the aqueduct having doubtless been carried along on the same high level as before, and thus brought into the city, in part at least, at a considerable elevation. We were assured, that there are no traces of reservoirs or of masonry of any kind, on or around the hill of Ma'shûk.¹ But why the aqueduct for conveying water from Râs el-'Ain to Tyre, should thus have been carried first to el-Ma'shûk, so far out of the direct line, it is difficult to perceive. It may have been on account of the low and perhaps marshy nature of the ground on a straight course; which would have required a long range of lofty arches on an uncertain foundation; while, as at present constructed, it rises little above the ground, and high arches were required only along the short distance between Ma'shûk and the city. Another, and perhaps prominent object of this circuitous course, may have been the irrigation of the higher parts of the plain, as at the present day.

We now passed down obliquely through the plain, crossing

¹ The Arabian writer edh-Dhâhîry, about the middle of the 15th century, mentions el-Ma'shûk along with Tyre, as a city so desolated as to be then a mere

village. Rosenmueller's *Analect. Arab.* Pars III. p. 19 Ar. p. 41 Lat. Sandys also mentions a village here in A. D. 1611; Travels p. 166.

in several places moist and marshy ground, and reached the beach of soft sand just at the south side of the isthmus. Following for a few minutes the beach as washed by the waves, we then struck diagonally across the sandy isthmus, near a large solitary tower of no great antiquity, and reached at 5.35 the only gate of the city, situated close by the water on the northern side. A quarantine guard stopped us, as coming from Jerusalem, where the plague was known to exist; but the proper officer being called, a shabby looking Italian, and our bill of health being pronounced regular, we were admitted without further delay. With indescribable emotion, I found myself within the circuit of the ancient mistress of the commerce of the east; alas, how fallen!

We had hesitated, whether to go at once to the house of the American consular agent; or to seek for a place where we might pitch our tent within the walls. We greatly preferred the latter course in itself; as we expected to remain the next day in Sîr, and should be in our tent far more masters of our time and of our own movements and convenience, than in the house of another. We therefore passed through the city to the western shore of the ancient island, now the peninsula, hoping to find there a fitting spot for the tent, in the open space between the houses and the sea. But, to our disappointment, this was now wholly occupied as a tobacco plantation; and after searching for some time, we reluctantly turned our steps backward into the streets of the city. Yet, had we looked a few rods further, we should have found a very tolerable spot by a threshing-floor, where we might have pitched close upon the bank, and enjoyed, in all its luxury, the cool sea breeze and the dashing of the surge upon the rocky shore.

The American consular agents in the Syrian cities are appointed by, and dependent on, the American consul in Beirut. They are usually native Christians of wealth and influence, for whom it is a privilege to obtain the appointment; inasmuch as it secures to them protection and exemption from many of the ordinary exactions of their own government. In return, they regard the few Americans who may happen to visit their places of residence, as peculiarly entitled to enjoy their hospitality; and consider it a duty and privilege to entertain them at their own houses. The agent at Sîr was now Ya'kôb 'Akkâd, a Greek Catholic, with whom my companion was already acquainted; a man of wealth, between thirty and forty years of age, occupying a large house in the middle of the city, along with his mother and one or two brothers; all living with their wives and children together in one family. We were received by him with great hospitality and kindness; and were at once quartered in

the largest and best parlour, which we were to occupy by day and by night. But it is a part of oriental hospitality, by day never to leave a guest alone ; so that we were really incommoded, by what was meant as kindness and respect. We were hungry, and would have eaten ; weary, and would have rested ; I felt myself unwell, and would gladly have lain down for repose ; but every thing of this kind was out of the question. Our host could not think of leaving us ; his neighbours and friends came in to sit with him and pay their respects to his visitors from a remote world ; his mother also made us a regular visit, and sat with us for some time, an elderly lady of intelligence and dignified appearance. She came once more to us in like manner the next day ; but we saw none of the other females of the family, except at a distance. Our servants, as being Muhammedans, were not admitted to the house ; but were lodged in another house belonging to our host not far distant, which was undergoing repairs, and was therefore unoccupied.

Thus passed away the remainder of the afternoon, greatly to our dissatisfaction, without repose, and without our being able to take any step for ourselves or see any part of Tyre. Notwithstanding too all the well meant kindness, we missed here the prompt attention and arrangement, which we had found under similar circumstances at Ramleh. We were tired and hungry ; and as dinner had been early announced, we waited with some impatience for its appearance. But we waited long in vain ; and not until 9 o'clock at evening were we summoned to partake of it. Here too a shabby imitation of the Frank style was any thing but welcome. As having often to do with Franks, our host had procured a long clumsy table, and several coarse chairs to be used with it. This was set in an adjacent room, with plates and rusty knives and forks. The dishes and cookery were Syrian, with a miserable red wine, the poorest we tasted in the country. The agent and his brother partook with us ; but waiting and weariness prevented enjoyment ; and we were glad to break up as speedily as possible. We spread our own beds upon the carpet of our parlour ; and I wished myself most heartily back again upon the ground beneath our tent.

Sunday, June 24th. The progress of our journey had now brought us to the sea coast of Phenicia, and into the midst of one of its mighty emporiums. Hitherto along our route, I have everywhere entered into the historical questions connected with the different places ; and have thus endeavoured to make the reader acquainted with the outlines both of their past and present state. In respect to Tyre and Sidon also, there are several such questions of great difficulty and grave import ; the due consideration of which, combined with historic sketches, might

easily fill out an interesting volume. But they have been often discussed ; and they present besides a field too extensive for a work of this nature. These considerations are sufficient, I trust, to excuse me henceforth from entering into such investigations ; and also from giving any further historical notices, except such as may arise incidentally, in close connection with the subject in hand.

We spent this day, the Christian Sabbath, at Tyre ; but with less enjoyment and profit to ourselves, than we had often done in the midst of the desert. The continual presence of our host was a burden ; in the house we could neither read nor write, nor indeed do any thing by or for ourselves. After breakfast, I wandered out alone towards the south end of the peninsula, beyond the city, where all is now forsaken and lonely like the desert ; and there bathed in the limpid waters of the sea, as they rolled into a small and beautiful sandy cove among the rocks. I continued my walk along the whole western and northern shore of the peninsula, musing upon the pomp and glory, the pride and fall, of ancient Tyre. Here was the little isle, once covered by her palaces and surrounded by her fleets ; where the builders perfected her beauty in the midst of the seas ; where her merchants were princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth ; but alas ! “ thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, that were in thee and in all thy company,”—where are they ? Tyre has indeed become “ like the top of a rock, a place to spread nets upon !” The sole remaining tokens of her more ancient splendour, lie strewed beneath the waves in the midst of the sea ; and the hovels which now nestle upon a portion of her site, present no contradiction of the dread decree : “ Thou shalt be built no more !”¹

We afterwards went together to the same and other points of interest in the city ; and among them to the ancient cathedral. The amount of our hasty survey of the site of Tyre, is contained in the following sketch. In the afternoon I found myself again unwell ; and retiring to the house where our servants were lodged, and spreading my carpet in an empty room, I rejoiced in being alone, and slept long in quietness.

The peninsula on which Tyre, now *Sûr*, is built, was originally a long narrow island, parallel to the shore, and distant from it less than half a mile. It was perhaps at first a mere ledge of rocks ; and inside of this, the island was formed by the sand washed up from the sea. The isthmus was first created by the famous causeway of Alexander ; which was enlarged and rendered permanent by the action of the waters, in throwing the

¹ Is. 23, 8. Ez. 26. 4. 5. 12. 14. 27, 4. 27.

sand over it broadly and deeply. At present, the isthmus cannot be much less than half a mile in width ; and although consisting of loose sand, yet it is covered with traces of the foundations of buildings, probably out of the middle ages. It lies between the shore and the more northern part of the island ; so that the latter, as seen from the shore, seems to project further towards the south of the isthmus than towards the north, and forms here a larger bay ; although the harbour, or rather road, in which vessels lie, is that on the north. The island, as such, is not far from a mile in length. The part which projects on the south beyond the isthmus, is perhaps a quarter of a mile broad, and is rocky and uneven ; it is now unoccupied except by fishermen as "a place to spread nets upon." The southern wall of the city runs across the island, nearly on a line with the south side of the isthmus. The present city stands upon the junction of the island and isthmus ; and the eastern wall includes a portion of the latter. On the north and west, towards the sea, are no walls ; or at least they are so far broken away and neglected, as to be like none.

The inner port or basin on the north, was formerly enclosed by a wall, running from the north end of the island in a curve towards the main land. Various pieces and fragments of this wall yet remain, sufficient to mark its course ; but the port itself is continually filling up more and more with sand, and now-a-days only boats can enter it. Indeed, our host informed us, that even within his own recollection, the water covered the open place before his house, which at present is ten or twelve rods from the sea and surrounded with buildings ; while older men remember, that vessels formerly were anchored where the shore now is.

The western coast of the island is wholly a ledge of ragged, picturesque rocks, in some parts fifteen or twenty feet high ; upon which the waves of the Mediterranean dash in ceaseless surges. The city lies only upon the eastern part of the island ; between the houses and the western shore is a broad strip of open land, now given up to tillage. This shore is strewed from one end to the other, along the edge of the water and in the water, with columns of red and gray granite of various sizes, the only remaining monuments of the splendour of ancient Tyre.¹ At the northwest point of the island, forty or fifty such columns are thrown together in one heap beneath the waves. Along this coast, too, it is apparent, that the continual washing of the waves has in many places had the effect to form layers of new rock ; in which stones, bones, and fragments of pottery are cemented as constituent parts.

¹ I mean here, of course, Tyre before the Christian era ; or at least before it fell under the Muhammedan dominion.

There are also occasional columns along the northern shore. I examined here very particularly the old wall of the port, at its western extremity ; where its abutments are at first built up along the shore, before it strikes off into the water. It is here constructed of large hewn stones ; and at first I took it to be of very ancient date. But on looking further, I perceived that the foundations rest on marble columns laid beneath ; a proof that these portions of the walls at least, if not the whole port in its present form, cannot probably be much older than the middle ages.

The remains of the ancient cathedral church of Tyre, are quite in the southeastern corner of the present city. It was in the Greek style, and must have been originally a large and splendid edifice ; but is now in utter ruin. The eastern end is partially standing ; the middle part is wholly broken away ; but portions are again seen around its western extremity.—The dimensions of the church were two hundred and sixteen feet long, by one hundred and thirty-six feet broad.¹ The area is now wholly filled up by the mean hovels of the city ; many of which are attached, like swallows' nests, to its walls and buttresses. In the yard of one of these huts, lies an immense double column of red Syenite granite, consisting of two parallel connected shafts of great size and beauty, once doubtless a main support and ornament of the cathedral.² Volney relates, that Jezzar Pasha, in the beginning of his career, attempted to remove this column to 'Akka, to ornament a mosk ; but his engineers were unable to stir it from the spot.³ Other columns of gray granite are strewn in the vicinity, and are seen along the streets. The earthquake of 1837 did great injury to these noble ruins ; throwing down a lofty arch and several other portions, which had been spared till then.

There is nothing which can serve to connect these ruins directly with any known ancient church. Yet the supposition of Maundrell is not improbable, that this may have been the same edifice erected by Paulinus, bishop of Tyre in the beginning of the fourth century, for which Eusebius wrote a consecration sermon. The circumstances related by Eusebius, show that it was a cathedral church ; he describes it as the most splendid of all the temples of Phenicia.⁴ The writers of the times of the crusades make no mention of the cathedral ; although Tyre was then erected into a Latin archbishopric

¹ These are Capt. Newbold's measurements in 1845. *Journ. of the R. Asiat. Soc.* XII. p. 355.

² Such double columns we had before seen only at Tell Hâm ; where, however, they were much smaller. See above, p. 407.

³ Volney *Voyage*, Tom. II. p. 196.

⁴ The account of Eusebius, and his sermon as preserved by himself, are found in his *Hist. Ecc.* 10. 4. Comp. Maundrell, March 20.

under the patriarch of Jerusalem. William of Tyre, the venerable historian of the crusades, became archbishop in A. D. 1174; and wrote here his history, extending to the commencement of A. D. 1184.¹ It was probably in this cathedral, that the bones of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa were entombed.²

The present Sûr is nothing more than a market town, a small sea port, hardly deserving the name of city. Its chief export is the tobacco raised upon the neighbouring hills;³ with some cotton, and also charcoal and wood from the more distant mountains. The houses are for the most part mere hovels; very few being more than one story high, with flat roofs. The streets are narrow lanes, crooked, and filthy. Yet the many scattered palm trees throw over the place an oriental charm; and the numerous Pride of India trees interspersed among the houses and gardens, with their beautiful foliage, give it a pleasing aspect.⁴—The taxable men at this time were reckoned at four hundred Muhammedans and three hundred Christians; implying a population of less than three thousand souls. Of the Christians, very few are of the Greek rite; the great body being Greek Catholics. The latter have a resident bishop; while the bishop of the former, who is under the patriarch of Antioch, resides at Hâsbeiya.⁵ We heard here of no Jews; though in Jerusalem we were informed, that two years before, a considerable number had taken up their residence in Tyre.

The earthquake of 1837 was felt here to a very considerable extent. A large part of the eastern wall was thrown down, and had just been rebuilt; the southern wall also had been greatly shattered, and still remained with many breaches, over which

¹ Will. Tyr. 21. 9. William of Tyre is sometimes spoken of as an Englishman; others have claimed him as of French or German birth; see Bongars' Præf. in Gesta Dei per Francos No. xi. His French continuator says expressly, that he was born in Jerusalem; *ibid.* Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. col. 1314. Comp. Bibliographie Universelle art. *Guillaume*, etc.

² The emperor Frederic I. (Barbarossa) was drowned in the Calycadnus (some say the Cydnus) in Cilicia, on his march to the Holy Land, June 10th, 1190. His body was first carried to Antioch, and deposited in the cathedral before the altar of St. Peter; Wilken Gesch. der Kr. IV. pp. 139, 143. Raumer Gesch. der Hohenstaufen II. pp. 436, 437. English chroniclers relate, that only his flesh and bowels were ultimately left at Antioch: "Viscera et cerebrum et carnem suam aqua coctam et ab ossibus separatam in civitate Antiochiæ;" Roger Hoved. in Savile Scriptor.

iii. 399, 400

Rerum Anglicar. p. 651. Brompton in Selden Script. Hist. Anglic. p. 1165. His bones only are said to have been entombed at Tyre; Sicard. Chron. in Muratori Tom. VII. p. 612. Dandolo in Muratori Tom. XII. p. 314.—By some strange perversion, there prevails a legend, apparently of the sixteenth century, but related by many travellers, that Barbarossa was drowned in the Kâsimiyeh, just north of Tyre; see Sandys' Travels, p. 166. Monconys I. p. 331. Pococke II. i. p. 84. Hogg's Visit to Damascus, etc. II. p. 148.

³ See above, p. 456.

⁴ *Melia Azedarach* of Linnæus; called also Pride of China; said to be a native of Syria.

⁵ Seetzen, in 1806, lodged at Hâsbeiya with "the learned bishop of Sûr or Saïda;" Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 341. Reisen I. pp. 323, 327. Burckhardt also had letters to him in 1810; Travels p. 33.

one could pass in and out at pleasure. Several houses were destroyed, and many injured ; so that the inhabitants, at the time, forsook their dwellings and lodged in tents, regarding the place as ruined. Twelve persons were killed outright, and thirty wounded.¹

Sûr at the present day is supplied with water, almost wholly, from two deep fountains with buildings over them, a few paces outside of the gate on the north side of the peninsula ; the one nearest the gate being the largest and chiefly used. This is a singular place for fresh water to spring up ; and the conjecture is not unnatural, that they stand in some unknown connection with the ancient fountains of Râs el-'Ain. Such was the belief of our host and of others in Tyre. He related, that some two or three years ago, the governor of Sûr, having been ordered to furnish a certain number of recruits as soldiers, collected all the peasantry of the district under the pretence of clearing out the ancient aqueduct, which was supposed to have come to the city. They actually dug for a day or two along the isthmus, not far from the gate, and found traces of an aqueduct at some depth under ground, consisting of very large and thick tubes of pottery. The governor now seized his recruits ; and his object being thus accomplished, the matter was dropped.

Tyre is said to have been founded by a colony from Sidon, two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's temple. The original city is usually held to have stood upon the main land ; and Tyre is already mentioned, in the division of the land by Joshua, as a strong city, and afterwards under David, as a strong hold.² In the letter of Hiram to Solomon, as given by Josephus, the Tyrians are described as already occupying the island.³ In the days of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, about 720 B. C. the chief city was upon the island, and the city on the land already bore the name of Palætyrus, "Old Tyre ;" the latter submitted to that monarch, while the former was blockaded by him for five years in vain.⁴ Nebuchadnezzar, also, at a later period, laid siege to Tyre for thirteen years ; whether it was at last captured by him, we are not expressly informed.⁵ Then came the celebrated siege by Alexander the Great, about 332 B. C. who succeeded after seven months in taking the island city, after having with great labour and difficulty built up a causeway or mole, from the main land to the walls. For this purpose, Palætyrus was razed, and the stones

¹ See Mr Thomson's Report, so often referred to, Miss. Herald Nov. 1837, pp. 434, 441.

² Josh. 19, 29. 2 Sam. 24, 7. Jos. Ant. 8. 3. 1. Justin. Hist. 18. 8.

³ Jos. Ant. 8. 2. 7. ib. 8. 5. 3.

⁴ So ἡ πάλαι Τύρος or Παλαιτύρος Diod. Sic. 17. 40. Jos. Ant. 9. 14. 2. *Vetus Tyrus*, Q. Curt. 4. 2, 18. Justin. 11. 10, 11.

⁵ Menander in Joseph. Ant. 9. 14. 2.

⁶ Joseph. c. Apion. 1. 21. Antiq. 10. 11. 1.

employed for the mole and other works of the besiegers.¹ Tyre continued to be a strong fortress ; after Alexander's death it fell under the dominion of the Seleucidæ, having been besieged for fourteen months by Antigonus. At a later period, it came under that of the Romans. The mole of Alexander having remained, had now divided the strait into two harbours ; and thus Tyre is described by Strabo, as a flourishing trading city, with two ports.² Such it was in the times of the New Testament, when it was visited by our Lord and his apostles, and afterwards by Paul.³ It early became a Christian bishopric ; and in the fourth century, Jerome speaks of Tyre as the most noble and beautiful city of Phenicia, and as still trading with all the world.⁴ Thus it continued apparently, under the Muslim rule, and until the time of the crusades.⁵

Not until after they had been for twenty-five years in possession of the Holy City, were the crusaders able to lay siege successfully to Tyre, at that time a flourishing city and strong hold of the Muslim power.⁶ William of Tyre, writing upon the spot describes the city at the time as very strongly fortified ; being enclosed towards the sea, in most parts, by a double wall with towers ; on the north, within the city, was the walled port, with an entrance between double towers ; and on the east, where it was accessible by land, it was protected by a triple wall with lofty towers close together, and a broad ditch, which might be filled from the sea on both sides.⁷ On the 11th of February, A. D. 1124, the Christian host sat down before Tyre ; and on the 27th of the following June, the city was delivered into their hands. On entering the wealthy emporium, the pilgrims were surprised at the strength of its fortifications, the size and splendour of the houses, the loftiness of the towers, the solidity of the walls, and the beauty of the port, with its difficult entrance.⁸

For more than a century and a half, Tyre appears to have

¹ Jos. Ant. 11. 8. 3. Diod. Sic. 17. 40 sq. Καθαίρων τὴν παλαιὰν λεγομένην Τύρον, καὶ πολλῶν μυριάδων κομισουσῶν τοὺς Αἰδούς, χάμα κατεσκευάζει διπλεδρον τῷ πλάτει.—Quint. Curt. 4. 2 sq. 18, "Magna vis saxorum ad manum erat, Tyro vetere præbente." Arrian. Alex. 2. 16 sq.

² Plin. H. N. 5. 17. Strabo 16. 2. 23. p. 519 sq.

³ Matth. 15. 21. Mark 7. 24. Acts 21. 3. 7.

⁴ Cassinus, bishop of Tyre, was present at the council of Cæsarea about A. D. 196 or 198; for him and other bishops, see Reland Pal. p. 1054. Le Quien Oriens Chr. II. col. 801.—Hieron. Comm. in Ez. xxvi. 7, "quam hodie cernimus Phœnicis

iii. 402. 403

nobilissimam et pulcherimam civitatem." Ib. xxvii 2, "usque hodie perseverat: ut omnium propemodum gentium in illa exerceantur commercia."

⁵ See generally Reland Pal. p. 1046 sq. Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. p. 381 sq. Winer Bibl. Realwörterb. art. *Tyrus*. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. Bd. II. i. p. 29 sq. Hengstenberg de Rebus Tyrionum Berl. 1832. 8.

⁶ King Baldwin I. besieged it for four months in vain, in A. D. 1111. Albert Aq. 12. 1-7. Fulch. Carn. c. 37. Will. Tyr. 11. 17. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. p. 227.

⁷ Will. Tyr. 13. 5. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. II. p. 505.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 13. 14. Wilken ib. p. 511. See generally Will. Tyr. 13. 5-14. Wilken ib. pp. 505-512.

remained in the possession of the Christians, and maintained its prosperity. The entrance of the port was closed every night by a chain between the towers ; and the city was celebrated for the manufacture of glass, and the production of sugar.¹ After the battle of Hattin, in A. D. 1187, when Jerusalem and nearly all Palestine were wrested from the Christians by Saladin, this city was almost the only place of importance, which held out against his arms. The Sultan, indeed, invested Tyre in November of the same year ; but after three months of fruitless effort, was compelled to give up the siege.² The city afterwards became an apple of contention among the Christians themselves ; and about the middle of the thirteenth century, appears to have been chiefly, if not wholly, under the control of the Venetians ; of whose property and administration in and around Tyre at this period, there exists a very minute and faithful account.³

The strength and almost impregnable position of Tyre, appear to have restrained the rapid and formidable Bibars from any direct attempts against the city at first ; although in A. D. 1267 he plundered the territory round about, under pretext of vengeance for the murder of one of his Mamluks ; and did not retire, until the inhabitants had paid a fine of blood of fifteen thousand gold pieces, and set at liberty all the Saracen prisoners in their possession. He then granted them peace for ten years.⁴ Meantime, he subdued the castles in the interior, and got possession of Yâfa, Arsûf, and Cæsarea in the south, and of Antioch and other cities in the north ;⁵ so that the Christians were henceforth confined chiefly to the coast north of Carmel. But such was now the feeble tenor of their remaining possessions, and such the predominancy of the Muslim might on every side, that only a single blow was wanting, to drive out wholly the name and power of the Franks from the Holy Land.

Hence, when in March, A. D. 1291, Melek el-Ashraf, then Sultan of Egypt and Damascus, invested 'Akka, and took it by storm with horrible atrocities after a siege of two months ;⁶ on the evening of the very day of its capture, the Frank inhabitants of Tyre embarked with their effects on board their ships, and abandoned this important city to the Saracens, who took possession of it the next day.⁷ Sidon, after some delay, was forsaken in like manner ; Beirut was seized by treachery ; and the for-

¹ Will. Tyr. 13. 3. Benj. of Tud. I. pp. 62, 63.

² Reinaud Extr. p. 219. Wilken ib. IV. p. 225-233, and the authorities there cited.

³ In the report of Marsilius Georginus, a Venetian Bailo or governor in Syria ; see Wilken ib. VII. pp. 371-387.—A strife among the various Christian parties and

princes for the possession of Tyre, see in Wilken ib. VI. p. 623 sq.

⁴ Reinaud Extr. p. 503. Wilken ib. VII. p. 516.

⁵ Wilken ib. pp. 474-478, 521 sq.

⁶ Wilken ib. pp. 735-770. Reinaud Extr. p. 570 sq.

⁷ Mariu. Sanut. p. 231. c. 22. Abul Annal. V. p. 98. Wilken ib. VII. p. 771.

tifications of both places destroyed. The subsequent abandonment of 'Athlit (Castrum Peregrinorum) and Tortosa in the same year, completed the entire expulsion of the Frank power from the soil of Syria and Palestine.¹

Not long before this time, Tyre is described by Brocardus as fortified on the land side by strong quadruple walls, with which there was connected on the island a citadel with seven towers, regarded as impregnable.² These fortifications appear to have been razed by the Saracens, as at Sidon and Beirût; and the place itself was abandoned more or less by the inhabitants. Abulfeda, not many years afterwards, describes Tyre as being desolate and in ruins; and edh-Dhähiry speaks of it in the same manner, in the middle of the fifteenth century.³ It therefore never recovered from the blow, but continued apparently to sink deeper and deeper in abandonment and desolation. Travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries describe it as only a heap of ruins,—broken arches and vaults, tottering walls and fallen towers, with a few miserable inhabitants housing in the vaults amid the rubbish.⁴ Yet Fakhr ed-Din, the celebrated chief of the Druzes in the first half of the seventeenth century, made some attempts to restore its importance, and erected here a spacious palace and other buildings; but they were soon suffered to fall to decay; and, in the time of D'Arvieux, the little that remained of the palace, served as a Khân for travellers.⁵ Maundrell, at the close of the same century, found "not so much as one entire house left," and only a few poor fishermen harbouring themselves in the vaults.⁶ In Pococke's day (1738) the French factory at Sidon exported large quantities of grain from Tyre; but the same traveller speaks here only of two or three Christian families and a few other inhabitants.⁷ Hasselquist in 1751 describes Tyre as a miserable village, having scarcely more than ten inhabitants, Muhammedan and Christian, who lived from fishing.⁸ In A. D. 1766 the Metâwileh from the neighbouring mountains, having taken possession of Tyre and built up the present walls, laid thus the foundation for its partial revival. Twenty years later, according to Volney, the village, although consisting of wretched huts, covered a third part of the peninsula; but its only exports were still a few sacks of grain and cotton, and its only merchant a Greek factor in the

¹ Marin. Sanut. p. 232. Reinaud p. 578.

² Brocardus c. 2. p. 170.

³ Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 95. Edh-Dhähiry in Rosenmüller Analect. Arab. III. p. 19. p. 41, Lat.

⁴ Cotovicus p. 120. Sandys p. 168, "But this once famous Tyre is now no other than a heap of ruins; yet they have

iii. 405, 406

a reverent aspect, and do instruct the pensive beholder with their exemplary frailty." Quaresmius II p. 906.

⁵ D'Arvieux Mémoires, Par. 1735. Tom. I p. 251.

⁶ Maundrell's Journal, March 20th.

⁷ Pococke Descr. of the East, II i. p. 82.

⁸ Reise p. 187.

service of the French establishment at Sidon.¹ The export of tobacco to Egypt has given it an impulse during the present century ; in 1815 this formed already its chief staple, along with cotton, charcoal, and wood ; and the population was continually increasing.² Yet the greater prosperity and importance of the trade of Beirût, will probably prevent any further extensive enlargement.

In connection with the preceding account of ancient Tyre, a question arises in regard to the site of the earliest land city, Palætyrus ; of which no known vestige now remains. The only distinct notice we have of its position, is from Strabo, three centuries after its destruction by Alexander. He says it stood thirty stadia south of the insular city.³ Both the direction and the distance carry it, therefore, to the vicinity of Râs el-'Ain. It probably lay on the south of those fountains along the coast ; and the hill in that quarter may perhaps have been its citadel.⁴ That no remains are now visible, is amply accounted for by the fact, that Alexander, more than twenty centuries ago, carried off its materials to erect his mole ;⁵ and what he left behind, would naturally be swallowed up in the erections and restorations of the island city, during the subsequent centuries. Even in the more modern Tyre of the middle ages, what has become of her double and triple walls, her lofty towers, her large and massive mansions ? Not only have these structures been overthrown, but their very materials have in a great measure disappeared ; having been probably carried off by water, and absorbed in the repeated fortifications of 'Akka and other constructions.⁶

Monday, June 25th. Our journey for this day was along the coast from Tyre to Sidon, a distance usually reckoned at eight

¹ Volney Voyage II. pp. 194, 196, 208. Comp. Niebuhr Reisebeschr. III. p. 78.

² Turner's Tour, II. p. 101.

³ Strabo 16. 2. p. 521, Μετὰ τὸν Τύρον ἡ Παλαίτυρος ἐν τριδικοντα σταδίοις. Strabo is here following the direction from north to south, and goes next to Ptolemaïs.

⁴ There are ruins in the plain an hour and a half south of Râs el-'Ain, as noted by my companion ; but these are too distant. Irby and Mangles mention them as "the rubbish of an ancient city ;" Travels p. 197. [61.]

⁵ See above, p. 467 sq.

⁶ The Hebrew name of Tyre is צִיֹּר (Tsôr, rock), which is admirably adapted to the island, but not specially so to the site here assigned to the land city. Etymologically therefore, and perhaps on other

grounds, the city upon the island might well be regarded as the original one ; though against this view we have the name Palætyrus, and this alone, applied to the land city. (Comp. Hengstenb. de Reb Tyr. c. 1.) To avoid this difficulty, it is sometimes suggested, in accordance with Volney, Rosenmüller, and others, that Palætyrus may have been situated upon the rocky hill el-Ma'shûk ; to which the name צִיֹּר (Tsôr) would certainly be very applicable. But this hill is east, or rather northeasterly, from Tyre, at less than half an hour's distance ; and can therefore have no connection with Strabo's Palætyrus. Winer Bibl. Realwörterb. art. *Tyrrus*, note. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. II i f. 31. Volney Voyage II. pp. 200, 201.

hours We left the gate of Tyre at 6 o'clock ; and following the beach of sand along the northern shore of the isthmus, left the high and broken arches of the ancient aqueduct upon our right. Beyond the isthmus, the path gradually leaves the beach. In thirty-five minutes we came to a large spring of fine water, once enclosed by a wall ; it is highly prized by the Tyrians, who suppose it to possess medicinal virtues.¹ The road now strikes obliquely across the plain, towards the point of the hills where the valley of the Litány, here called Nahr el-Kásimiyeh, issues from them. Here, on the high southern bank of the Wady, at the foot of the hills, stands the Khân el-Kásimiyeh, which we reached at 7½ o'clock ; an old dilapidated building, on which Sandys already bestows the epithet of ancient.² At this place we stopped an hour for breakfast. The Khân is inhabited ; but the people were all absent, and had left their poultry and other effects to the honesty of all comers. Our servants looked around for something to eat, and found at last some eggs in the nest ; these they took, leaving money in the nest to pay for them.

Mounting again at 8½ o'clock, we descended the steep bank to the river, which here flows immediately beneath it, and is crossed by a fine modern bridge of one arch.³ The stream in this part is of considerable depth, being perhaps one third as large as the Jordan above the lake of Tiberias ; and flows to the sea with many windings, through a broad low tract of meadow land. Its name, el-Kásimiyeh, is sometimes said to signify 'division ;' and is supposed to have arisen from its being the boundary between adjacent districts ; though it is more probably derived from a proper name.⁴ It is the same stream, which under the name of el-Litány drains the great valley of el-Bûkā'a between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and then breaks down through to the sea, by a mountain gorge, at the south end of Lebanon.⁵ This river is now commonly held to be the Leontes of the ancient geographers ; and not without good reason, though the proofs

¹ This spring appears to be the same which Pococke calls "Bakwok ;" II. i p. 84.

² "An ancient Cane, whose port doth bear the portraiture of a chalice ;" Sandys's Travels p. 166. Monconys also mentions the chalice on a stone tablet ; I. p. 331. Comp. Nau p. 541.

³ In the seventeenth century, D'Arvieux and Maundrell describe a bridge of four arches over the Kásimiyeh, broken down and dangerous to be passed ; D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 5. Maundr. March 20th. Pococke in 1738 found a bridge of two arches ; II p. 84. Turner in 1815 speaks here of "a handsome new bridge, twenty feet wide ;" iour etc. II. p. 98.

iii. 408-410

⁴ D'Arvieux in 1659 says it was so called as dividing the governments of Saïda and Safed ; Mém. II. p. 5, Paris 1735. Nau in 1674, makes it separate the territories of Saïda and Sûr ; p. 548. It now forms the line between the districts Belid Beshârah and Belad esh-Shukif.—The form *K'iam* signifies 'division ;' *Ká-sim* is 'divider,' but it is used also as a proper name *El-Kásimiyeh* seems to be the feminine of the relative adjective *Ká-simiy*, derived from this proper name.

⁵ See above, pp. 437, 438. The fable respecting the drowning of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa in this river, has already been noticed ; p. 466. n. 2.

are not absolutely decisive.¹ By an error destitute of the slightest foundation, yet going back to the times of the crusades, the Kâsimiyeh was formerly regarded as the ancient Eleutherus; a stream which all the ancient geographers agree in placing on the north of Tripolis, and which Maundrell was the first to find again in the Nahr el-Kebir, at the northern end of Lebanon.²

Our road lay for the remainder of the day along the celebrated Phenician plain, sometimes at the foot of the mountains, and sometimes near the shore. This plain extends from Râs el-Beyâd or el-Abyad, the *Promontorium album* of the ancients, nearly three hours south of Sûr, to the Nahr el-Auwaly an hour north of Saïda; a distance of ten or eleven hours. Its breadth is unequal; but it is nowhere more than half an hour, except around the cities of Tyre and Sidon; where the mountains retreat somewhat further. In some places they approach quite near to the shore. The surface is not a dead level, but undulating; the soil is fine and fertile, and everywhere capable of tillage; though now suffered for the most part to run to waste. The adjacent heights are hardly to be called mountains; they constitute indeed the high tract running off south from Lebanon, which has some higher bluffs and ridges further east, towards the Hûleh; but as here seen, they are low; and though sometimes rocky and covered with shrubs, are yet oftener arable and cultivated to the top. The hills too are enlivened with villages; of which there is not a single one in all the plain, until near Sidon.

We crossed the dry bed of a mountain torrent at 9½ o'clock,

¹ Edrisi, in the twelfth century, describes a river called Nahr *Lanteh*, as descending from the mountains to the sea between Sûr and Sûrafeud; Edr. par Jaubert p. 349. Reland Pal. p. 290. This name is obviously an Arabic form for the Leontes; and the stream could not well have been any other than the Kâsimiyeh; especially as the name el-Litâny, still applied to the same in the mountains, is probably only a further corruption of Leontes and Lanteh—Yet Ptolemy sets the river Leontes between Berytus and Sidon; and Strabo also places a city Leontonpolis between the Tamyras and Sidon. Ptolem. 5. 4. Strabo 16. 2. p. 520. Reland Pal. p. 457. Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. pp. 377, 379. In that case the present river el-Auwaly (the Bostrenus) north of Sidon would correspond to the Leontes; and so Mannert assumes it; Phœnic. p. 294—Strabo expressly speaks of a river on the north of Tyre, unquestionably the present el-Kâsimiyeh; but unfortunately does not record its name: *ἐτρα πρὸς Τύρῳ ποταμὸς ἐλῖσην*. 16. 2. 24. p. 758.

VOL. II.—40*

² William of Tyre twice mentions this stream by Tyre, but gives it no name; 7. 22. ib. 13. 9. Brocardus has it as the Eleutherus, c. 2 p. 171; and so too Marinus Sanutus p. 245. Adrichomius p. 3, etc. etc. Yet the ancients with one voice place the Eleutherus north of Tripolis, on or near the northern border of Phenicia; so Ptolem. 15. 4. Strabo 16. 2. 12. p. 753. Plin. H. N. 5. 20. See Cellarius Not. Orb. II. p. 374. Mannert Geogr. von Arabien, Palästina, etc. p. 303. Leipz. 1831. Josephus also makes it a border river north of Tyre and Sidon; and this view is also consistent with the first book of Macchabees; 1 Macc. 11. 7. 12, 30. Joseph. Ant. 15. 4. 1. B. J. I. 18. 5.—Maundrell was the first to draw attention to the streams north of Tripolis; the largest of which is the Nahr el-Kebir, answering in all respects to the Eleutherus; Maundrell under March 9th. So too Pococke II. i. p. 204 sq. Burckhardt p. 161. Reland Palæst. p. 291. There exists no ground whatever, for assuming a second stream of this name in Phenicia.

ii. 410. 411

called Abu el-Aswad ; on which are the ruins of a bridge with a round arch, now broken down. This may be an ancient work ; here too is a ruined Khân. At 10½ o'clock the hills approached nearer to the coast ; and we had, on the shore at our left, the traces of a former site called 'Adlân, consisting of confused heaps of stones, with several old wells.¹ On the mountains above are two or three villages ; one of which is called el-Ansâ-riyeh ; and in the plain were fields of millet in bloom. The side of the projecting mountain is here rocky and precipitous near the base ; and in it are many sepulchral grottos, hewn out of the hard limestone rock.

These tombs are very numerous ; and were described to us by friends who had visited them, as being all of the same form ; having a door leading into a chamber about six feet square, with a sort of bed left in the rock on three sides for the dead bodies. The doors are gone, and not a bone is left. This accords with the account of Nau in A. D. 1674, who describes them very minutely, and was led from their regularity and uniformity to regard them as an ancient *Laura* of monastic cells.² Is this perhaps the spot spoken of by William of Tyre, as the Tyrian cave in the territory of Sidon, occupied by the crusaders as a strong hold ?³ If so, we might compare it with the "Mearah (cavern) that was beside the Sidonians," mentioned in the book of Joshua.⁴ The whole suggestion, however, is of very questionable value.

Passing on, we crossed at 11.20 a small dry Wady studded with oleanders ;⁵ and came at 11¾ o'clock to a Wely near the shore, with a small Khân close by, called el-Khüdr, the Arab name of St. George. Five minutes beyond is a site of ruins on the left, broken foundations and irregular heaps of stones, indicating however in themselves little more than a mere village. Opposite to this spot, high up on the southern slope of a partially isolated hill, and hardly half an hour distant, is a large village with two or three Welys, bearing the name of Sürafend.

¹ Edrisi speaks of this place in the twelfth century ; par Jaub p. 349. It is doubtless the Adnoun of Nau and the Adnou of Pococke. Nau p. 548. Pococke II. i. p. 84.—Strabo places the small city (πολιχρον) Ornithon, Ornithônpolis, between Tyre and Sidon ; but we have nothing to mark its position. It may or may not have been at Adlân ; the adjacent sepulchres show at least that here must have been an ancient town. Strabo 16. 2. 24. p. 758. Comp. Pococke l. c.

² Nau Voyage pp. 545-548. These tombs are mentioned likewise by Sandys, p. 166. D'Arvieux Mém II. p. 5. Pococke II. i. p. 84. Also in Mr Thomson's iii. 411-413

Report of his journey to Safed, Miss. Herald Nov. 1837, p. 442.

³ Will. Tyr. 19. 11. "Municipium quoddam nostrum, in territorio Sydoniensi situm, speluncam videlicet inexpugnabilem, quæ vulgo dicitur *Cavea de Tyro*" This was surrendered to the Saracens by treachery. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 94. Comp. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. II i pp. 39, 40.

⁴ Josh. 13, 4. Comp. Rosenmüller l. c.
⁵ Hasselquist remarks, that he first found the oleander (Nerium) between Tyre and Sidon ; Reise p. 188. We had before seen it in great abundance around Wady Mûssa and the lake of Tiberias.

In this name we here have the Zarephath of the Old Testament, and the Sarepta of the New ; a place situated, according to Josephus and Pliny, between Tyre and Sidon, and belonging to the territory of the latter.¹ Here Elijah dwelt long in the house of the widow, and restored her son to life.² Eusebius and Jerome have the name ; and the latter speaks of Paula as having visited the spot.³

In Latin poems of the subsequent centuries, the wine of Sarepta is highly celebrated ; though at the close of the sixth century, Antoninus Martyr describes the place as only a small Christian city.⁴ It is however nowhere mentioned as an ancient bishopric ; the crusaders first made it the seat of a Latin bishop under the archbishop of Sidon ; and erected near the port a small chapel over the reputed spot, where Elijah dwelt and raised the widow's son from the dead.⁵ Phocas, about A. D. 1185, speaks here of a fortress on the shore of the sea. Brocardus a century later says, the place had scarcely eight houses, though many ruins indicated its ancient splendour.⁶ The Christian chapel was doubtless succeeded by the mosk, of which former travellers speak as erected here over the widow's house ; and at the present day, the same is probably found in the Wely el-Khüdr.⁷

It would thus seem, that the former city of Sarepta or Sürafend, stood near the sea shore ; and that the present village bearing the same name upon the adjacent hills, has sprung up since the time of the crusades ; the people having probably chosen to remove thither for the same reason, whatever it may have been, which has caused the abandonment of all the rest of the plain. The mention of the former port and of the chapel near by, now marked by the Wely and also the adjacent ruins, all go to fix the former site near the sea. William of Tyre likewise gives decisive testimony to the same effect, when he relates, that the host of the crusaders, as they first marched

¹ 1 Kings 17, 9. 10. Obad. vs. 20. Luke 4, 26. Joseph. Ant. 8. 13. 2. Plin. H. N. 5. 19. Cellarius Not. Orb. II. p. 380.

² 1 Kings 17, 9-24.

³ Onomast. Art. *Sarepta*. Hieron. Epist. 86, Epitaph. Paulæ p. 673. ed. Mart.—In the Itiner. Hieros. the name and the distance from Sidon are lost ; but the description remains : "Ibi Elias ad viduam ascendit et petiit sibi cibum ;" p. 583, ed. Wess.

⁴ Sidonius Apoll. 17. 16. Fulgent. Mythol. 2. 15. See the citations in full, Cellarius Not. Orb. II. p. 380 sq. Rel. Pal. p. 986.

⁵ William of Tyre speaks of Sarepta as

a bishopric, 19. 14. Other bishops are recorded afterwards. See Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. p. 1338 sq.—The chapel is mentioned by Jac. de Vit. c. 44. Marin. San. p. 165.

⁶ Phocas de Loc. Sanct. § 7. Brocardus c. 2. p. 171.

⁷ Sandys' Travels p. 166. Quaresmius II. pp. 907, 908. Nau p. 544. Pococke II. i. p. 85.—The Christian tradition was formerly somewhat at fault about this mosk ; some making it cover the spot where our Lord met the Syrophenician woman ; Matt. 15, 22. Mark 7, 25. 26. See Quaresmius ibid. D'Arvieux Mémoires, II. p. 4. Paris 1735.

through the Phœnician plain on their way to Jerusalem, left the city of Sarepta on their right.¹—In the rocks along the foot of the hills are many excavated tombs, once doubtless belonging to the ancient city.²

Proceeding on our way, we came at 12 o'clock in sight of Saida, still at a distance, but looking verdant and beautiful in the midst of a forest of trees. Ten minutes later brought us to a fine fountain near the shore, called 'Ain el-Kanterah; shaded with many trees, and watering a small tract of gardens. At 12½ o'clock we crossed a water-course from the mountains, nearly dry; and after a quarter of an hour another, with stagnant water in spots. Here again were many oleanders in blossom; and on our left the abutments of a ruined bridge. We came to 'Ain el-Burâk at 12.55, another fine fountain with a pretty stream running to the sea. In this pleasant spot, Mr Katafago of Saida had recently built a house and Khân, and laid out large gardens, and planted extensive cotton fields. The whole establishment was yet in its commencement; but seemed to promise well.

At a quarter past one o'clock we reached the Nahr ez-Zahe-râny, a moderate stream from the mountains; on our right, as we crossed, were the ruins of a modern bridge, and near by lay a Roman mile stone. Half an hour beyond was another Wady, with a little stagnant water; and at 2 o'clock we had on our right, at the foot of the mountains, the village el-Ghâzieh. Here the mountains retire, leaving a broader plain around Saida; and the meadows and gardens belonging to the city commence, and extend north to the Auwaly. At 2½ o'clock we crossed the wide and dry bed of a winter torrent in the plain, called Nahr Senik. On its northern side was a small Khân, or rather guard house, where was stationed a quarantine guard as an outpost before the city of Saida. The ignorant soldiers could not read our bill of health, and refused utterly to let us proceed, until they could send the paper to the city and obtain permission. They would not even allow us to accompany the messenger to the gate. There was no remedy but patience; yet the affair cost us a delay and loss of nearly three hours. The permission, as we afterwards learned, was granted the moment the paper was presented; so that at least one half of the delay, was to be ascribed to the unfaithfulness of the messenger.

We set forward at length at 5½ o'clock; and very soon passed another Roman mile stone, a large column with a Latin inscription, containing the names of Septimius Severus and

¹ Will. Tyr. 7. 22.

comp D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 4. Pococke

² These are not unfrequently mentioned; II. i. p. 85.

iii. 414, 415

Pertinax, lying by the wayside. The inscription has been several times copied ; among others by Monconys and Maundrell.¹ The path led for a time along an avenue of large acacias and still larger tamarisks (Tūrfa), which are common in this region ; and we rode for the whole way among gardens and country seats, until at 5.50 we reached the southern part of the city. Wishing to encamp outside, we kept along the eastern wall, passing by one gate, and seeking for a convenient spot to pitch our tent in the open ground adjacent. This has many trees, and at a distance seemed inviting ; but on approaching nearer, it turned out to be occupied in great part as a cemetery ; while in the open places were many soldiers, and the whole was so public, that we concluded to enter the town and find a lodging there.

We came therefore to the gate near the northeast corner ; but were again stopped by a quarantine guard, who would listen to nothing until the head of the quarantine was called. Meantime, leaving Mr Smith to adjust this matter, we looked further, and found at last a place for the tent, near the shore, at the distance of fifty or sixty rods northeast from the city. The chief health officer having been sent for, came himself to the gate, and proved to be a personal friend of Mr Smith, a Christian of some education, who had formerly been employed in the schools of Beirût. He was greatly rejoiced at thus meeting his friend ; and gave at once the necessary orders to the guard, to let us pass in and out at our pleasure.

The delay to which we had been subjected, was the more to be regretted ; because the day was now far spent, and it was already too late to see much of this ancient place. I can give therefore only the impression received from a hasty view. We called upon our friend in his office ; and found him busily engaged in making out bills of health for several small vessels, which were about to leave the port for Beirût and Egypt. He sent with us his father-in-law, to show us the port and the chief buildings of the city. We afterwards called upon the American consular agent, Ibrahim Nûkhly, a wealthy Greek Catholic, to whom we desired to pay our respects. His house was a large one, built upon the eastern wall of the city ; the rooms were spacious, and furnished with more appearance of wealth, than any I saw in the country. An upper parlour with many windows, on the roof of the proper house, resembled a summer palace ; and commanded a delightful view over the country towards the east, full of trees and gardens, and country houses, quite to the foot of the mountains. Ibrahim was a man of middle age, of dignified appearance and manners ; and gave us the usual

¹ Monconys' Voyages Tom. II. p. 332. Maundrell under March 20.

pressing invitation to lodge at his house ; but we were already provided for. Several of his neighbours were present or came in ; and quite a divan assembled around us.

In one of the rooms, open to all comers, a daughter five or six years old, lay dangerously ill. The little creature was evidently wasting away under a slow fever, and was indulged in eating everything it chose to call for ; indeed all sorts of delicacies were proposed, in order to excite its appetite. The father was in great alarm, and evidently much affected ; there was no physician in all the place in whom he could put confidence ; and he besought us pressingly to examine and prescribe for his child. Never did I more long for the possession of some degree of medical knowledge ; for the poor child was evidently going down to the grave, in the absence of all judicious treatment.

It was late when we left the house to return to our tent. The gate of the city was already closed, and could not be opened without an order from the military commandant ; but he was near, and in five minutes we were enabled to pass out.

Saida, the ancient Sidon, lies on the northwest slope of a small promontory, which here juts out for a short distance obliquely into the sea, towards the southwest. The highest ground is on the south, where the citadel, a large square tower, is situated ; an old structure, said by some to have been built by Louis IX., in A. D. 1253.¹ A wall encloses the city on the land side, running across the promontory from sea to sea ; it is kept in tolerable repair. The ancient harbour was formed by a long low ridge of rocks, parallel to the shore in front of the city. Before the time of Fakhr ed-Din, there was here a port capable of receiving fifty galleys ; but that chieftain, in order to protect himself against the Turks, caused it to be partly filled up with stones and earth ; so that ever since his day only boats can enter it.² Larger vessels lie without the entrance, on the north of the ledge of rocks, where they are protected from the southwest winds, but exposed to those from the northern quarter. Here, on a rock in the sea, is another castle of the time of the crusades, the form of which is in part adapted to that of the rock ; it is connected with the shore at the northern end of the city, by a stone causeway with nine arches, lying between the inner and outer port.³

The streets of Saida are narrow, crooked, and dirty, like those of most oriental cities. The houses are many of them large and well built of stone ; and the town, in this respect, presents

¹ This seems to be the story of the French residents, and may perhaps be well founded ; Nau p. 535. Pococke II. i. p. 87. Turner's Tour II. p. 87. Yet D'Ar-

iii. 417, 418

vieux in 1658 makes no mention of the report ; Mém. I. p. 296.

² D'Arvieux Mém. I. p. 298.

³ Niebuhr Reisebeschr. III. p. 79.

a strong contrast to modern Tyre. Those especially along the eastern wall, are distinguished for their size and height ; they are built directly on the wall, so as to constitute a part of it ; and enjoy a pure air and a pleasing prospect of the fields and country. Within the city are six Khâns, called by the Arabs *Wekâleh*, for the use of merchants and travellers.¹ The largest of these is the *Wekâleh* formerly belonging to the French factory and consulate, and still called the French Khân ; a large quadrangle of about one hundred and fifty feet on a side, with a fountain and basin in the middle, and covered galleries all around. It was erected by Fakhr ed-Din early in the seventeenth century ; and is minutely described by D'Arvieux, who resided here for several years as a merchant, soon after the middle of the same century.

The taxable males of Saida, as we were told, amount as registered to seventeen hundred ; which, according to the usual proportion, would indicate a population of nearly seven thousand souls. Yet Ibrahim, who certainly had the best opportunities of information, estimated the whole number of inhabitants at not over five thousand. About two thirds of the whole are Muslims ; one eighth part Jews ; and the remainder Greek Catholics and Maronites in about equal proportions, with a very few Arab Greeks.

The commerce of Saida, which five and twenty years ago was still considerable, has of late years fallen off, in consequence of the prosperity of Beirût ; the latter having become exclusively the port of Damascus. The chief exports from Saida are silk, cotton, and nutgalls.² Indeed, we had now begun to enter upon the region, in which silk is extensively cultivated ; as is indicated by the orchards of mulberry trees around the villages. The earthquake of 1837 threw down several houses in Saida and injured many others ; but only a few persons were killed.³

The beauty of Saida consists in its gardens and orchards of fruit trees, which fill the plain and extend to the foot of the adjacent hills. The city and the tract around, are abundantly supplied with water, by aqueducts and channels which conduct it from the Auwaly and other smaller streams, as they issue from the mountains.⁴ The environs exhibit everywhere a luxuriant verdure ; and the fruits of Saida are reckoned among the finest of the country. Hasselquist enumerates pomegranates, apricots,

¹ Turner *ib.* p. 87. For the *Wekâleh*, see Lane's *Mod. Egyptians*, II. p. 8 sq. This name is sometimes falsely written *Okella*.

² Turner *ib.* p. 88.

³ Mr Thomson's Report in the *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1887, p. 434.

⁴ Berggren *Reisen* II. p. 217. Hasselquist describes the ancient aqueduct which still supplies the city, as bringing the water from the mountains, a distance of two German or Swedish miles, i. e. some four or five hours ; *Reise* p. 192.

figs, almonds, oranges, lemons, and plums, as growing here in such abundance as to furnish annually several ship loads for export ; to which D'Arvieux adds also pears, peaches, cherries, and bananas, as at the present day.¹ At the foot of the hills, are many ancient excavated sepulchres.²

Saida was at this time the point, from which travellers were accustomed to make an excursion to the residence of Lady Hester Stanhope, about three hours distant in the mountains. We had letters to her ; but pressed as we were for time, in the hope of still being able to visit Ba'albek, we felt no disposition to avail ourselves of the introduction. Her career was at least an extraordinary one ; and whether she acted from the promptings of a noble or a wayward spirit, death has now closed the scene, and cast his pall over her virtues and her follies.

Sidon was the most ancient of all the Phœnician cities ; and is mentioned both in the Pentateuch and in the poems of Homer ; which Tyre is not.³ In the division of the Promised Land by Joshua, Sidon is spoken of as a great city, and was assigned to Asher ; but the Israelites never subdued it.⁴ In later ages, the younger Tyre outstripped Sidon in the career of prosperity and power ; but both were equally renowned for their commerce, their manufactures, and the cultivation of the fine arts, as well as for the luxury and vices usually attendant upon commercial prosperity.⁵ When the Assyrian Shalmaneser entered Phœnicia, about 720 B. C. Sidon and the rest of Phœnicia, except insular Tyre, submitted to the conqueror, and remained long under the dominion of the Assyrians and Persians.⁶ Under Artaxerxes Ochus, about 350 B. C. Phœnicia revolted from the Persian yoke ; and Sidon was captured and destroyed by that monarch.⁷ Yet it was soon built up again ; and in 332 B. C. opened its gates to Alexander the Great, on his approach.⁸

¹ D'Arvieux Mém. I. p. 332. Hasselquist Reise p. 188. Besides these fruits, Hasselquist mentions also the numerous mulberry trees, the *Cordia Sebestena*, from whose berries bird-lime was made and exported, and sumac (Rhus). He says the vine was not cultivated around Saida ; yet D'Arvieux, who resided here a century earlier, describes the vine as very abundant, yielding grapes of great perfection, and a strong though delicate white wine ; Mém. I. p. 328.

² Described by Maundrell, April 22d. Hasselquist Reise p. 189. Pococke II. i. p. 87.

³ Gen. 10, 19, 49, 13. Hom. Iliad 6. 289. ib. 23. 743. Odys. 15. 415. ib. 17. 424.—The Heb. name יִדְדִן signifies "a fishing, fishery ;" and such is the ancient etymology preserved by Justin ; 18. 8.

iii. 420, 421

But Josephus derives it from Sidon the eldest son of Canaan, Gen. 10, 15. Joseph. Ant. 1. 6. 2.

⁴ Josh. 19, 28. Judg. 1, 31. 10, 12. Jos. Ant. 15. 4. 1, ἐκ προγόνων ἐλευθέρη.

⁵ Is. 23, 2. Ez. 27, 8. See too the Homeric passages cited in note 3. Virg. Æn. 4. 75. Diod. Sic. 16. 41, 45. Strabo 16. 2. 24. p. 757. Plin. H. N. 36. 66. The Sidonian architects were also in request ; 1 Kings 5, 6. 1 Chr. 22, 4. Ezra 3, 7. Strabo (l. c.) attributes to the Sidonians great skill in philosophy, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, navigation, and all the liberal arts.

⁶ Menander in Joseph. Ant. 9. 14. 2.

⁷ Diod. Sic. 16. 42 sq. 45.

⁸ Jos. Ant. 11. 8. 3. Arrian. Alex. 2. 15. Q. Curt. 4. 1, 15.

After Alexander's death, Sidon continued alternately in the possession of the Syrian and Egyptian monarchs, until it came at last under the Roman power; at this time it was still an opulent city.¹ This was during the times of the New Testament, when our Lord visited the territories of Tyre and Sidon; and Paul afterwards found here Christian friends on his passage to Rome.² There doubtless was early a Christian church and bishop at Sidon; though the first bishop, whose name is preserved, was Theodorus, who was present at the council of Nicea, in A. D. 325.³ In the same century, Eusebius and Jerome still speak of Sidon as an important city;⁴ but we know little more of it until the time of the crusades.⁵

The original host of the crusaders, in their progress from Antioch towards Jerusalem, in A. D. 1099, marched along the whole Phœnician coast, leaving the strong cities of Beirût, Sidon, Tyre, 'Akka, and others, unmolested, so far as the latter suffered them to pass by without hindrance. Their first and grand object was the Holy City. The Muslim commander of Sidon, however, then subject to the Khalif of Egypt, at first opposed himself to their progress; but his troops were driven back into the city by the pilgrims; and the latter then rested for several days in the rich environs, where their light troops brought in much booty from the vicinity.⁶ Not until A. D. 1107, were the crusaders able to undertake in earnest the reduction of Sidon; and even then, at first, the inhabitants succeeded in purchasing from king Baldwin I. a reprieve, with gold. Yet they themselves proved faithless; and in the next year (1108) Baldwin formally laid siege to Sidon; but, after great efforts, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. In A. D. 1111, the siege was again renewed, with better success; and after six weeks, king Baldwin had the satisfaction of seeing the city surrendered into his hands, on the tenth day of December. It was bestowed as a fief on the knight Eustache Grenier.⁷

Sidon remained in the possession of the Christians until A. D. 1187, when it fell into the hands of Saladin, without resistance, immediately after the battle of Hattin.⁸ The Sultan appears to

¹ Pompon. Mela 1. 12, "adhuc opulenta Sidon, antequam a Persis capta, maritimarum urbium maxima."

² Matt. 15, 21. Mark 7, 24. Acts 27, 8.

³ See the list of bishops, Reland Pal. p. 104. Le Quien Oriens Chr. II. p. 811 sq.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Sidon*, "urbs Phœnicis insignis."

⁵ See generally Reland Palæst. p. 1010 sq. Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. p. 379 sq. Winer Bibl. Realwörterb. art. *Sidon*. Rossmüller Bibl. Geogr. II. i. p. 20 sq.

⁶ Will. Tyr. 7. 22. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. I. p. 267.—In some of the writers of that age, Sidon appears as 'Sagitta;' Alb. Aquens. 10. 3, 8, "urbs *Sagitta*, quæ est Sidon." Marin. Sanut. pp. 155, 245.

⁷ Albert. Aquens. 10. 3, 4, 8, 45–50. ib. 11. 31–34. Will. Tyr. 11. 14. Wilken ib. II. pp. 213, 216 sq. 221 sq.

⁸ Bohæd. Vit. Sal. p. 72. Abulf. Annal. A. H. 583. Reinaud Extr. p. 202. Wilken ib. III. ii. p. 295.

have dismantled the fortifications, and partially destroyed the city; for when in A. D. 1197, after the hard-fought general battle with Melek el-'Adil in the vicinity, the Christians entered Sidon, they found it desolated. The pilgrims stabled their horses in mansions ornamented with the cedar of Lebanon; and cooked their food at fires fragrant with the odours of the same precious wood, collected from the ruins.¹ The crusaders proceeded to Beirût, of which they took possession; while Melek el-'Adil again appeared in their rear, and completed the destruction of Sidon.²

The Christians, however, rebuilt and occupied the city; which, after half a century, was once more taken and dismantled by the Saracen forces in A. D. 1249, during the siege of Damietta by Louis IX. of France.³ Four years later, in A. D. 1253, when an officer of the French king with a small party of troops had begun to restore the city, a Muslim host again approached, and took possession of the place. The garrison, with a few of the inhabitants, withdrew to the castle upon the rock; which being entirely surrounded by water, afforded them security; but of the remaining inhabitants, two thousand were slain, and four hundred carried off as prisoners to Damascus, after the city had been laid waste.⁴ In July of the same year, only a few weeks afterwards, king Louis himself repaired to Sidon, and caused the city to be rebuilt with high walls and massive towers.⁵ The Templars in A. D. 1260 purchased Sidon from Julian its temporal lord; and, with the exception of its being plundered by the Mogols in the same year, they retained possession of it for thirty years.⁶ In A. D. 1291, after the atrocious and terrible overthrow of 'Akka by the Sultan el-Ashraf, and the abandonment of Tyre, the Templars also left Sidon to its fate, and withdrew first to Tortosa and afterwards to Cyprus. Sidon was taken possession of by the Muhammedans, and once more dismantled.⁷

Eight or ten years before this event, Brocardus describes Sidon as a large place; although a great part of it already lay in ruins. On the north was a fortress in the sea, built originally by crusaders from Germany; and on the hill upon the south another, then occupied by the Templars.⁸ After its abandonment by the Franks, Sidon appears not to have been, like Tyre,

¹ Wilken ib. V. pp. 33-35, and the authorities there cited. Reinaud Extr. p. 380.

² Wilken ib. V. p. 41.

³ Reinaud Extr. p. 453. Wilken ib. VII. p. 323.

⁴ Wilken ib. VII. p. 323, etc. etc. Marin. Sanut. p. 220.—This was of course
iii. 423, 424

the present castle in the sea connected with the shore by a causeway.

⁵ Wilken ibid. p. 333.

⁶ Hugo Plagon p. 736. Marin. Sanut.

p. 221. Wilken ib. pp. 400, 415.

⁷ Wilken ib. pp. 771, 772. Reinaud p. 570. Comp. above, p. 469.

⁸ Brocardus c. 2. p. 171.

entirely forsaken by its inhabitants. Abulfeda speaks of it not long after as a small town, having a citadel; and according to edh-Dhâhîry in the middle of the fifteenth century it was a place of some importance, constituting one of the ports of Damascus, and visited by ships.¹ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Frank travellers describe it as still for the most part in ruins, with few inhabitants and a single Khân.²

But about this time, Sidon received a new impulse from the genius and activity of the celebrated Fakhr ed-Dîn. This Emir of the Druzes, having got possession of all the towns along the coast, gave way to his propensity for building, not only at Beirût and Tyre, but also at Sidon. Here he erected a vast seraglio or palace for himself; and also the large Khân afterwards occupied by the French, besides other structures.³ His policy was to encourage commerce; and although he filled up the port of Sidon, yet in consequence of his measures and protection, the trade of that city revived to some extent, and a greater activity was awakened along the whole coast. Professing to be himself descended from French ancestors, he treated the Christians in his dominions with great equity, especially the Franks; granting privileges and immunities to the Latin convents, and encouraging the commerce of the French, which had now extended itself to these shores.⁴ The consul and merchants of this nation at Sidon, managed also to keep on good terms with the Emirs and Pashas who were his successors; although in consequence of a temporary quarrel, the consulate was for two or three years removed to 'Akka; from which place it returned to Sidon in the spring of A. D. 1658.⁵

At this time, on the establishment of a new house at Marseilles for trading to Saida, one of its partners was appointed consul at the latter place; and D'Arvieux, a relative, who had already been five years in Smyrna, also repaired thither, where he continued chiefly to reside until A. D. 1655. To him we are indebted for a minute account of the city as it then was, and of the state of the French trade.⁶

¹ Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 93. Edh-Dhâhîry in Rosenm. Analect. Arab. III. p. 22. Lat. p. 47.

² Cotovic. p. 116. Sandys' Travels p. 164, "But this once ample city, still suffering with the often changes of those countries, is at this day contracted into narrow limits, and only shows the foundations of her greatness," etc. etc.

³ D'Arvieux Mém. I. pp. 303, 312.

⁴ D'Arvieux Mém. I. pp. 362, 363.—For notices of the life and character of Fakhr ed-Dîn, see Sandys' Travels pp. 164–166 D'Arvieux Mém. Tom. I. p. 357 sq.

Volney Voyage II. pp. 38–45. The Emir was strangled at Constantinople in A. D. 1633, at the age of 70 years. The account which honest Sandys (his cotemporary) gives of him, is not very favourable; at least in respect to his moral character.

⁵ D'Arvieux Mém. I. pp. 380, 397 sq. 404.—The occasion and progress of the quarrel are detailed ib. pp. 261, 262 sq.

⁶ Mém. Tom. I. pp. 294 sq. 331 sq. 463 sq. Tom. III. pp. 341–374.—At that time there were many Jews in Sidon, dwelling in a quarter by themselves; the

At that period the French were the only nation, who took part in the commerce of Sidon, and the vicinity.¹ Their trade had become so extensive and firmly established, as to bring annually two hundred thousand crowns into the coffers of the Grand Seigneur; and was so beneficial to the inhabitants, according to D'Arvieux, that had the Franks removed to another place, the city would have been immediately abandoned and left desert.² Saida was the central point, and traded directly with the Druzes; but the merchants established there had likewise factors in Ramleh, 'Akka, Beirût, Tripolis, and sometimes Tyre, who purchased up the products of the country and transmitted them to Saida, whence they were shipped to Marseilles.³ A direct and secure road led from Saida to Damascus in two and a half days, over Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; crossing the Bûkâ'a obliquely, and passing by the villages Meshghûrah and Jubb Jenin.⁴ Saida was at this time regarded as the port of Damascus; but the trade of the latter city as yet went more to Aleppo, and turned westwards only at a later period.

The articles purchased and exported by the French from Saida, were cotton both raw and spun, silk, rice, nutgalls, ashes from the desert, bird lime, senna, and a few other drugs. Hitherto these had been paid for in money; but about this time the French began to import various articles in return; among which the chief were cloth, spices, dye stuffs, and some jewelry.⁵

The French consul at Saida enjoyed great consideration throughout the country. His jurisdiction and title included also Jerusalem; and it was a part of his duty to visit the Holy City every year at Easter, in order to afford protection to the sacred places and to the Latin monks.⁶

Such, with occasional alterations, though with a gradual extension, continued to be the state of the French trade at Saida down to near the close of the last century.⁷ In Pococke's day, the merchants all resided in the great Khân, and exported chiefly raw silk, cotton, and grain.⁸ Hasselquist in A. D. 1751 gives a more particular notice of their trade. More than twenty ships were every year freighted for France, laden chiefly with spun

keys of which were carried every night to the Kady or the governor; *ibid.* I. p. 301. *Nau Voyage* p. 537.

¹ D'Arvieux *ib.* p. 464.

² *Ibid.* p. 311.

³ *Ibid.* p. 334. *Comp.* p. 247 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. p. 464 sq. II. p. 465 sq. Maundrell also travelled this road; Apr. 25th, etc.

⁵ D'Arvieux *Mém.* I. p. 334 sq. 465 sq. —The French consul and merchants had originally resided at Damascus, and removed thence to Saida; *ib.* II. p. 464.

iii. 426, 427

⁶ Maundrell accompanied him on this journey in A. D. 1697; see his *Journal*, March 19th.

⁷ In A. D. 1665 and for some years afterwards, the Frank trade was greatly depressed by the exactions of the Turks; and for this, among other reasons, D'Arvieux returned to France; *Mém.* Tom. III. pp. 341–374. *Comp. Nau Voyage* p. 542 sq.

⁸ Pococke *Descript. of the East*, II. i. p. 87.

cotton and raw silk ; but carrying also the beautiful silken and half silken stuffs of Damascus to Italy, and likewise nutgalls, oil, and ashes to France. The imports were cloth, spices, Spanish iron, and dye stuffs ; all of which were mostly sent to Damascus, which now furnished great part of the trade both of Saida and Beirût.¹

In Volney's time the French continued to be the sole European traders at Saida ; and had there a consul and six commercial houses. Cotton, both raw and spun, and silk, were still the chief commodities. The same traveller gives a general account and estimate of the French commerce in Syria at that period.² But in A. D. 1791, Jezzâr Pasha drove the French out of all his territories, including Saida ;³ and since then its little trade has been carried on chiefly by the natives. At the present day, the tide of European commerce has turned to Beirût ; and Sidon is rarely visited by foreign vessels.

Tuesday, June 26th. The sun rose upon what proved to be our last day of travelling in Syria. Our journey lay along the coast from Saida to Beirût, usually reckoned a distance of nine hours. But the road is difficult ; leading most of the way over heavy sands or across rocky promontories ; and presents comparatively little of interest.

We set off at 5.10, keeping along the sandy beach ; and after a few minutes, passed the Lazaretto of Saida in a pleasant shady spot on our right.⁴ An attendant of duke Maximilian of Bavaria, a mulatto, had been left here by his master ill of the plague ; he now lay at the point of death ; and in Beirût we heard of his decease.⁵

We came to the Nahr el-Auwaly at 8½ o'clock, and in order to cross it, turned for some distance up along its southern bank, to a fine old bridge of hewn stone of one arch, with mills and a Khân upon the northern side. This bridge is the work of Fakhr ed-Din.⁶ The stream rises in Mount Lebanon, northeast of Deir el-Kamr and Bteddin,⁷ from fountains an hour and a half beyond the village of el-Bârûk ; it is at first a wild torrent, and its

¹ Hasselquist Reise p. 190. Niebuhr's account is similar in A. D. 1766 ; at that time there were here fourteen French merchants, all living in the Khân. Reisebesch. III. p. 79.

² Volney Voyage en Syrie II. pp. 192, 391 sq.

³ Brown's Travels 4to. p. 369. Olivier Voyages, etc. Tom. II. p. 231.

⁴ This appears to be the spot mentioned by D'Arvieux as the site of a Khân built by Fakhr ed-Din on the shore north of the city, just beyond a rivulet ; Mém. I. p. 826.

⁵ See Vol. I. p. 250.

⁶ D'Arvieux says it was erected by an Italian architect brought home by the Emir ; Mém. I. p. 327.

⁷ Bteddin, vulg. for Beit ed-Din. This singular contraction, or rather hurried pronunciation of Beit, which thus assumes the form of a simple b, is very frequent in Mount Lebanon ; e. g. Bsherreh, Bhannis, Bzummâr, etc. Something of the same kind is found in Beisin for the Heb. Beth-Shean. See Gesenius Notes on Burckhardt p. 491.

course about south. It afterwards turns west ; and where it issues from the mountains, its waters are taken out to supply the city of Saida, and to irrigate the surrounding plain. Yet it here was still a fine broad stream, flowing rapidly in a deep channel through a verdant region. Maundrell remarks, that before his time this river had been mentioned by no geographer ; since then it has been noticed by all. Yet all appear to have overlooked the fact, that this can be no other than the ancient *Bostrenus*, described by Dionysius Periegetes as the "graceful" river, upon whose waters Sidon was situated.¹

The whole region of the Auwaly is full of fig and mulberry orchards, intermingled with Pride of India and other ornamental trees. The loftier peaks of Lebanon here began to appear ; the hills became higher and more romantic. Just beyond this spot, indeed, the tract of mountains on the west of the upper part of the Auwaly approach the sea, and send out their roots quite to the shore. Here the fine plain of Sidon, as also the great Phenician plain, terminates ; and for many hours further north, the rocky and uncultivated coast along the foot of the mountains, is interrupted only by a succession of sandy coves. The ancients sometimes reckoned this as the beginning of Lebanon on the south.² The Auwaly is still, in this part, the southern boundary of the territories of the Emir Beshir of Mount Lebanon, extending from Belâd esh-Skûkif to some distance north of the cedars, and including the whole mountain, from the shore of the sea to the Bûkâ'a, as well as part of the latter. Only the town of Beirût, and its immediate environs, are excepted.

At 6.10, in crossing the first promontory beyond the Auwaly, there was a charming back view of Saida and its groves and gardens. The way was now uneven and rough, for nearly two hours, across the rocky tract, with an intervening sandy cove.

¹ Dionys. Perieget. Orbis Terr. Descr. 905 :

Καὶ Τύρον Ὀγγυγίην, Βηρύτου τ' αἶαν ἐραντήν,
Βύβλον τ' ἀγγέλιον, καὶ Σιδόνα ἀνδεμέσσαν,
Ναιομένην χαρίεντος ἐφ' ὕδασι Βοστρηνοῖο, κτλ.

This passage is translated by both the later Latin poets Avienus and Priscianus as follows.

Avienus :

Hic Tyrus est opulens, et Berytus optima, Byblos,
Syloniæque larex : ubi labens angustæ ameno
Cespitis irrigat *Bostrenus* jugera fluit.

Priscianus :

Antiquamque Tyrum, Beryt et menla grata,
Vicinamque mari Byblum, Sidonæque pulcræ,
Quam juxta liquidæ *Bostrenus* gurgite currit.

The passages are cited in full by Reland, Palæst. p. 437 sq. — Mannert holds the Auwaly to be the Leontes of Ptolemy, which however was more probably the Kâsimiyeh ; see above, pp. 472, 473. n. 1.

² Plin. H. N. 5. 20, "Sidon, artifex vitri . . . a tergo ejus mons Libanus orsus mille quingentis stadiis Simyram usque porrigitur."

iii. 429, 430

At 7½ o'clock we came upon the remains of an ancient Roman road, laid down among the rocks and stones, which continued visible for some distance. Another cove begins shortly after, having a long beach of dry heavy sand curving inland, along which the path leads. Not far beyond the middle, we reached at 8.10 Khân Neby Yûnas, situated near the shore. Close by is the Wely Neby Yûnas, with a white dome, marking the place where, according to the Muhammedan legend, the prophet Jonas was thrown up by the fish. Here is also the small village of el-Jiyeh.¹ Back of this spot the mountains retire a little, and give place to a small plain covered with mulberry orchards. These trees are kept trimmed down very close, in order to make them put forth a greater quantity of leaves, for the supply of the silk worms; but they thus come to have almost the character of dwarf trees, and contribute little to the beauty of the country, except by their verdure.

We halted at the Khân, for breakfast. All the Khâns of this region differ from those we had formerly seen, along the great Egyptian and Syrian road. The latter are very large, and were constructed merely for the accommodation of caravans, carrying with them their own provisions, both for man and beast. But the Khâns this side of Tyre, (except that near the river el-Kâsimiyeh,) and those still further along the coast, are small; and while they afford to the traveller no lodging beyond a mere shelter, yet they are inhabited by a keeper who sells coffee, provisions, and the like, to the guests, so far as they may need; and furnishes them with fire and the means of cooking for themselves. They are hence called in Arabic *shops* (Dukkân); and supply in some small degree the place of inns. Connected with the Wely is a building, containing two or three good rooms, in which travellers often lodge for hire.

At this spot, or in the immediate vicinity, is doubtless to be placed, as suggested by Pococke, the ancient city Porphyreon, mentioned by Scylax, between Sidon and Berytus; and marked in the Jerusalem Itinerary, at eight Roman miles north of Sidon.² We had occupied three hours in reaching the Khân. Pococke relates, that he saw here "some broken pillars, a Corinthian capital, and ruins on each side of a mountain torrent."³ In the side of the mountain, southeast of the village, are also extensive excavated tombs, which my companion had formerly visited, once apparently belonging to an ancient city. Porphyreon is mentioned also by Polybius, as a city not far south of

¹ D'Arvieux mentions this village with the Wely Neby Yûnas near it, writing the name 'Gié'; Mém. II. p. 329. Also Pococke, as "Jee;" II. i. p. 89.

² Itinér. Hierosol. ed. Wesseling p. 583.

Scylax p. 100; quoted also in full by Re-land, Palestina p. 431.—See more in Vol. III. Sect. II, under Apr. 5th, 1852.

³ Pococke II. i. p. 89. fol.

the river Tamyras; and was of sufficient importance to be a bishopric under the metropolitan of Tyre.¹

Setting forward again at 8.50, we passed, after half an hour, another Roman mile stone, the third we had now seen. Before us was another promontory, with a rocky and difficult pass, along which the path is cut for some distance occasionally in the rock. This was formerly regarded as a dangerous spot; and a guard house or tower stood on the promontory, to protect travellers.²

After clearing this promontory and reaching the shore of the cove beyond, we came almost immediately to the Nahr ed-Dâmûr, at 10½ o'clock. This was now a moderate stream; but, coming from the mountains, it often swells in winter so suddenly and powerfully, as to become impassable; and many stories are told of travellers swept away in attempting to ford it.³ Near by were the ruins of a bridge, which has often been rebuilt, but can never be made to stand the fury of the winter torrent. The Dâmûr rises on the mountains, far in the northeast of Deir el-Kamr; and passes down on the north of that place, where there is a bridge over it called Jisr el-Kâdy, on the road to Beirut.⁴

In this stream, Nahr ed-Dâmûr, we doubtless have the Tamyras or Damouras of the ancients, between Sidon and Berytus.⁵ This circumstance serves to mark the difficult pass over the promontory on the south, as the place of battle between Antiochus the Great and the forces of Ptolemy, about 218 B. C. and also as the site of the ancient Platanum. Nicolaus, the Egyptian general, had divided his forces, stationing part at Porphyreon, and with the other occupying the narrow rocky passage at Platanum, where Mount Lebanon comes down to the sea. Antiochus advanced with his army from Berytus, and encamped at the river Damouras. After reconnoitering the position of the enemy, he despatched a party of troops to climb the mountain, and attack the Egyptians from above; while other assaults were made in front, and by sea. The Egyptians were driven from their strong post; two thousand were slain, as many more made prisoners, and the remainder took refuge in Sidon.⁶ This

¹ Polyb. 5. 68. Reland Palæst. pp. 531, 957.—The crusaders regarded Haifa as the ancient Porphyreon; see in Vol. III. Sec. II, penult. But there seems to be no evidence, that a city called Porphyreon ever stood on the bay of 'Akka; all the historical notices apply equally well, and indeed better, to the Porphyreon north of Sidon, the position of which is certain.

² D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 329 sq. This was the Burj ed-Dâmûr of Pococke; II. i. p. 89. fol.

iii. 432. 433

³ Maundrell relates that a Mr Spon, a relative of the traveller Dr Spon, had a few years before been swept away and drowned; March 19th.

⁴ In the mountains, the stream too bears the name of Nahr el-Kâdy; Burckhardt p. 192.

⁵ Strabo 16. 2. 22. p. 726, μετὰ Βηρυθὸν ἔστι Σιδῶν· μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ταμύρας ποταμός. Polybius writes the name Δαμοῦρας, 5. 68.

⁶ Polyb. Hist. 5. 68, 69.—Antiochus advanced further southwards, and afterwards

Platanum is probably the village Platana mentioned by Josephus, not far from Berytus; where the tyrant Herod left his two sons, during the mock trial held over them in that city.¹ It may, perhaps, have been a small fortress guarding the pass.

On the river Dāmūr and further north, there is a fine narrow tract between the mountains and the shore, covered with mulberry orchards. The stream itself is skirted with oleanders. Several villages and small convents now came in view, hanging upon the side of Lebanon. At 10.55 we came to Khān el-Musry, situated upon the sand near the shore; where a rude tent close by, was said to mark a station of the Pasha's post. On the mountain opposite were three villages and two convents; the largest village bearing the name el-Mu'allakah.—Another similar Khān, called el-Ghūfr, succeeded at 11.35; so named because a toll was formerly demanded here. Just before reaching it, the straggling village en-Nā'imēh, with a convent, is seen on the mountain's side.²

Another spot of the like kind is Khān Khulda, to which we came at ten minutes past 12 o'clock. It is reckoned three hours or more distant from the gates of Beirūt; and persons travelling to Sidon, often come thus far to lodge, in order to shorten the next day's journey.

About ten minutes before reaching the Khān, many sarcophagi are seen among the rocks on the right, a little way up the foot of the mountain; and again, beyond the Khān, they are quite numerous on both sides of the path. These sarcophagi are of ordinary size, cut from the common limestone rocks as they lie upon the ground; the covers of some lie near them. They were obviously made upon the spot, and have never been moved. Were they once used as sepulchres? and was here the site of an ancient town?³ No other remains are visible in the neighbourhood; but the name Khulda suggests the Heldua of the Jerusalem Itinerary, the first station south of Berytus.⁴

Shortly beyond Khān Khulda, the shore trends off north-west to form the large cape of Beirūt. After a stop of five

subdued Mount Tabor; see above, p. 357.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. 16. 1. 2 sq. ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ Σιδωνίων, Πλατάνη καλουμένη.

² This seems to be the en-Nā'imēh of Edrisi, between Saida and Beirūt; he describes it as a strong place of moderate size, surrounded by carob trees. It may then, like Sarafend, have stood upon the adjacent plain. Edrisi par Jaubert p. 355.

³ Pococke notices these sarcophagi, and compares them with the tombs at Iksāl near Mount Tabor; II. i. p. 89. fol. See above, p. 332. n. 1. They are also men-

tioned by Olivier, Voyages Tom. II. p. 223. Buckingham, Travels among the Arab Tribes p. 437. 4to.

⁴ Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling p. 583. The position of Heldua as marked in the Itinerary, 12 Roman miles from Berytus and 8 from Porphyreon, does not correspond to Khān Khulda; it would suit better if reversed, viz. 8 Roman miles from Berytus and 12 from Porphyreon.—Pococke makes a similar suggestion as to Heldua and its position; although he appears not to have heard the name Khulda; II. i. p. 89.

minutes, we proceeded on our way, and at 12½ o'clock the path began to leave the coast. At 1 o'clock we crossed the dry Wady Shuweifât, coming down on the north of the very large village of the same name, on the foot of the mountain. It is oftener called Nahr Ghûdir; and comes out from Wady Shahrûr in the mountains. Earlier in the season, it has a fine stream of water. From this point the mountain also runs off more to the right. The promontory of Beirût is of a triangular form; and the town itself lies about an hour northeast of the extreme point or cape. The southwest coast of the triangle is for some distance composed of sand, driven up into hills by the waves and winds; and these hills are continually encroaching more and more upon the cultivated land beyond. The sands now cover much of the western portion of the cape; while towards the east between them and the base of the mountains, a broad low plain or valley extends from south to north across the promontory, full of cultivation, and containing the largest olive grove in all Syria. This grove lies directly under the village of Shuweifât above mentioned, and bears its name. The plain further north, and west of Nahr Beirût, is known as Ard el-Bûrâjineh, from a village called Burj el-Bûrâjineh. The other parts of the promontory susceptible of tillage, and especially the tract around Beirût, are covered with mulberry groves; the culture of silk being here the chief employment of all the inhabitants. The plain and the adjacent mountain side absolutely swarm with villages.

Our path after leaving the shore, turned more northwest, and led us over and along the sand-hills on a direct course towards Beirût; we thus left the great plain and olive forest at some distance on the right. About 3 o'clock, we reached the grove of large and lofty pines planted by Fakhr ed-Din, called Hûrsh Beirût, still more than half an hour from the city.¹ On the northern border of this grove, we found a cordon of soldiers stationed; the town being yet nominally shut up on account of the plague; although there had been no cases of the disease for two or three weeks. Not wishing to deprive ourselves of the power of making further excursions, by entering a place from which we could not come out again, we pitched our tent within the grove; and sent word of our arrival to our friends. They soon visited us; but although we learned from them, that the cordon was little more than a sham, and would probably soon be removed, yet as there was some uncertainty, we preferred to re-

¹ Common report ascribes the planting of this grove to Fakhr ed-Din; and so too Monconys l. p. 334. D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 333. Maundrell March 19th. Yet Edrisi, in the middle of the twelfth cen-
iii. 435, 436

tury, describes Beirût as having on the south a large forest of pines, extending quite to Mount Lebanon; Edr. par Jaubert I. p. 355.

main where we were for the night, in order to obtain more certain intelligence. We now paid off and dismissed our mule-teen, who had brought us all the way from Jerusalem. We had been in general well satisfied with him and with his animals; but had never been able to place that confidence in his attachment and fidelity, which we had formerly felt towards all our guides of the Bedawin.

The next morning, June 27th, having ascertained that the cordon would soon either be raised or wholly disregarded; or, at any rate would present no hindrance to any excursion we might wish to make; we entered the city, or rather the gardens on the south, and took up our abode in the houses of our friends. My companion went to the house of Mr Thomson, which had formerly been his own; while I found a home in the family of Mr Hebard.¹ Here our travels by land were at an end; and we were delighted to return once more to the order and neatness and comfort of civilized life, and to the enjoyment of social and Christian intercourse; where we again could perceive and feel, on every side, the influence of the female hand and the female mind; an influence to which, in our intercourse with oriental life, we had so long been strangers. In my own case, the unremitted attentions and kindness of the missionary families, under the painful circumstances which rendered my presence a burden, demand this expression of grateful acknowledgment. But alas! for her to whose active kindness and sympathy I was most indebted, this tribute came too late, and I could only lay it on her tomb.²

Beirût is situated on the northwest coast of the promontory; and, as already said, an hour distant from the cape, directly upon the sea shore. There was once a little port, now filled up; so that vessels can anchor only in the open road. The town is surrounded on the land side by a wall of no great strength, with towers. The houses are high and solidly built of stone. The streets are narrow and gloomy, badly paved, or rather laid with large stones, with a deep channel in the middle for animals, in which water often runs.³ The aspect of the city

¹ Mr Bird, the oldest member of the Syrian Mission, had already returned with his family to the United States. To his minute and valuable topographical notices and sketches of Mount Lebanon and the coast, the map of that region accompanying this work has been greatly indebted.

² Mrs Hebard, a lady of uncommon intelligence and energy of character, died

after a long and painful illness, Jan. 1840. She has left behind a durable remembrance, not only in the hearts of her friends, but in her influence upon the many Arab children and families, to whom she was a benefactress.

³ Monconys thus describes Beirût and its streets, l. p. 335: "La ville est sombre et sale, les rues étroites avec le ruisseau au

is more substantial than that of any other we had seen along the coast. I went twice into the town, and saw the only remains of antiquity which are now pointed out, viz. the numerous ancient columns lying as a foundation beneath the quay, and the ancient road cut in the rock outside of the southwestern wall. South of the city gate, near the way side, is a little cemetery, in which one reads the names of Mr Abbot formerly British consul at Beirût, and of Pliny Fisk, the missionary and man of God.

The city lies on a gradual slope, so that the streets have a descent towards the sea ; but back of the town, the ground rises towards the south and west with more rapidity, to a considerable elevation. Here, and indeed all around the city, is a succession of gardens and orchards of fruit and of countless mulberry trees, sometimes surrounded by hedges of prickly pear, and giving to the environs of Beirût an aspect of great verdure and beauty ; though the soil is perhaps less rich, and the fruits less fine, than in the vicinity of Saida. These gardens and orchards are all reckoned to the city, and were enclosed in the cordon ; in them dwell at least one third of the population. The dwellings of the Franks are scattered upon the hills towards the south and southwest, each in the midst of its garden ; they are built of stone in the southern European style, and exhibit many of the comforts of the west, heightened by the luxuries and charm of the east.

The houses of our friends were in this quarter ; and commanded a superb prospect. From our windows the eye took in the whole great bay north of the promontory of Beirût, extending to the point near Nahr Ibrahim, the ancient Adonis. On the right the mighty wall of Lebanon rose in indescribable majesty, with one of its loftiest summits, Jebel Sûnnin, in full view ; while beneath, between us and its foot, lay spread out a broad region covered with green trees and full of beauty. Along the bay, where it sets up to the very foot of Lebanon, we could distinguish the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, the ancient Lycus, with its celebrated pass marked by Latin inscriptions and Assyrian and Egyptian monuments ;¹ near the southern corner is the Nahr Beirût, perhaps the *Magoras* of Pliny ;² while still more at hand was pointed out the region where, according to the legend, the combat took place between St. George and the dragon.³

milieu où vont les chevaux, et deux chemins de chaque côté relevés où marchent les hommes." The same form of narrow street is seen also in Jerusalem.

¹ Maundrell March 17th. Pococke II. i. p. 92. Burckhardt p. 130. The Latin inscriptions are given by Maundrell and Burckhardt.

iii. 438, 439

² Plin. H. N. 5. 20. Comp. Pococke II. i. p. 91. fol.—There seems to be not the slightest foundation for regarding the name *Magoras* as a corruption for *Tamyras*, as supposed by Mannert ; Geogr. von Palsist etc. 1831. p. 293.

³ Maundrell l. c. Pococke ib. p. 91. Turner's Tour. etc. II. p. 61.—The legend

Yet what interested me most of all, perhaps, was the view of the towering heights of Lebanon, so rich in delightful associations drawn from scriptural history. As its ridges here present themselves to the eye, there is no difficulty in accounting for the name Lebanon, signifying in Hebrew the "White Mountain." The whole mass of the mountain consists of whitish limestone; or at least, the rocky surface, as it reflects the light, exhibits everywhere a whitish aspect.¹ The mountain teems with villages; and is cultivated more or less almost to the very top. Yet so steep and rocky is the surface, that the tillage is carried on chiefly by means of terraces, built up with great labour and covered above with soil. When one looks upwards from below, the vegetation on these terraces is not seen; so that the whole mountain side appears as if composed only of immense rugged masses of naked whitish rock, severed by deep wild ravines running down precipitously to the plain. No one would suspect, among these rocks, the existence of a vast multitude of thrifty villages, and a numerous population of mountaineers, hardy, industrious, and brave. The great number of convents scattered over Lebanon, will be noticed in the next section.

The celebrated cedar grove of Lebanon is some three days' journey from Beirût, near the northern and perhaps highest summit of the mountain, six or eight hours north of Jebel Sûnnin. As I was able to visit the spot during a subsequent journey, a description of it belongs rather to another volume.²

To say nothing of the rich mines of discovery in physical science, still to be explored in Mount Lebanon, the mountain well deserves further examination in a matter of historical import. I refer to the various ancient temples found in several parts of Lebanon, on both sides; some of them high up, in places where it must have been difficult to build; and exhibiting a style of architecture similar to the wonderful structures of Ba'albek. The site of one of these temples was visible from our windows, near the village Beit Miry, half way up the mountain, at the distance of three hours from Beirût. It is called Deir el-Kûl'ah; and was described as built of immense hewn stones without cement, with large columns in front; which, as well as the walls, are now mostly overthrown. Burckhardt visited not less than four other like temples in different parts of the mountain; and a sixth is marked by Mr Bird at Husn es-Sufiry, in

has been attached to this spot at least ever since the crusades, and is often mentioned by travellers; see de Suchem Itin. p. 102. Reissb. p. 828. Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 124. Quaresmius II. p. 909. Monconys I. p. 384, etc. etc.

¹ The name is sometimes said to have

VOL. II.—42

come from the perennial snow upon the mountain; but this does not exist in sufficient quantity, to present any permanently marked appearance.

² See in Vol. III. Sect. XIII, under June 16th, 1852.

the district of ed-Dünniyeh, northeast of Tripoly. Not improbably more exist in various other places.¹

Beirût is the ancient Berytus of the Greeks and Romans, and by some is supposed to be also the Berothai or Berothah of the Hebrew Scriptures. The notices, however, respecting the latter, are such, that the name alone suggests an identity.² As Berytus it is mentioned by the Greek and Latin geographers.³ Under Augustus it became a Roman military colony by the name of Felix Julia; and was afterwards endowed with the *jus Italicum*.⁴ It was at Berytus, that Herod the Great procured the flagitious mock trial to be held over his two sons.⁵ The elder Agrippa greatly favoured the city, and adorned it with a splendid theatre and amphitheatre, besides baths and porticos; inaugurating them with games and spectacles of every kind, including shows of gladiators.⁶ Here too, after the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus celebrated the birth day of his father Vespasian, by the exhibition of similar spectacles, in which many of the captive Jews perished.⁷

In the next succeeding centuries, Berytus became renowned as a school of Greek learning, particularly of law; and was visited by scholars from a distance, like Athens and Alexandria. Eusebius relates, that the martyr Appian resided here for a time to pursue Greek secular learning; and the celebrated Grægory Thaumaturgus, about the middle of the third century, after having frequented the schools of Alexandria and Athens, repaired to Berytus, to perfect himself in the civil law.⁸ A later Greek poet describes Berytus in this respect as "the nurse of tranquil life."⁹ It was early likewise made a Christian bishopric, under

¹ For Deir el-Kül'ah, see Vol. III. Sect. I.—Of the four temples seen by Burckhardt, one is not far from Zahleh, and the rest in the vicinity of the convent Deir Dimitry in the district el-Kûrah southeast of Tarbulus or Tripoly. Travels pp. 29, 173, 175.—In 1852 I was able to visit a large number of similar temples in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and in the Bük'a'a. See in Vol. III. *passim*.

² 2 Sam. 8, 8. Ez. 47, 16. In the former passage Berothai is spoken of as belonging to the kingdom of Zobah, (comp. vs. 5,) which appears to have included Hamath; comp. vs. 9, 10. 2 Chr. 8, 8. In the latter passage (Ez. 47, 15, 16), the border of Israel is drawn in prophetic vision, apparently from the Mediterranean by Hamath and Berothah towards Damascus and Hauran. The Berothah here meant, would therefore more naturally seem to have been an inland city.

iii. 441-443

³ Strabo 16. 2, 18, 19. p. 755; where he relates that Berytus was taken by the Romans after having been destroyed by Tryphon. Ptolem. 15. 4. Plin. H. N. 5. 20.

⁴ Plin. ib. "Berytus colonia quæ Felix Julia adpellabatur." Joseph. B. J. 7. 3. 1. Leg. 7, Dig. de Censibus: "Juris Italici sunt Troas, Berytus, Dyrrachium."

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. 16. 11. 1-6.

⁶ Ibid. 19. 7. 5.

⁷ Joseph. B. J. 7. 8. 1; comp. 7. 5. 1.

⁸ Euseb. de Martyrib. Palest. c. 4, de Apphiano: τῆς Ἑλλήνων παιδείας ἑνεκα κοσμητικῆς . . . τὸν πλείονα κατὰ τὴν Βηρυτὸν διατρίψας χρόνον.—Socrat. Hist. Ecc. 4. 27, de Gregor. Neocæs. οὗτος ὡς τῶν Ἀθηνησὶ παιδευτηρίων ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῇ Βηρυτῷ νόμους ἐμάθησεν. See too Cave Scriptorum Ecc. Hist. p. 82. Genev. 1705.

⁹ Nonnus Dionys. XLI, fin. Βηρυτὶς βιβότοις γαληναίοις τειθέη.

the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch ; and is mentioned by Jerome, as one of the places visited by Paula.¹

Under the reign of Justinian, in the sixth century, Berytus was regarded as the most beautiful city of Phenicia ; its academy continued to flourish, and was visited by many young men of wealth and rank, who pursued here the study of the Roman law in its Greek form. Under the same reign, Berytus was laid in ruins by an earthquake, and the school removed for a time to Sidon.² In a later and more legend-loving age, in the eighth century, Berytus became the reputed seat of the noted miracle, according to which, when an image of Christ was once mocked and crucified by the Jews in scorn, and the side pierced with a spear, there issued from it blood and water in great quantity.³

The crusaders, in their first progress along the coast from Antioch to Jerusalem, in A. D. 1099, passed by Beirût, as they did other cities, without any attempt to get possession of it ; indeed its commander is related to have furnished to them supplies of provisions and money, on condition that they would spare the harvest, the vineyards, and the trees around the city.⁴ The place was not captured until A. D. 1110 ; when king Baldwin I. took it, after a protracted siege of seventy-five days.⁵ It remained long in the hands of the Christians ; and is described as surrounded by a strong wall, and as lying in the midst of orchards, and groves, and vineyards.⁶ Beirût was made a Latin bishopric, under the archbishop of Tyre, and the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁷ In A. D. 1182, Saladin besieged the town by sea and land, and made violent efforts to take it by storm ; but withdrew on the approach of the Christian forces from Sepphoris, after laying waste the adjacent orchards and vineyards.⁸ Five years later, immediately after the battle of Hattin, Beirût surrendered to him on the eighth day after it was invested.⁹

To the new host of crusaders, chiefly from Germany, who reached the Holy Land in A. D. 1197, the possession of Beirût

¹ Reland Palæst. p. 216. Le Quien Oriens Chr. II. col. 815 sq.—Hieron. Ep. 86, ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 672.

² Agathie Hist. lib. II. p. 51. ed. Paris. In here speaking of Berytus, Agathias remarks among other things: Πολλοὶ δὲ νέοι ἐπὶ γλυφῆς εὐπατρίδαι τε καὶ παιδείας ἄριστα ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ παρήσαν τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῦ ἀναλεζόμενοι νόμους.

³ See the tract of the doubtful Athanasius Junior, exhibited at the second council of Nicea, A. D. 787. Act. IV. Comp. Cave Scriptor. Eccl. Hist. pp. 416, 428 sq. Genev. 1705. Jac. de Vitriac. c. 26. The story is quoted in full by Quaresmius, II. p. 910.

⁴ Albert. Aq. 5. 40. Will. Tyr. 7. 22.

Wilken Gesch. der Kr. I. p. 267.—The crusaders sometimes call Beirût also Baurim ; Alb. Aq. 5. 40. ib. 10. 8.

⁵ Alb. Aq. 11. 15–17. Fulcher Carnot. c. 86. Will. Tyr. 11. 13. Wilken ib. II. p. 212.

⁶ Edrisi par Jaubert p. 355. Jac. de Vitri. c. 26.

⁷ For the bishopric and bishops of Beirût see Will. Tyr. 14. 13. ib. 15. 16. ib. 16. 17. ib. 17. 1. ib. 21. 9. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. col. 1325 sq.

⁸ Will. Tyr. 22. 17, 18. Bohaed. Vit. Sal. p. 49. Wilken ib. III. ii. p. 212.

⁹ Bohaed. p. 72. Jac. de Vitri. c. 95. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 295.

became an object of importance. It was now a seat of trade ; it occupied a favourable position ; and the Saracen galleys which harboured in and near its port, committed great ravages upon the Christian commerce, capturing and making slaves of thousands of pilgrims as they approached the Syrian coasts.¹ The Christian army marched from Tyre upon this enterprise ; and after a general battle with the Saracen forces, near Sidon, appeared before Beirût. They found the gates open ; for, on the preceding day, the Christian slaves within the walls had risen upon the Saracens, and delivered the city over to the Christian fleet. It was now given up to Amalric, as king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and reannexed to the latter kingdom.²

In the later strife between the emperor Frederick II. and the regent John, of Ibelin, Beirût was seized and occupied for a time, in A. D. 1231, by the imperial forces ; but was again abandoned without taking the citadel.³ The city remained in possession of the Christians, until the final and terrible overthrow of the Frank dominion in Syria, in A. D. 1291, in the siege and storm of 'Akka. After the abandonment of Tyre and Sidon by the Christians, the troops of the Sultan Ashraf approached Beirût. The Emir in command announced to the inhabitants, that the former truce, which they had not broken, should be continued to them ; and, at the same time, summoned them to come out and meet him with confidence, as he drew near. They went forth accordingly in procession, to receive him on their borders ; but, false to his word, he caused them to be seized and put to death or thrown into chains, took possession of the city and castle, and laid them both in ruins.⁴

In the next following period, Beirût, like Saida, appears to have recovered from its desolation, and continued to be a trading city. Abulfeda describes it as surrounded by a rich soil and gardens, and as the port of Damascus. So, too, Edh-Dhâhîry, in the fifteenth century.⁵ Frank travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, speak of the beauty of its environs, full of fruits and gardens of all kinds ; among which, however, the mulberry already predominated ; the culture of silk being, even then, the chief occupation of the inhabitants.⁶ Like Saida, this city also revived somewhat in the beginning of

¹ Two galleys, which escaped to Beirût from the destruction of Saladin's fleet in A. D. 1188, are said to have captured in the nine following years not less than fourteen thousand pilgrims. Wilken *Geschichte der Kr.* V. p. 33. Comp also *ibid.* IV. p. 232.

² Wilken *ib.* V. p. 32-39.

³ Wilken *ib.* VI. pp. 529, 539.

iii. 444-446

⁴ Mar. Sanut. p. 232. Reinaud *Extr.* p. 570. Wilken *ib.* VII. 772.

⁵ Abulf. *Tab. Syr.* p. 94. Edh-Dhâhîry in Rosenmüller *Analect. Arab.* III. p. 22. Lat. p. 47.

⁶ Baumgarten in A. D. 1508 ; p. 225. Villamont in 1589, p. 225. Neitzschitz, in 1635, speaks expressly of the culture of silk ; p. 207. Monconys I. p. 335.

the seventeenth century, from the activity of Fakhr ed-Din, who made it one of his chief places of residence, and erected here an extensive palace; although he filled up the port. According to D'Arvieux, Beirût, in his day, was twice as large as Saida, and much better built; though the chief centre of European trade, during that and the eighteenth century, remained at Saida.¹ Caravans from Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt, regularly arrived at Beirût; especially at the season when the silk of each year came into market.²

Within the present century, and indeed within the last twenty years, Beirût has received a new impulse, from having been made the centre of European trade for this part of the coast, and as the port of Damascus. Before that time, one or two consular agents were the sole representatives of the west. At present, there are resident consuls from most of the European powers, and also one from the American states; trade has flourished and been extended by the establishment of mercantile houses, some of which have branches in Damascus; and the activity, the population, and the importance of the city have been greatly increased.³ This circumstance, and the facilities of communication with the interior and other parts of the country, have caused Beirût to be selected as the chief seat of the American mission in Syria; which, in its schools, and by its press, as well as by direct effort, has prospered not only in proportion to its means, but to an extent far beyond what its limited means would have authorized us to expect.

Such was Beirût, and such were Tyre and Sidon, when we saw them; and also when the manuscript of these pages was completed, in August 1840. But in the middle of the very next month, September 1840, Beirût was laid in partial ruin by a bombardment from the combined English and Austrian fleet; and Tyre, Sidon, Haifa, and 'Akka, in their turn were subjected to the like fate.

CONCLUSION.

Thus ends the Journal of our Travels in the Holy Land. We had planned an excursion from Beirût to Ba'albek, intend-

¹ D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 337 sq. The palace of the Emir at Beirût is fully described by Maundrell, March 18th.—For the general condition of Beirût and its trade, from that time to the commencement of the present century, see Niebuhr Reisebeschr. II. p. 469. Volney Voyage II. p. 169 sq. Olivier Voyage, etc. II. p. 218. In A. D. 1772, Beirût was bombarded and plundered by a small Russian

squadron; Büsching Erdsbeschr. XI. i. p. 362.

² D'Arvieux ib. II. p. 843. The French had merchants at Beirût; but merely as agents of the houses in Saida. ib.

³ Nearly sixty years ago, Volney gives the population of Beirût at six thousand; Voyage II. p. 170. Twenty years since, it was estimated at ten or twelve thousand; O. v. Richter's Wallfahrten p. 76. In

ing to cross the ridge of Lebanon by the usual road to Damascus, or esh-Shâm, as the natives usually call it (by contraction for Dimeshk esh-Shâm, Damascus of Syria), and then pass more to the northeast by Zahleh into the valley el-Bûkâ'a. Thence we wished to return over Lebanon by way of the cedars to Tripoly, and so along the coast to Beirût. But during the first days after our arrival at Beirût, the road to Damascus was understood to be shut up by the insurgent Druzes, and the whole Bûkâ'a to be insecure. My own health too, which had been failing ever since we reached Tyre, now gave way ; and on Friday (June 29th), and for the eight following days, I was confined mostly to my room. I was thus cut off from visiting even Nahr el-Kelb and Deir el-Kûl'ah.

It had ever been our hope, that before this time a line of steamers would have been established between Beirût and Smyrna ; such a line had been long announced, and has since been put in operation. But as yet nothing of the kind had been commenced ; and we therefore decided to take the English steamer to Alexandria, and thence proceed by the French line. We had indeed offers enough of Greek vessels direct to Smyrna, at a much less expense ; but in these vessels, there was not only no accommodation for passengers, but besides, at this season, we could not hope to reach Smyrna by such a conveyance under thirty days. Indeed, we afterwards learned, that one of our friends, who had made the voyage a few weeks previously, had been forty days between the two ports. The English government-steamer, the *Megara*, arrived at Beirût during the night of July 6th ; and on Sunday the 8th we went on board at noon, after attending the English service of the mission held in the house of the American consul, Mr Chasseaud. The steamer got under way immediately. We found everything on board in the neatest order ; the crew were all in their Sunday clothes ; and in the afternoon, all were mustered to attend the solemn service of the English church on deck, each with his Bible and prayer-book. Among the passengers were the two English travellers, whom we had met at Hebron. We were throughout highly gratified with the kind and gentlemanly deportment of the commander, Lieut. Goldsmith ; with whom it seemed to be the constant aim, to keep his ship in perfect order, and promote in the highest degree the comfort of his passengers.

We entered the harbour of Alexandria in the afternoon of

1836 Elliott makes the population of the town and suburbs to be fifteen thousand, which is probably nearly correct ; the number having greatly increased under
iii. 447-449

the Egyptian government ; *Travels* II. p. 218. A year later, Schubert gives it at only nine thousand, meaning perhaps only those within the walls ; *Reise* III p. 380.

Tuesday, July 10th ; and anchored in the midst of the leviathans of the Egyptian fleet, which now seemed like old acquaintances. Our vessel was of course in quarantine ; and as she was to wait a week in this port for the arrival of the India mails, we preferred to remain on board, rather than venture the discomforts and risks of an Egyptian lazaretto. In due time the French steamer arrived ; and at the end of a week, both vessels were to depart at the same hour. On the 17th, at the very last moment, after the French vessel had closed its communication with the shore, we were admitted on board at 4 o'clock P. M., and the two steamers left the port together, one steering towards Malta, and the other for Syra.

After a long passage, rendered unpleasant by a strong head wind the whole way, we anchored at Syra early in the morning of July 21st ; and having lain there all day, (the vessel being in quarantine,) were transferred again at the last moment to another French steamer ; in which, after a calm and very pleasant trip, as on a river, we arrived at Smyrna at 11 o'clock A. M. the next day. Here, in the hospitable mansion of Mr Temple in the city, and afterwards in the lodgings of Mr Calhoun in the charming village of Bujah, I passed several days of great enjoyment.

A week later, I proceeded to Constantinople, in one of the fine steamers that plough the waves of the Hellespont ; accomplishing their voyage ordinarily in from twenty-four to thirty hours. Here too in the estimable families of missionary friends, Messrs Goodell and Schauffler, I was welcomed to a grateful home ; and visited all the points of interest at leisure. We had arrived on the morning of July 30th, before dawn ; and on coming upon deck, I had found myself in the midst of the glories which surround the Golden Horn. Splendid indeed for situation is Constantinople ; magnificent in its graceful contour of land and water, in its towering domes and slender minarets, and in the deep verdure of the trees and gardens which everywhere rises above the dwellings ; surpassingly beautiful as beheld from without ; but within, alas, "full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness !" I rejoiced, that the crown of oriental cities had thus been reserved for me till the last.

On the morning of August 13th, my companion, Mr Smith, arrived from Smyrna, in order to accompany me to Germany ; whither he had been commissioned to repair, in order to procure the casting of new founts of Arabic types, for the press at Beirut. We embarked the same day on board of one of the Danube steamers ; and after a slow but pleasant voyage across the Black Sea and up the "dark rolling" river, skirted with cities renowned in the wars of former centuries, we entered the

borders of Hungary. Our quarantine of ten days was spent at Orsova, in the midst of the green Carpathian chain, above the far famed Iron Gate, but still below the more romantic passes. We lay afterwards for a whole day at Semlin ; and saw the first steamer enter and pass up the river Save, between that city and Belgrade. Among the immense marshes which stretch along the Danube in this quarter, I probably inhaled the poison of an intermittent fever ; with which not less than four, out of the nine passengers of whom our company consisted, became ultimately affected. We had probably laid a foundation for it, in the change from an oriental to an occidental mode of life ; and from constant and vigorous exercise, to the indolence and listlessness of a steam vessel. We reached Vienna on the 13th of September.¹

Here my disorder, after a few days, assumed a new and alarming form, and brought me speedily to the borders of the grave. One day the physician left me, saying to my companion that I should probably expire in two or three hours. He afterwards returned, expecting to find me dead. Meantime, through the mercy of God, a crisis had taken place ; I had slept, and was better. Two days later my family arrived by forced stages from Dresden ; and from that time my recovery was as rapid, as had previously been the progress of the disease. For the preservation of my life, I regard myself as principally indebted, under God, to the judicious care and devoted attentions of the tried friend, who had been so long the companion of my wanderings in the east.

¹ Our voyage up the Danube has already been described by one of the party, Dr. F. Zacharia, a young jurist of Heidelberg, with whom I had left Vienna in the preceding autumn. He had travelled through Italy, Greece, and a part of Tur-

key, in search of manuscripts of the Byzantine law ; and we had now met again at Constantinople. He too was one of the four sufferers. See Zacharia's *Reise in den Orient*, Heidelb. 1840. Pref. and p. 322 sq.

SECTION XVII

RELIGIOUS SECTS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

THE object of the present Section is, to embody in one view the information to which we had access, respecting the various religious denominations and parties, prevailing throughout the Holy Land. This account contains the result of extensive inquiry on the part of the American mission, continued through several years ; in which my friend, the Rev. Mr Smith, bore a leading part. He had travelled in this behalf through the greater portion of the Pashalik of Damascus, from Hamah on the north to Haurân and the Belka on the south, as well as throughout Mount Lebanon and western Palestine. The inquiries of the mission were, of course, directed chiefly to the state of the Christian population in general, and particularly in Mount Lebanon.

The following view of the various Christian sects, may therefore be considered as derived from the best authority. It is here given as exhibiting their actual state, without any reference to the somewhat difficult historical questions connected with the subject. The remarks near the close, upon the policy to be hoped for from Protestant England in behalf of the Christians of Syria, must be regarded as my own.

I. CHRISTIAN SECTS.

The Christian population of Syria and Palestine embraces, according to the best and most careful estimates, between four and five hundred thousand souls. It is divided into the following eight sects, viz. Greeks, Greek Catholics ; Maronites ; Syrians or Jacobites, Syrian Catholics ; Armenians, Armenian Catholics ; Latins.

GREEKS.

The most numerous of all the Christian sects are the Greeks. They are so called in Syria, merely because of their professing the Greek faith, and belonging to the Greek church. There are now no traces, either in their spoken language or in the language of their public services, of any *national* affinity with the Greek people. They are Arabs, like the other Arabs of the country. Nor, on the other hand, are there any indications of a *Syriac* origin in any part; with the single exception of Ma'lûla and its vicinity, on Anti-Lebanon north of Damascus. In this region, the dialect now spoken, as well as the old church books, long since indeed disused, show that the inhabitants are originally of the Syrian race. With this exception, the language of the Greek Christians of Syria, both as spoken and as used in their churches, is Arabic.

The spoken Arabic differs so little from the language of books, that all books written in a plain style, are intelligible to the common people.¹ Hence it will be seen, that these Christians enjoy the great privilege, of having their religious worship conducted in a language which they understand; a privilege denied to those of the same church, who speak the Greek tongue, and to every other Christian sect indeed in Western Asia, except their countrymen and relatives, the Greek Catholics. Perhaps, however, it should be added, that their church books contain many untranslated technical terms, from the Greek; and that on particular occasions, or for the sake of variety, certain portions of the service, or even the whole service, is sometimes said in Greek.

This is most frequently the case, when the high clergy officiate. It is an important fact, that nearly if not quite all the bishops of this sect, are Greeks by birth, and foreigners in the country; a circumstance which shows how great an influence the see of Constantinople exerts, in the ecclesiastical affairs of Syria. It is a fact to be lamented. These bishops rarely learn to speak the Arabic language well; of course they cannot preach; and their medium of intercourse with the people in conversation is very imperfect. There naturally fails to take place that unity of national feeling between the bishop and his flock, which might lead to national improvement, especially in education. A Greek bishop from abroad, able only to stammer Arabic, and perhaps not reading it at all, and regarding it only as a barbarous dialect, (a feeling which is inherent in almost

¹ This important remark is from the pen of Mr Smith, who has had the very best opportunities of forming a correct judgment.

every Greek by birth,) cannot be expected to take much interest in promoting a system of national education among his flock. It is a natural result, though not arising exclusively from the cause here brought to view, that nothing of the kind is done. If a bishop thinks of establishing a school, as the object of his own particular patronage, it will be a school for teaching Greek, ancient or modern; and generally the apparent ruling motive, even for such a step, will be, that he may have around him a sufficient number of persons acquainted with the Greek, to assist him, when he performs the services of the church in that tongue.

There exists, in the whole country, no school for the education of the Greek clergy. The parish priests are taken from the ranks of the common people, with no other preparation for their sacred office, than the ceremony of ordination. They are generally selected, each by the parish which he is to serve, from among themselves; and the usual ordination fee to the bishop, rarely fails to secure the administration of that rite, according to their wishes. These priests are universally married, and differ not in character from the rest of the people; frequently occupying themselves with the same handiwork, from which they obtained their livelihood before assuming the ecclesiastical character. They are often the schoolmasters of their villages; if that can be called a school, which consists of some half a dozen boys coming together at irregular hours, and bawling over their lessons, right or wrong, while their master is engaged in working at his trade.¹

The doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church in Syria are the same as in other countries; and therefore need not be described here.

In its ecclesiastical organization, the Greek church in Syria is divided into the two patriarchal dioceses of Antioch and Jerusalem; an arrangement which has existed ever since the fifth century.² These are, nominally, both independent of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople; but are really, to a great extent, under his control.

The head of the diocese of Antioch, is ordinarily styled "Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East;" and on certain occasions, more fully, "Patriarch of Antioch, Syria, Cilicia, and all the East." The Syrian bishoprics under his jurisdiction are the following: 1. *Beirût*, which is the largest; and its occupant is styled also "Bishop of Phenicia on the coast." 2. *Tripoly* (*Tarâbulus*). 3. *'Akkâr*. 4. *Laodicea* (*el-Lâdikiyeh*). 5. *Hamah*. 6. *Hums* (*Emessa*). 7. *Saidanâya* and *Ma'lûla*. 8.

¹ See the description of a Greek-Arab schoolmaster, Vol. I. p. 454.

² See Vol. I. p. 380.

Tyre, including Hâsbeiya and Râsheiyya.¹—Aleppo formerly belonged also to the patriarchate of Antioch. But it was severed from it not many years ago, on occasion of a dissension between the Greeks and Greek Catholics of that city; and has ever since remained under the immediate ecclesiastical government of Constantinople. The patriarch of Antioch usually resides at Damascus; and from this circumstance is ordinarily spoken of by the people, as the patriarch of Damascus. He is also a Greek by birth.

The jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem begins at 'Akka, and extends over the whole of Palestine, both west and east of the Jordan. The following are the bishoprics subject to it: 1. *Nazareth*. 2. 'Akka. 3. *Lydda*. 4. *Gaza*. 5. *Sebaste*. 6. *Nâbulus*. 7. *Philadelphia* (es-Salt). 8. *Petra* (Kerak). Of these bishops, only the bishop of 'Akka resides within his own see; all the rest remain shut up in the convents at Jerusalem. The patriarch himself is also a non-resident, living at Constantinople; and never, so far as we could learn, visiting his diocese. His place is represented, and the business of the patriarchate transacted, by a board of bishops (Wakils) at Jerusalem.²

GREEK CATHOLICS.

The sect of Greek Catholics had its origin in a secession from the Greek church in Syria; which was brought about by Roman Catholic influence, not far from a century ago. Until recently, this sect existed only in Syria; but has now extended itself into Egypt. The Greeks who have elsewhere submitted themselves to the pope, have generally become amalgamated with the Latin church. The Greek Catholics of Syria, on the contrary, are a sect by themselves, constituting an oriental papal church. They take indeed the occidental view of the procession of the Holy Spirit, believe in purgatory and the pope, eat fish in lent, and keep a smaller number of fasting days than the Greeks; but otherwise, they subjected themselves to few changes, in passing from one jurisdiction to the other. They still enjoy the same privilege as their countrymen of the Greek church, in having their religious services performed in their native Arabic tongue. They observe the oriental calendar; receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in both kinds, as formerly; and their priests are still allowed to marry. This however, is not done so universally, as among the Greek-Arab clergy; a large part of them remaining unmarried.

¹ See above, p. 466.

² See the account of the Greeks, at Jerusalem, their convents, and bishops, Vol. iii. 456, 457

rusalem, their convents, and bishops, Vol. I. pp. 424, 425.

They have eight bishoprics ; and have long had their own patriarch ; but until the country came under the more tolerant government of Egypt, he uniformly resided in Mount Lebanon ; where the local authorities have, for many years, been under papal influence. He has now removed to Damascus ; was fully acknowledged by the Egyptian government ; and has extended his diocese into Egypt. The high clergy of this sect are mostly Arabs by birth, and at the same time educated at Rome. They thus unite a natural attachment to their countrymen, with some degree of European cultivation ; and the result is a certain elevation of their sect. The patriarch has also established a college, for teaching different languages and branches of science ; which however seems, as yet, to have accomplished very little.¹ It was afterwards destroyed during the war with the Druzes.

The sect embraces a large proportion of the most enterprising and wealthy Christians in Syria, and possesses great influence. Especially do its members occupy more than their due proportion of offices under the government. Some of them were now in high favour ; and this secured for the sect, at the time, great consideration.

A convent belonging to the Greek Catholics, at esh-Shuweir in Mount Lebanon, has for many years possessed an Arabic printing press ; which supplies their own church, and also the Greeks, with most of their church books. The press in 1845 was nearly worn out.²

MARONITES.

The sect of the Maronites furnishes decisive evidence of a Syrian origin. Its ecclesiastical language is wholly Syriac ; though none now understand it, except as a learned language. The Maronites also not unfrequently write Arabic in the Syriac character.³ They acknowledge no affinity with any other sect in the country, except through a common relationship to the

¹ While in Cairo I once attended the service of the Greek Catholics in company with Messrs Lieder and Smith, where the patriarch was present, conducted the service, and afterwards preached a sermon. All was in Arabic. The room was small and crowded ; the people stood and listened attentively to the discourse ; but on a motion of the hand by the patriarch, all squatted down upon their feet. He was a man of noble mien ; his manner dignified, full of gesture, and impressive. His sermon, according to the judgment of my companions, was well ordered, logical, full

of good sense and practical force.—On the origin of this sect, see Smith and Dwight's *Res. in Armenia*, I. pp. 61, 62.

² This is the celebrated press of the convent Mâr Yohanna, which has been in operation ever since A. D. 1733. See Volney's account of the press and the books printed, *Voyage* Vol. II. pp. 174–184. Schnurrer *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 379 sq. *Miss. Herald*, 1845, p. 355.—For a more detailed account of the Greek Catholics, see *Miss. Herald*, *ibid.* pp. 354, 355.

³ See also Burckhardt's *Travels* p. 29.

pope. They are disposed to be exclusive, and also conceited in the idea of their unparalleled orthodoxy; and are not much liked by their neighbours, even of the papal church; being generally accused of narrow-mindedness.

The Maronites are characterized by an almost unequalled devotedness to the see of Rome, and the most implicit obedience to their priests. It may be doubted, whether there is to be found, anywhere, a people who have so sincere and deep a reverence for the pope, as the Maronites of Syria. Yet they have their own distinct church establishment; and also some usages which are not tolerated in the papal church in Europe. They follow indeed the occidental calendar; observe the same rules of fasting as the European papists; and celebrate in the same manner the sacrament of the Lord's supper. But they have some saints of their own, and especially their patron saint, Mâr Mârôn, not elsewhere acknowledged in the papal church. And every candidate for the priesthood, who is not already under the vow of celibacy, is allowed to marry before ordination; so that most of their parish clergy are actually married men. They have nine dioceses and more bishops; and at their head a patriarch, who styles himself "Patriarch of Antioch." His usual residence is the convent of Kanôbin, on Mount Lebanon, back of Tripoly; though during the summer months his head quarters are at the convent Bkerky, in Kesrawân. They have in all more than fifty convents.

The Maronites are found in cities and large towns, as far north as Aleppo, and as far south as Nazareth. But they are at home, as cultivators of the soil, only in Mount Lebanon; unless with very few exceptions. This mountain they inhabit, more or less, throughout its whole range, from its northern end above Tripoly to the region of Safed. But their strong hold is Kesrawân, a district separated from that of Metn on the south by Nahr el-Kelb, and bounded on the north by the district of Jebeil. Of this tract they are almost the only inhabitants. Throughout the whole of the country governed by the Emir Beshir, they are more numerous than any other sect. The balance of power, which was formerly kept up between them and the Druzes, is now entirely destroyed; the latter having become far inferior in numbers and strength. This is the result of the conversion of the ruling family of Emirs, the house of Shehâb, who were formerly Muslims, to the Maronite faith. Their example had great influence; and has been followed by the two largest branches of another family of Emirs of Druze origin; so that now almost all the highest nobility of the mountain are Maronites.¹

¹ For the history and character of the Maronites, see *Le Quien Oriens Chr.* III. pp. 1-100. Niebuhr *Reiseb.* II. pp. 425 sq. Volney *Voyage* II. p. 8 sq. Par-iii. 458-460.

In the elementary instruction of the common people, the Maronites are quite as deficient as the other Christian sects in the country. But for a select number, and especially for clerical candidates, the patriarch has established a college at 'Ain Warkah in Kesrawān, which takes a higher stand than any other similar establishment in Syria. It deserves great praise, for the thorough manner in which it initiates at least some of its pupils into the knowledge of their native Arabic tongue. They also study Syriac, Latin, and Italian.¹

SYRIANS OR JACOBITES.

The same evidence of a Syriac origin, which exists in the case of the Maronites, is found also among the Jacobites. Though they now speak in Syria only Arabic, yet their church service is in Syriac. Indeed, the common name, by which they are known in the country, is simply *Suriān*, that is, Syrians. The epithet Jacobite it is not customary to add; as there are in the country no Syrians of the orthodox Greek rite from whom it is necessary to distinguish them; (though at Ma'lūla and in its vicinity there probably existed such a community not many generations ago;) and the seceders to the papal church, are sufficiently designated by the term Catholics.

The number of the Jacobites in Syria is very small. A few families in Damascus and in Nebk, the village of Sūdūd,² and a part of the village of Kuryetein, a small community in Hums, with a few scattered individuals in two or three neighbouring villages, and a similar community in Hamah, constitute nearly or quite the whole amount of the sect.

They are subject to the Jacobite patriarch, who resides in Mesopotamia; and from him they receive their bishops. One of these latter has his residence at the convent of Mār Mūsa

is 1787. Schnurrer de Ecclesia Maronitica, 2 Progr. Tübing. 1800; also German in Staudlin and Tzschirner's Archiv für Kirchengesch. I. 1. Schnurrer Bibl. Arab. p. 309 sq. Gesenius' Notes on Burckhardt p. 492.

¹ See more on this school in Burckhardt's Travels p. 185.—Seetzen and Burckhardt mention also the Maronite printing-press at the convent of Kūzbeiya three hours from Kanöbln, where their church books in the Syriac language were printed. It was established in A. D. 1802. Seetzen in Zach's Mon. Corr. XIII. p. 533. Burckhardt p. 22. Missa. Herald, 1845, p. 319.—For a more complete account of the Maronites, see Missa. Herald, ib. pp. 314–319.

² The large village of Sūdūd lies in the desert east of the road from Damascus to Hums. To reach it my companion left the great road at Deir 'Atiyeh north of en-Nebk, from which Sūdūd is a short day's journey; and then fell into the same road again at Hasya. In the name S dūd we may recognise the *Z'dad* (צדד) of the Old Testament, on the northern extremity of the Promised Land; Num. 34, 8. Ez. 47, 15.—The ancient *Riblah* mentioned in the same connection and elsewhere, is found again in the present Riblah, a village several hours S S. W. of Hums on the river el-'Asy (O.ontes), in the northern part of the great valley el-Bukā'a. Num. 34, 11. 2 K. 23, 33. 25, 6. etc.

near Nebk. The Jacobites are looked upon by all other sects in the country as heretics ; and as such, and because they are few and poor, they are generally despised.

SYRIAN CATHOLICS.

The Syrian Catholics bear the same relation to the Jacobites, as the Greek Catholics do to the Greek church. They are Romish converts, who still retain the oriental rite and the use of Syriac in their churches.

The community in Aleppo has long existed in its present relation to the pope. But the Syrian Catholics of Damascus and of Râsheiya in Jebel esh-Sheikh, are recent converts. Except in these places, there are not known to be any other communities of this sect among the people of Syria. In Mount Lebanon, however, there are two or three small convents inhabited by Syrian Catholic monks.

ARMENIANS.

The Armenians in Syria are properly to be regarded as foreigners. Yet they have been there so long, that the country has become their home ; and they must not be overlooked in speaking of the native Christian sects. They are found only as merchants and mechanics in cities and large towns ; and nowhere as cultivators of the soil. Their character, religious, intellectual, and national, is the same as elsewhere, and need not be described. Their number is very small.

Their ecclesiastical establishment is distinct from that of Constantinople. At their head is a patriarch, who is styled "Patriarch of Jerusalem," and whose diocese embraces also Egypt.¹

ARMENIAN CATHOLICS.

These are seceders from the Armenian to the papal church ; as the Greek Catholics are from the Greek church. Like them, too, the Armenian Catholics still adhere to the oriental rite, and have changed few of their original ceremonies or dogmas. They are few in number ; but have their patriarch, who resides in a convent at Bzummâr, on Mount Lebanon.² It is worthy of remark, that this patriarchate existed here under the protection

¹ See more respecting this patriarch in Smith and Dwight's *Researches in Armenia*, I. pp. 40, 62.

iii. 461 462

² See Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, etc. p. 186.

of the government of this mountain, long before the sect was acknowledged and had its patriarch at Constantinople.

LATINS.

Native Roman Catholics of the occidental rite, are very few in Syria. They exist only in connection with the convents of the Terra Santa at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. John in the Desert, Nazareth, and perhaps a few other places. They are ecclesiastically dependent on the convents, and form parishes under the immediate charge of the monks; but amount in all to a few hundred in number. Their language is Arabic, like that of all the other native inhabitants of the country.

There are also Latins at Aleppo; but whether of native or foreign descent, was not known.

CONVENTS.

Convents of native monks are very rare in Syria, except in the district of Mount Lebanon. Besides the Jacobite convent at Mâr Mûsa near Nebk, and the Greek convents of Saidanâya, and of Mâr Jirjis northeast of Tripoly, there is hardly another known to be inhabited by natives. All the convents in and around Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramleh, Yâfa, and in other cities, whether Greek, Armenian, or Latin, belong entirely to foreigners, and are occupied by them.

But while such is the case with the other parts of Syria, one of the most remarkable features of Mount Lebanon, is its multitude of convents. They are seen perched upon its rocks and scattered over its sides in every direction; even a glance at the map is sufficient to excite astonishment. While monasticism has declined, and almost gone out of date, in so many other countries; it continues here to flourish in its pristine vigour, if not in its pristine spirit. The numerous convents are many of them small establishments; but they are well filled with monks, and abundantly endowed. There are also convents of nuns. The greatest number belong to the Maronites;¹ but all the other sects above mentioned, excepting the Jacobites, have each at least one convent, and most of them several.

PROTESTANTS.

At the time of our former journey, Protestants did not exist in Syria as a native sect, nor in any other part of the Turkish

¹ The Maronite convent of Kanôbin is said to have been built by Theodosius the Great, and was already the seat of the patriarch before A. D. 1445. See *Le Quier Oriens Chr.* III. p. 63.

empire ; nor were they, as such, tolerated. The government has ever recognised and tolerated certain known sects of Christians ; and the members of these were allowed to transfer their relations from one sect to another, whenever they might choose. But Protestants were not among these sects ; and therefore no one was legally allowed to profess Protestantism. It was by the operation of this principle of the Turkish government, and by this alone, that the rise of Protestantism in Syria was checked. Very many persons, from time to time, show a strong disposition to throw off the domination of their priests, and claim their right to the liberty of the Gospel. Probably at one time, (A. D. 1839,) nearly the whole nation of the Druzes would have declared themselves Protestants, and put themselves under Protestant instruction, could they have had secured to them, in that profession, the same rights as are enjoyed by the other Christian sects.

That England, while she had so deep a political interest in all that concerns the Turkish empire, should remain indifferent to such a state of things in Syria, was a matter of surprise.¹ France has long been the acknowledged protector of the Roman Catholic religion, in the same empire ; and the followers of that faith find in her a watchful and efficient patron ; quite as efficient since the revolution of July, as before. The consequence is, that wherever there are Roman Catholics, France has interested partisans ; and were she to land troops in Syria to morrow, every Roman Catholic would receive them with open arms, including the whole Maronite nation, now armed and powerful. In the members of the Greek church, still more numerous, the Russians have even warmer partisans. In Syria, the famed power of Russia is their boast ; and though this feeling is carefully concealed from the Muslims, and would not be expressed to an Englishman, it often amounts almost to enthusiasm. Hence, wherever Russia sends her agents, they find confidential friends and informants ; and were she to invade the country, thousands would give her troops a hearty welcome.

But where were England's partisans in any part of Turkey ? Not a single sect, be it ever so small, looked to her as its natural guardian. Her wealth and her power are indeed admired ; her citizens, wherever they travel, are respected ; and the native Christians of every sect, when groaning under oppression, would welcome her interference as a relief. Yet, of course, none but Protestants would look to her for permanent protection. There is, too, no other Protestant power to whom such a

¹ The following remarks were first penned in A. D. 1839 ; but I do not perceive that the later revolution and reversion of Syria to the immediate authority of the Sultan, detract at all from their force.

sect could look for such protection, nor would they wish to look elsewhere ; for England's protection, whenever granted, is known to be more efficient than any other. To secure the existence of such a sect, the English government needed to take but a single step, and that unattended by difficulty or danger. It needed simply to obtain, for native Protestants, the same acknowledgment and rights, that are granted to other acknowledged Christian sects. Such a stand England has since taken ; and now (since 1853) Protestant communities in the Turkish empire are placed upon the same footing with those of other Christian sects.¹

II. MUHAMMEDANS AND OTHER SECTS.

I add here merely the names of the other religious sects in Palestine and Western Syria, not Christians.

The *Muhammedans* who constitute the lords of the country, and the mass of the population, are Sunnites of the orthodox faith, and require no description.

The *Metawileh* (Sing. *Mutawály*) have their chief seat in the district Belád Beshârah, and the vicinity, and have been already noticed. They are of the sect of 'Aly, and their faith is kindred to that of the Shiïtes (Shi'ah), the Muhammedans of Persia ; but they are here regarded as heretics.²

The *Druzes* (ed-Derûz, Sing. ed-Derazy) are at home upon Mount Lebanon ; but dwell also as far south as the district el-Jebel west of Safed, in some parts of Haurân, and around Damascus. They were formerly masters of the country of Mount Lebanon and the adjacent coast ; but are now surpassed in numbers and influence by the Maronites, as already described. The Druzes appear to have sprung up out of some one of the many Muhammedan sects of the centuries before the crusades ; and the insane Hâkim, Khalif of Egypt, is regarded as their deity.³ The Druzes keep their religious tenets and practices secret ; though they have often professed themselves to be Muhammedans. Not a few of their books, however, containing the dogmas of their religion, have found their way by the fortune of war, or other chances, to the libraries of Europe, particularly to Rome and Paris ; and from these De Sacy compiled his work upon this people, the last published production of his long and learned career. In the course of the insurrection of 1838, many of their books were also seized by the Egyptians ; one or two of which were purchased by the mis-

¹ See the account of Protestantism in Turkey in Vol. III. Sect. I.

² Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc. c. 8. Niebuhr Reisebeschr. II. p. 270 sq. 426 sq.

Volney Voyage II. p. 77 sq. Paris 1787

See above, pp. 448, 449, 450.

³ See Vol. I. p. 395.

sionaries at Beirût, and others are said to have reached Europe. After the return of peace, the Druzes came in throngs to put themselves under Christian instruction; and although the motive at the moment was perhaps political, yet had it been possible to take proper advantage of the movement, it might probably have resulted in an extensive and beneficial change in their relations.¹

The *Nusairiyeh*² are also regarded as the offspring of one of the early Muhammedan sects, the Karmathians. They too keep their religion a secret; and often conform externally to the faith of those by whom they are surrounded, whether Mussulmans or Christians. Their chief seat is the range of mountains extending on the north of Mount Lebanon towards Antioch; which takes from them the name of Jebel en-Nusairiyeh; but they are found scattered in villages, as far south as the vicinity of Bâniâs. The accounts respecting them are as yet very imperfect.³

The *Ismaelîtes* (Isma'iliyeh) were originally a religious political subdivision of the Shiites (Shi'ah); and are now the comparatively feeble remains of the people, who became too well known in the time of the crusades, under the name of the Assassins. They likewise possess a secret mystical religion; and still have their chief seat, as formerly, in the castle of Masyâd or Masyâf, on the mountains west of Hamah.⁴

¹ On the Druzes, see especially: De Sacy *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, etc. 2 Tom. Paris, 1838, 8vo. Also Niebuhr *Reisebeschr.* II. p. 428 sq. Volney *Voyage* II. p. 37 sq. Par. 1787. Burckhardt's *Travels* pp. 193-205. *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, pp. 205-253.

² Usually called *Ansairiyeh*, by a vulgar corruption.

³ See Barhebr. *Chron. Syr.* p. 173. Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental.* Tom. II. p. 318, where an account of their origin is given. Pococke *Spec. Hist. Arab.* 1st ed. 1. pp. 25, 265. Maundrell, under March 4th. Niebuhr *Reisebeschr.* II. p. 439 sq. Volney *Voyage* II. p. 1 sq. Burckhardt's *Travels* pp. 151, 155 sq. Gesenius' *Notes on Burckhardt* p. 517. Ritter *Erdk.*

XVII. pp. 975-995. This people was visited in 1840 by the Rev. Mr Thomson of Beirût; whose report, however, adds little to our previous information respecting them. See the *Missionary Herald* for Feb. and March, 1841.

⁴ See Von Hammer's *Gesch. der Assassinen*, Stuttg. 1818. Wilken *Gesch. der Kr. II.* p. 240 sq. Quatremère *Notice Historique sur les Ismaéliens*, in *Fundgr. des Orients* IV. p. 339 sq. Also Niebuhr *Reisebeschr.* II. p. 444 sq. Burckhardt's *Travels* p. 150 sq. Gesenius' *Notes on Burckhardt* p. 514-517. Ritter *Erdk.* XVII. p. 966-974. Abulfed. *Tab. Syr.* p. 20. Schultens *Index in Vit. Salad. art. Masiata*.

NOTES.

NOTE XXXI.—Page 33.

SUMMEIL, ST. SAMUEL. Our visit to Sümmeil enables me to correct an error of more than three centuries' standing. Tucher of Nürnberg in A. D. 1479, on his journey from Bethlehem by way of Dhikhrin to Gaza (see Text p. 29), passed by this place; and confounding the name Sümmeil with Samuel, calls it the Castle of St. Samuel. He says it then paid a rent of two thousand ducats yearly to a hospital in St. Abraham or Hebron; from which twelve hundred loaves of bread and other articles of food, were daily distributed to the poor. See Reissb. p. 678. Tucher's work was first published in Germany in A. D. 1482.—The next year, in A. D. 1483, Breydenbach and Felix Fabri travelled from Hebron to Gaza, apparently by way of Beit Jibrin; at least they lodged the first night at the village of Sukkariyeh not far distant. Fabri, in describing St. Abraham (Hebron), speaks of the same hospital as situated near the great mosk; and tells the same story of the twelve hundred loaves of bread, and the two thousand ducats rent from a castle of St. Samuel; which he supposed to be not far off, though he did not see it. The very same account of a distribution of bread from the great mosk, or an establishment connected with it, is given in Gumpenberg's Journal A. D. 1449 (Reissb. p. 445); and also in the Arabic History of Jerusalem and Hebron by Mejr ed-Din, A. D. 1495; Fundgr. des Or. II. p. 377.

All this goes to confirm the statements of Tucher; and there is nothing improbable in the account, that the mosk or hospital at Hebron may have derived a part of its revenues from Sümmeil; just as the great mosk at Jerusalem still receives rents from the villages of Taiyibeh and Rām-Allah. This is also implied in the name Sümmeil el-Khūlil, which it still bears. But now comes Breydenbach, who made this journey with Fabri, in which they certainly did not take the route by Sümmeil, and relates that on their first day's journey from Hebron, before they came to Sukkariyeh, they passed by a castle of St. Samuel, near which was a

small town called St. Abraham's Castle; here was a hospital which distributed bread, etc. Reissb. p. 186. This implies, that there was a second castle of St. Abraham distinct from Hebron, and a second castle of St. Samuel between Hebron and Sükkariyeh. But Fabri, who was in the same party, says not a word of all this; and the whole is obviously a mere figment, arising out of a gross misapprehension of Tucher's language, which the writer copies in order to supply his own deficiencies. It furnishes one instance of the higher value of Fabri's testimony in general, as compared with that of Breydenbach. Yet Breydenbach's account has been copied and credited by Büsching and others; and in consequence, a castle of St. Abraham and another of St. Samuel figure on Berghaus' map, at some distance west of Hebron. See Büsching's *Erdbeschr.* Th. XI. i. p. 449. Bachiene Th. II. ii. p. 348.

NOTE XXXII.—Page 41.

THE "DESERT" NEAR GAZA. In Acts 8, 26, Philip is directed to go from Samaria "toward the south, unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert;" ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. Here αὕτη may refer either to ὁδὸν (way) or to Gaza. The facts in the history of Gaza given in the text, render it improbable that the city is here meant; although there is a possibility, that Luke might have written just after the destruction of Gaza about A. D. 65; and thus have been led from the novelty of the event to mention it. On this hypothesis, the words must belong, not to the angel, but to Luke, as a mere parenthetical remark. If attributed to the angel, and understood in this sense, it is difficult to see what bearing they could have upon his instructions to Philip; since the latter was not to go to Gaza, but only upon the road leading to it; and this road was the same, whether Gaza was desolate or not.

More probable therefore is it, that the term "desert" is to be referred to the road on which Philip should find the eunuch; and was indeed meant as a description, to point out to him the particular road, where he should fall in with the latter. This was the more necessary, because there were several ways leading from Jerusalem to Gaza. The most frequented at the present day, although the longest, is the way by Ramleh. Anciently there appear to have been two more direct roads; one down the great Wady es-Sarâr by Beth-shemesh, and then passing near Tell es-Safieh; the other, through Wady el-Musûrr to Betogabra or Eleutheropolis, and thence to Gaza through a more southern tract. Both these roads exist at the present day; and the latter now actually passes through the desert; that is, through a tract of country without villages, inhabited only by nomadic Arabs. This is more particularly described in the subsequent pages of the text.

If we may suppose the case to have been the same, or nearly so, when the book of Acts was written, the explanation becomes easy; for the chief difficulty has ever been, to show how this region, in itself so fertile, could be called "desert." That the district was at that time in like manner deserted, is not improbable. In the days of the Maccabees, the

Idumeans had taken possession of Judea as far north as to Hebron, Adora, and Marissa, cities lying on or near the mountains; where they were subdued and compelled to embrace Judaism; 1 Macc. 5, 65. Joseph. Antiq. 13. 9. 1. ib. 15. 7. 9. This serves to show, that the southern part of Judea was no longer occupied by the Jews themselves; nor is there any mention of cities or villages in the plain between Gaza and the mountains, later than the time of Nehemiah. It seems therefore probable, that even then the migratory hordes of the southern desert had spread themselves further to the north; and thus connected this tract, as at the present day, with their own "desert."

When Jerome says that in his time "the site of ancient Gaza presented only vestiges of foundations, and the city of that day stood in a different spot," this seems only an hypothesis of his own, in order to make out the fulfilment of prophecy; Zeph. 2, 4. Amos 1, 7. Eusebius has nothing of the kind; and it is inconsistent with all other historical accounts. See Onomast. art. *Gaza*.

When we were at Tell el-Hasy, and saw the water standing along the bottom of the adjacent Wady, we could not but remark the coincidence of several circumstances with the account of the eunuch's baptism. This water is on the most direct route from Beit Jibrin to Gaza, on the most southern road from Jerusalem, and in the midst of the country now "desert," i. e. without villages or fixed habitations. The thought struck us, that this might not improbably be the place of water described. There is at present no other similar water on this road; and various circumstances—the way to Gaza, the chariot, and the subsequent finding of Philip at Azotus—all go to show that the transaction took place in or near the plain.

NOTE XXXIII.—Page 52.

INSCRIPTIONS AT BEIT JIBRIN. The two following inscriptions in old Oufic, were copied by Mr Smith in the cavern with a small fountain. N. E. of the ruined church of Santa Hanneh, near Beit Jibrin. Through the kindness of Professor Roediger of Halle, I am enabled to subjoin their probable form in modern Arabic, with a translation. It will be seen that they are the work of visitors, and afford no information respecting the caverns.

L

الله اعلى سله رلس هـ
 لا اله الا الله

الله ابن [ان] سليمان يشهد O God! Ibn Suleimān testifies,
 انه لا اله الا الله that there is no god but God.

II.

اللهم
اعمد لنا
لكل عسر
والكل

اللهم
اغفر ليزيد
بن عمر
ابن [ان] الكندي

O God!
Forgive thou Yez-
id 'bn 'Omar
Ibn el-Kandy.

NOTE XXXIV.—Page 64.

VICUS BETAGABÆORUM. A village of this name is mentioned in the Life of St. Euthymius (ob. 473) by Cyril of Scythopolis, as situated in the region of Gaza and Eleutheropolis; and Reland supposes it to be the same with Betogabra; Palæst. p. 627. This biography is found in the Greek original in Cotelieri Monum. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, Tom. II. p. 200 sq. The Latin version of G. Hervetus is given by Surius under Jan. 20th, and also by Bolland in Acta Sanctor. Jan. Tom. II. p. 298 sq. The passage in question occurs in § 150 of the Life, Cotelier. p. 328. Bolland p. 326.

The writer, after enumerating several miracles of St. Euthymius, proceeds to recount another which took place in the village of the Betagabæans (κατὰ τὴν Βηταγαβαίων κώμην, in *vico Betagabæorum*). There was in the monastery of St. Euthymius a presbyter named Achthabius, who had practised there a life of obedience to Christ for forty-five years. This man had a brother, called Romanus, in the village of the Tagabæans, (ἐν τῇ Ταγαβαίων, in *vico Tagabæorum*), twelve miles from Gaza, who was unlike him in every particular, living luxuriously and dissolutely. A certain person, envying the latter his wealth, plotted to deprive him of it; but not at first succeeding, he went to Eleutheropolis, and engaged a magician (γόης) to use his arts against him. In this way the sufferer was thrown into a stupor and dropsy; of which he was at length miraculously healed by St. Euthymius in a vision.

On this passage it is to be remarked, that the village of the Betagabæans and Tagabæans is here obviously one and the same; and the name should therefore be written alike in both places. It is indeed so written (Βηταγαβαίων), probably by emendation, in the Greek of Cotelier; but the version of Hervetus (collated by Bolland) has "Tagabæorum" in the second instance, showing that his Greek copy had the same reading.

—Again, this village was not itself Eleutheropolis, but lay apparently between that city and Gaza; or at least lay from Gaza somewhere in the direction of Eleutheropolis.—Further and mainly, the village was not Betogabra; for admitting the reading Betagabæi (Βηταγαβαίων) to be correct, the omission of the *r* would be a very unusual circumstance; this letter being (after 'Ain) the most tenacious of the whole alphabet, and being very rarely dropped, if in any other instance. Besides, the village in question lay twelve Roman miles from Gaza, while Beit Jibrin (Betogabra) is about eight hours or twenty-four Roman miles distant from that city. I hold therefore that "vicus Tagabæorum" (Ταγαβαίων) is probably the true reading; while the other form may be supposed to have crept in later, among monkish transcribers, by confounding it with Betogabra. This was the more natural; as the village was probably unknown to them; and the name of Beit Jibrin was again current in the centuries before the crusades.

This conclusion is strengthened, by the actual existence at the present day, of what appears to have been the original name of the village in question. From Um Lâkis, we saw and took the bearing of a deserted site called Tûbakah or Tûbakah, lying S. 10° E. in the country of Hasy, between Hûj and Tell el-Hasy, about four hours or twelve Roman miles from Gaza, half way to Beit Jibrin. (See page 47.) The position corresponds very exactly to that of the "vicus Tagabæorum." This name too, on Greek lips, could hardly be expected to escape with less perversion; especially when monkish transcribers probably held it to be the same as Betogabra, and assimilated it to that form.

NOTE XXXV.—Page 107.

ZOAR. In the text I have brought forward the reasons which show conclusively, that the modern ez-Zuweirah has no relation to the ancient Zoar. The object of this note is, to present the testimonies on which those arguments rest, and to collect some further historical notices of the ancient Zoar.

Abulfeda repeatedly speaks of Zoghar (Zoar) as a place adjacent to the Dead Sea and Ghôr. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 8 bis, 9, 11, 148. Ibn el-Wardi ib. p. 178. Abulfeda also calls the Dead Sea itself "Lake of Zoghar;" ibid. p. 12, 148, 156. Edrisi, in the manuscript used by Jaubert, has Zu'ara; though the Latin version everywhere reads Zoghar; p. 338.

That Zoar lay near and in sight of Sodom, and also in or adjacent to the plain, so as to be exposed to the same destruction as the other cities, is apparent from Gen. 19, 19–21; where the angel exempts Zoar from overthrow at the entreaty of Lot.

That the ancient Zoar lay on the east side of the Dead Sea, appears from several considerations, which seem to be decisive. Lot ascended from it into the mountain, where his daughters bore each a son; and these became the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites; Gen. 19, 30. 37. 38. Now the Moabites and Ammonites both dwelt in the eastern mountains; and the purpose of the sacred writer, is here obviously to recount in what way these mountains became peopled, viz. by an

VOL. II.—44.

event which took place on the spot. Further, Josephus in speaking of this city, calls it "Zoar of Arabia," *μέχρι Ζοάρων τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ*, B. J. 4. 8. 4. But the Arabia of Josephus was on the east of the Dead Sea; and the name is never applied to the mountains west of the sea, which belonged to Judea. Bell. Jud. 4. 8. 4.

To the same effect are various testimonies of Eusebius and Jerome, chiefly in the Onomasticon. Thus in the article *Luith*, they say this was a village situated between Areopolis and Zoar. But Areopolis was Ar of Moab, called also Rabbath Moab, and lay on the eastern mountains some hours north of Kerak; where its name and remains exist at the present day. See Reland Palæst. pp. 577, 957. Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. XVIII. p. 433. Burekhardt p. 377. Irby and Mangles p. 456. [141.] Again in the art. *Nemrim*, they speak of a village Benamerium (Beth Nimrin) as lying north of Zoar; and Nimrin, as we have seen, lay east of the Jordan overagainst Jericho. See Text, Vol. I. p. 551.—Further, Phannon is said by them to be situated between Petra and Zoar; art. *Fenon*, *Φινών*.—Last of all, Jerome expressly affirms, that Zoar was in the borders of Moab: "Se:or in finibus Moabitarum sita est, dividens ab iis terram Philistiim;" Comm. in Esa. xv. 5. He is here speaking of Zoar as being the key (vectes) of Moab towards the west.

In like manner, the crusaders in the expedition of king Baldwin I, to the country S. E. of the Dead Sea in A. D. 1100, after marching from Hebron and descending into the Ghôr, proceeded around the south end of the lake, (*girato autem lacu a parte australi*,) and came at length to the place called Segor, doubtless the Zoghar of Abulfeda. From this point they began to enter the eastern mountains. Fulcher Carn. 23. p. 405. Will. Tyr. 10. 8.

All these circumstances seem to me decisive as to the position of Zoar on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, at the foot of the mountains, near its southern end. Josephus and Eusebius indeed expressly describe the sea, the one as extending to Zoar, and the other as lying between Jericho and that place; Jo eph. B. J. 4. 8. 4. Onomast. art. *Mare Salinarum*. This would still be true in a general sense, supposing Zoar to have stood, as I have assumed in the text, in the mouth of Wady Kerak, where it issues upon the isthmus of the peninsula. This point is in fact the southern end of the broad part of the sea; the water which extends further south forming rather a bay; while the site in question is hardly more distant from the southern extremity even of this bay, than Jericho is from the north end of the sea. Further, this position of Zoar seems to me to be strongly implied in the notice of Eusebius above quoted, which places Luith between Areopolis and Zoar; for had Zoar lain further south, for instance at the mouth of Wady el-Ahsy, (the present Sâfieh,) it would have been far more natural to say, that Luith lay between Charac-Moab (Kerak) and Zoar. So too Jerome's account of Zoar as the *vectes* of Moab against Palestine, points to the same conclusion; for Wady Kerak was (and is to the present day) the great road between southern Judæa and the country of Moab.

The account given of the lower part of Wady Kerak by Irby and Mangles, is as follows: "All this tract might be, and probably has been irrigated; for it would be easy to dam up the brook and conduct it in

almost every direction. The form of fields, and even the marks of furrows, are to be seen; and some ruins like those of cottages, or of a small hamlet. Lower down there is very clearly an ancient site; stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unhewn, are strewed over a great surface of uneven ground, and mixed both with bricks and pottery. This appearance continues without interruption, during the space of at least half a mile, quite down to the plain; so that it would seem to have been a place of considerable extent. We noticed one column, and we found a pretty specimen of antique variegated glass; it may possibly be the site of the ancient Zoar. Near these remains, the Wady opens from its glen into the plain to the northward by a nook, where there is a wall of rude brick, with an arched doorway." *Travels* p. 447, sq. [138.]

The preceding considerations seem to me sufficiently to bear out all the positions taken in the text relative to the ancient Zoar. A few other historical notices may properly find their place here.

The earliest name of Zoar was Bela, Gen. 14, 2. In the Septuagint the name Zoar is written *Σηγόρ*, Segor; Josephus gives it by *Ζωαρα*, Zoara; while Eusebius and Jerome use both forms. After the destruction of the cities of the plain, Zoar continued to exist as a city of Moab; Deut. 34, 3. Is. 15, 5. Jer. 48, 34. It is never mentioned as belonging to Judea; except where Josephus speaks of it as having been wrested from the Arabians by Alexander Jannæus, *Antiq.* 14. 1. 4. Ptolemy also assigns it to Arabia Petræa; see *Reland Palæst.* p. 463. Eusebius and Jerome describe it in their day as having many inhabitants and a Roman garrison; *Onomast. art. Bala*. Stephen of Byzantium calls it a large village and a fortress; *Reland Palæst.* p. 1065. In the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* it is mentioned as the seat of a bishop in the Third Palestine, down to the centuries preceding the crusades; *Reland* pp. 217, 223, 226; comp. p. 230. The crusaders appear to have found the name Segor (Zoghar) still extant; and describe the place as pleasantly situated with many palm trees; *Fulcher Carnot.* 23. p. 405. *Will. Tyr.* 10. 8. Hence they also call it *Villa Palmarum*, and likewise *Paumier* or *Palmer*; *Albert. Aq.* 7. 41, 42. *Jac. de Vit.* 53. p. 1076. *Will. Tyr.* 22. 30. But, as in the case of Jericho and 'Ain Jidy, the palm trees have here also disappeared; and although the name of Zoghar appears to have existed in Abulfeda's time, yet we have no further notices of the city itself.

In view of all this testimony, M. de Sauley ought not to assume, so lightly as he has done, the identity of the names and position of Zoar and Zuweirah. *Narrat.* I. p. 481, 482.

NOTE XXXVI.—Pages 152, 173.

TOMB OF AARON. The following account is given by Irby and Mangles of their ascent of Mount Hor in 1818, and of the Muhammedan Wely dedicated to Neby Hârûn on the summit. *Travels* p. 434 sq. [134.]

"We engaged an Arab shepherd as our guide, and leaving Abu Ra-

shid with our servants and horses, where the steepness of the ascent commences, we began to mount the track, which is extremely steep and toilsome, and affords but an indifferent footing. In most parts the pilgrim must pick his way as he can, and frequently on his hands and knees. Where by nature it would have been impassable, there are flights of rude steps, or inclined planes, constructed of stones laid together; and here and there are niches to receive the footsteps, cut in the live rock. The impressions of pilgrims' feet are scratched in the rock in many places; but without inscriptions. Much juniper grows on the mountain, almost to the very summit, and many flowering plants which we had not observed elsewhere; some of these are very beautiful; most of them are thorny. On the top there is an overhanging shelf in the rock, which forms a sort of cavern; here we found a skin of extremely bad water, suspended for drinking, and a pallet of straw, with the pitcher and other poor utensils of the Sheikh who resides here. He is a decrepit old man, who has lived here during the space of forty years, and occasionally endured the fatigue of descending and reascending the mountain.

"The tomb itself is enclosed in a small building, differing not at all in external form and appearance from those of Muhammedan saints, common throughout every province of Turkey. It has probably been rebuilt at no remote period; some small columns are bedded in the walls, and some fragments of granite, and slabs of white marble are lying about. The door is near the southwest angle; within which a tomb, with a pall thrown over it, presents itself immediately on entering; it is patched together out of fragments of stone and marble, that have made part of other fabrics. Upon one of these are several short lines in the Hebrew character, cut in a slovenly manner; we had them interpreted at Acre, and they proved to be merely the names of a Jew and his family who had scratched this record. . . There are rags and shreds of yarn with glass beads and paras, left as votive offerings by the Arabs.

"Not far from the northwest angle is a passage, descending by steps to a vault or grotto beneath, for we were uncertain which to call it, being covered with so thick a coat of whitewash, that it is difficult to distinguish whether it is built or hollowed out. It appeared, in great part at least, a grotto; the roof is covered, but the whole is rude, ill-fashioned, and quite dark. The Sheikh, who was not informed that we were Christians, furnished us with a lamp of butter. Towards the further end of this dark vault lie the two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb of the prophet; they have, however, been thrown down, and we advanced so as to touch it; it was covered by a ragged pall. We were obliged to descend barefooted; and were not without some apprehension of treading on scorpions or other reptiles in such a place.

"The view from the summit of the edifice is extremely extensive in every direction; but the eye rests on few objects, which it can clearly distinguish and give a name to; though an excellent idea is obtained of the general face and features of the country. . . An artist who would study rock scenery in all its wildest and most extravagant forms, and in colours which, to one who has not seen them, would scarcely ap-

pear to be in nature, would find himself rewarded, should he resort to Mount Hor for that sole purpose.

"We had employed just an hour in the ascent; and found that our return to the place where we had left our horses, occupied the same time."

Mr Legh who accompanied Irby and Mangles, says: "Against the walls of the upper apartment were suspended beads, bits of cloth and leather, votive offerings left by the devotees; on one side, let into the wall, we were shown a dark-looking stone, that was reputed to possess considerable virtues in the cure of diseases, and to have formerly served as a seat to the prophet." According to Mr Stephens, ostrich eggs have since been added to the other offerings here suspended; Incidents, etc. II. p. 95. Schubert found, near the top of the mountain, many fragments of pottery and bits of coloured glass; but the convent which he speaks of as having once stood here, seems to have no sufficient historical foundation; Reise II. p. 420, 421.

The irregular form of the summit of Mount Hor, has already been alluded to; Text p. 125. The date of the tomb of Aaron goes back beyond the time of the crusaders, who already found here an oratory or Wely; Gesta Dei p. 581. Fulch. Carnot. ib. p. 405.—The old Sheikh who formerly resided on the mountain has long been dead; his place as keeper of the Wely was now occupied by an inhabitant of Eljy, who occasionally visits the spot. He was present during our affair at Wady Musa, and strongly took our part; probably not being willing to forego the benefit which might be expected to accrue to himself, should we ascend the mountain.

NOTE XXXVII.—Page 171, 173.

PETRA. Two or three questions respecting the various names applied to Petra, and also respecting the application of this name to other places, remain to be investigated.

Josephus relates, that the most ancient name of Petra was *Arke* or *Arekeme* (Ἀρκή, Ἀρεκέμη), and that it was so called from its founder Rekem (רַעְמָה), one of the Midianitish kings slain by the Israelites; Num. 31, 8. Joseph. Ant. 4. 4. 7. ib. 4. 7. 1. But this seems to be somewhat doubtful; for the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan apply the name Rekem (רַעְמָה) not to Petra, but to Kadesh; Gen. 16, 14. 20, 1. Eusebius and Jerome, indeed, speak of Rekem as the Syrian name for Petra; but as in another place they cite Josephus as their authority for this assertion, it would seem that they in no case speak from their own knowledge; O. nomast. arts. *Petra*, *Recem*, comp. art. *Arcem*.

There seems to be no further very definite ancient notice of this name; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Abulfeda describes a place called er-Rakim, which in its character would well correspond to Wady Mûsa: "Among the noted towns of Syria is er-Rakim, a small place near the Belka, the houses of which are all cut in the live rock, as if of one stone;" Tab. Syr. p. 11. This is accordingly assumed by Schultens and others, as the Arekem of Josephus and the Petra of the Greeks; Vita Salad. Index art. *Errakimum*. Busching Th. XI. i. p. 508. But the position near the Belka is inconsistent with such

an hypothesis; and the matter is set at rest by another passage in the same author. In his *Annals*, Abulfeda speaks of the same place as near to Kerak; and relates that Nureddin, marching from Damascus to Kerak, advanced as far as to er-Rakim and there turned back. It lay therefore north of Kerak. Abulf. *Annal. Musl.* ad A. H. 568. Schult. Excerpt. in Vit. Sal. p. 15. See Gesenius *Comm. zu Jes.* 16, 1. p. 537. The excavated dwellings found by Seetzen, which Gesenius refers to this place, were situated far to the north both of the Belka and of Jebel 'Ajlun; Zach's *Monatl. Corr.* XVIII. pp. 355, 356.

Equally untenable is the hypothesis first suggested by Bochart, which identifies Petra or Wady Mûsa with the place called by Arabian writers el-Hijr, where are excavated caverns. Bochart was probably led to it by the Chaldee form *ܡܝܫܐ* Gen. 16, 14. 20, 1; which the Targum of Onkelos there reads instead of Bered and Shur. He and others also read the Arabic name as *el-Hajr* (a stone), and held it therefore to be synonymous with the name Petra; although it is properly written with Kesrah, *el-Hijr*, and has no such meaning. See Freytag's *Lex. Arab.* I. pp. 345, 346. Bochart *Geogr. Sacr.* p. 688. Bernard on Joseph. *Ant.* 4. 4. 7. ed. Haverc. Reland *Pal.* p. 933.

But apart from all this, the place called el-Hijr lay at least eight days' journey south from Wady Mûsa, and therefore cannot be brought into any connection with Petra. Edrisi says that Tebuk lies between el-Hijr and the border of Syria, four days' journey from the latter; and on the present route of the Syrian Haj, Tebuk is also four days south of Ma'an; Edrisi par Jaubert p. 333. Burckhardt's *Travels* App. pp. 658, 659. Further, Edrisi, in describing the same Syrian route, places el-Hijr at four days from Tebuk towards Medina; ib. pp. 359, 360. Burckhardt's notices do not mention el-Hijr; probably because the Haj at the present day, south of Tebuk, takes a more western route; ib. p. 659.—The supposed identity of el-Hijr with Petra is properly denied by Bernard and Schultens, as above quoted; and also by Gesenius, *Comm. zu Jes.* 16, 1. p. 537. The latter however refers by oversight to Rommel's Abulfeda, p. 84; where the writer is speaking of another el-Hijr, situated in the interior province Yemâmeh. See Abulf. *Tab. Arab.* ed. Hudson, pp. 37, 60. Edrisi ib. pp. 154, 155.

Thus far of Arabian writers. We turn now to another question: Whether, as has been assumed, there existed anciently more than one city of the name of Petra? It may first be proper to remark, that as early as the beginning of the fourth century, the general name of Palestine had been so extended as to include the whole of Arabia Petræa, quite to Ailah. Thus at the council of Nicea A. D. 325, among the bishops of Palestine whose subscriptions are there preserved, is the name of Peter, bishop of Ailah; and Jerome, paraphrasing Eusebius, places Ailah in the extreme borders of Palestine on the Red Sea; Onomast. art. *Ailath*. Labbe *Concil.* Tom. II. c. 51. Le Quien *Oriens Chr.* III. p. 759. Hence Eusebius, writing about A. D. 330, could with propriety speak of Petra, sometimes as a city of Arabia and sometimes as belonging to Palestine. Thus Onomast. art. *Petra*: "Petra civitas Arabiæ in terra Edom;" but under the arts. *Arcem* and *Cades*: "Petra civitas nobilis Palestine." When therefore in other writers, we find Petra assigned sometimes to Palestine and sometimes to Arabia, this does not

in itself imply more than one Petra. Reland Pal. p. 926.—Early in the fifth century, as we have seen, this region took the specific name of the Third Palestine. See Text p. 161.

Cellarius assumes a Petra of the Amalekites, distinct from that of Arabia, on the strength of Judg. 1, 36, and 2 Kings 14, 7; where a Petra (Heb. Sela) is spoken of in connection with the ascent of Akrah-bim and with the Valley of Salt; Notit. Orbis II. p. 580. The considerations advanced in the text, show this conjecture to be without solid foundation; see Text p. 169 sq.

At a still earlier period, a Petra of Palestine had been assumed, also as distinct from Petra of Arabia, on the strength of a passage in the works of St. Athanasius; see Geogr. Sacr. Caroli à St. Paulo, Amst. 1711. p. 306. Reland p. 927. The passage is usually referred to as contained in the "Epist. ad solitariam Vitam agentes;" though in the Benedictine edition at least, it is found, not in that epistle, but in the Historia Arianor. § 18, Opera Tom. I. p. 354. Paris 1698: καὶ Ἀρείων μὲν καὶ Ἀστέριον τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ Πετρῶν τῆς Παλαιστίνης τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπισκόπους, "Et Arium quidem et Asterium, illum Petrarum Palestinæ, hunc ex Arabia, episcopos." In another place Athanasius speaks of Asterius alone as bishop of Petra in Arabia: Ἀστέριος Πετρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας, Tomus ad Antioch. § 10. Opera Tom. I. ii. p. 776.

Now, as Reland justly remarks, if there was actually a city called Petra, an episcopal see in Palestine, distinct from that of Arabia, it is certainly very singular, that there should nowhere exist the slightest allusion to it in all the subscriptions of councils, in the various ecclesiastical Notitiæ, and in the numerous writings of Eusebius and Jerome, who were cotemporary with Athanasius, and lived in and wrote expressly upon Palestine. This remark affords strong ground to suspect a corruption of the text in the passage of Athanasius; which, as Reland has acutely shown, might very easily take place. Either the word Πετρῶν has been transposed from its proper place, so that we ought to read: τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Πετρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας,—or, as is more probable, the word Πετρῶν was at first a gloss in the margin, afterwards inserted in the text in the wrong place. On the latter supposition, no city was originally mentioned, but the text stood thus: τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας. That this is the true reading is rendered the more probable from the fact, that Athanasius himself in another place uses the very same formula: Μακαρίου ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης καὶ Ἀστερίου ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας, Apol. contra Arianos § 48. Opp. Tom. I. p. 166. (Here we have obviously the corruption Μακαρίου for Ἀστίου.) The same reading is also supported by two like passages in the historical fragment of Hilarius, where he speaks of the same bishops, p. 188: "Arium ex Palestina et Stephanum (Asterium) de Arabia;" and p. 1293: "Arius a Palestina, Asturus (Asterius) ab Arabia." See Reland Palæst. p. 928.—The preceding considerations seem to me completely to do away the authority of this isolated and unsupported passage of Athanasius.

One other point of confusion remains to be noticed. We have seen in the text, that the crusaders thought they found Petra in Kerak; to which they accordingly gave the name of "Petra deserti," and established there a Latin bishopric; see Text pp. 166, 167. There can be no question

that their "Petra deserti" was Kerak; for besides the passages cited in the text, William of Tyre writes expressly, 20. 28: "Secundæ Arabiæ metropolim Petram, quæ alio nomine Crac appellatur;" and again, 22. 28: "Urbem cui nomen pristinum Petra deserti, modernum vero Crach." So too Jacob de Vitry c. 56, p. 1077: "Est autem Petra civitas munitissima, quæ vulgari nomine hodie dicitur Crac et Petra deserti;" and he goes on to say correctly: "Est autem juxta urbem antiquissimam, quæ dicitur Rabbath;" meaning the ruins of Rabbah still found two or three hours north of Kerak.

I have also already alluded to the fact, that after the destruction of the ancient Petra, the metropolitan see of the Third Palestine was transferred to Rabbah; as appears from the two later Latin *Notitiæ*, in which the name of Petra is not found, but Rabbah stands as the metropolis; Reland Pal. pp. 223, 226. See Text, p. 166. But now, on the strength of two doubtful passages, it has been held, that the name of Petra deserti was also sometimes applied in like manner to Rabbah. See Raumer Pal. p. 412 sq. The first passage is the title inscribed over one of the Latin *Notitiæ* abovementioned: *Sedes tertia Arraba Moabitis, id est Petra deserti*. These last words are obviously nothing more than a gloss, added by the Latin transcriber or compiler; implying only, that, as he supposed, the metropolitan seat of Rabbah was once known as that of Petra deserti.—The other passage is in William of Tyre, 15. 21: "Castrum ædificavit cui nomen Crach, . . . juxta urbem antiquissimam ejusdem Arabiæ metropolim, prius dictam Raba, . . . postea vero dicta est Petra deserti." But this is in direct contradiction with himself and the other historians of the crusades. Thus he says in 22. 28: "Urbem cui nomen pristinum Petra deserti, modernum vero Crach." See too the other references just above, and Text, pp. 163, 164, 166, 167. Hence it is a natural supposition, that the statement of the passage in question was a *lapsus* either of the author, or more probably of some transcriber.—The later confused and erroneous notices of Brocardus and Marinus Sanutus need not here be taken into the account.

The general result then of the inquiries in the present note, is the following, viz. That there was in ancient times only a single city called Petra, which is spoken of successively and sometimes indiscriminately as belonging to Edom, Arabia, and Palestine, and whose remains are still seen in Wady Musa; that to this city, whether as existing or in ruins, as Petra or as Wady Musa, Arabian writers, so far as yet known, make no allusion earlier than the 13th and 15th centuries; and that the crusaders transferred the name of Petra (Petra deserti) to Kerak, and to that place alone.

NOTE XXXVIII.—Page 192.

CATASTROPHE OF SODOM. The following is the original of the letter of L. von Buch, given in the text.

Berlin, 20 April, 1839.

MONSIEUR,

C'est plutôt pour répondre à l'honorable confiance que vous voulez

avoir en moi, que dans l'espérance de pouvoir vous faire une observation digne de vous être présentée, que je vous adresse ces lignes.

La vallée du Jourdain est une *crevasse*, qui s'étend depuis le Liban jusqu'à la mer Rouge sans interruption. Voilà, à ce qui me semble, le résultat de vos recherches, comme de celles de Mr de Bertou et Mr Callier, qui, malgré ce fait, en veulent à Mr Ritter pour avoir dit la même chose. Ces longues crevasses, fréquentes surtout dans les montagnes calcaires, donnent la configuration à nos continents. Si elles sont très larges et profondes, elles donnent passage aux montagnes primitives, qui, par cette raison, forment des *chaînes*, dans une direction, que la crevasse leur a prescrite. On peut donc s'attendre à un plus grand développement des agents volcaniques au fond de cette crevasse, que sur les hauteurs.

Le sel gemme est, d'après les recherches les plus récentes, un produit d'une action volcanique ou plutonique le long d'une ouverture de cette nature. Mais, les sources d'asphalte ou de bitume le sont aussi; comme le prouvent la quantité de sources de bitume depuis le pied du Zagros aux environs de Bassorah jusqu'à Mosul, et aussi à Bakou; comme le prouvent encore la source de bitume dans le golfe de Naples, et à Mellilli près de Siracuse; comme le prouvent les sources de bitume sur l'île de Zante, et même le bitume de Seyssel dont on fait les trottoirs à Paris.

L'Asphalte de la mer Morte n'est vraisemblablement que le bitume consolidé au fond du lac, qui ne peut pas s'écouler, et forme par conséquent une couche sur le fond, comme à l'île de Trinidad. Il est assez vraisemblable, que cette accumulation se soit faite dans les temps reculés, comme de nos jours; et si des actions volcaniques, une élévation du terrain, et des tremblements de terre ont mis au jour des masses d'asphalte analogues à celle que vous avez décrite, (phénomène de la plus haute importance, inconnu jusqu'ici,) on peut très bien concevoir la conflagration de cités entières par l'inflammation de matières si éminemment combustibles.

Si on pouvait découvrir quelque masse basaltique dans la partie méridionale ou vers l'extrémité sud de la mer Morte, on pouvait croire, qu'un "dyke" basaltique se soit fait jour lors de la célèbre catastrophe, comme cela est arrivé en 1820 près de l'île de Banda, et dans un autre temps au pied du volcan de Ternate. (Descript. phys. des Iles Canaries, p. 412, 433.) Les mouvements qui accompagnent la sortie d'un tel "dyke" sont bien en état de produire tous les phénomènes, qui ont changés cette contrée intéressante, sans exercer une influence très marquée sur la forme et la configuration des montagnes à l'entour.

La fertilité du sol dépend quelquefois de très légers accidents. Il n'est pas probable, que le bitume soit propre pour l'augmenter. Mais il est bien possible, que les mouvements du terrain ont pu mettre au jour une plus grande masse de sel gemme, qui entraîné par les eaux vers le fond de la vallée, suffirait pour lui ôter sa productibilité. Le sel gemme n'aurait pas tant frappé Lot, pour s'imaginer que sa femme eût été changée en sel, si on avait eu connaissance de son existence entre les couenes de toute la montagne, avant la catastrophe mémorable.

Il faut espérer, que la Société géologique de Londres, si active, voudra bien un jour envoyer un de ses membres, pour éclairer avec le flambeau de la Géologie des faits qui intéressent tout le monde. Mais

il faudrait rechercher toute la constitution géologique et du Liban et de toute la vallée du Jourdain, depuis Tiberias jusqu'à Akaba.

Je conçois, Monsieur, que toute ceci doit peu vous contenter. Mais, je pense qu'il est téméraire de se faire une théorie sur des faits, dont on n'a pas du moins observé soi-même les résultats.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et obéissant,

LEOPOLD DE BUCH.

NOTE XXXIX.—Page 195.

STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES. The following Table, arranged in accordance with the suggestions advanced in the text, presents a synoptical view of all the stations of the Israelites enumerated, from their departure out of Egypt until their arrival overagainst Jericho.

1. *From Egypt to Sinai.*

Exodus c. 12–19.

From Rameses, 12, 37.

1. Succoth, 12, 37.
2. Etham, 13, 20.
3. Pi-haheroth, 14, 2.
4. Passage through the Red Sea, 14, 22; and three days' march into the desert of Shur, 15, 22.
5. Marah, 15, 23.
6. Elim, 15, 27.
7. Desert of Sin, 16, 1.
8. Rephidim, 17, 1.
9. Desert of Sinai, 19, 1.

Numbers c. 33.

From Rameses, verse 3.

- Succoth, vs. 5.
- Etham, vs. 6.
- Pi-haheroth, vs. 7.
- Passage through the Red Sea, and three days' march in the desert of Etham, vs. 8.
- Marah, vs. 8.
- Elim, vs. 9.
- Encampment by the Red Sea, vs. 10.
- Desert of Sin, vs. 11.
- Dophka, vs. 12.
- Alush, vs. 13.
- Rephidim, vs. 14.
- Desert of Sinai, vs. 15.

2. *From Sinai to Kadesh the second time.*

Numbers c. 10–20.

- From the desert of Sinai, 10, 12.
13. Taberah, 11, 3. Deut 9, 22.
14. Kibroth-hattaavah, 11, 34.
15. Hazeroth, 11, 35.
16. Kadesh, in the desert of Paran, 12, 16. 13, 26. Deut. 1, 2. 19. Hence they turn back and wander for 'thirty-eight years; Num. 14, 25 sq.

Numbers c. 33.

From the desert of Sinai, vs. 16.

- Kibroth-hattaavah, vs. 16.
- Hazeroth, vs. 17.

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| 17. | Rithma, vs. 18. |
| 18. | Rimmon-parez, vs. 10. |
| 19. | Libnah, vs. 20. |
| 20. | Rissah, vs. 21. |
| 21. | Khelathah, vs. 22. |
| 22. | Mount Shapher, vs. 23. |
| 23. | Haradah, vs. 24. |
| 24. | Makheloth, vs. 25. |
| 25. | Tahath, vs. 26. |
| 26. | Tarah, vs. 27. |
| 27. | Mithcah, vs. 28. |
| 28. | Hashmonah, vs. 29. |
| 29. | Moseroth, vs. 30. |
| 30. | Bene-jaakan, vs. 31. |
| 31. | Hor-hagidgad, vs. 32. |
| 32. | Jotbathah, vs. 33. |
| 33. | Ebronah, vs. 34. |
| 34. | Ezion-gaber, vs. 35. |
| 35. Return to Kadesh, Num. 20, 1. | Kadesh, vs. 36. |

3. *From Kadesh to the Jordan.*

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| Num. cc. 20. 21. Deut. cc. | Numbers, c. 33. |
| 1. 2. 10. | |
| From Kadesh, Num. 20, 22. | From Kadesh, vs. 37. |
| 36. Beeroth Bene-jaakan, Deut. 10, 6. | |
| 37. Mount Hor, Num. 20, 22; or Mosera, Deut. 10, 6; where Aaron died. | Mount Hor, vs. 37. |
| 38. Gudgodah, Deut. 10, 7. | |
| 39. Jotbath, Deut. 10, 7. | |
| 40. Way of the Red Sea, Num. 21, 4; by Elath and Ezion-gaber, Deut. 2, 8. | |
| 41. | Zalmonah, vs. 41. |
| 42. | Punon, vs. 42. |
| 43. Oboth, Num. 21, 10. | Oboth, vs. 43. |
| 44. Ije-abarim, Num. 21, 11. | Ije-abarim, or Iim, vs. 44. 45 |
| 45. The brook Zered, Num. 21, 12. Deut. 2, 13. 14. | |
| 46. The brook Arnon, Num. 21, 13. Deut. 2, 24. | |
| 47. | Dibon-gad, vs. 45; now Dhiban. |
| 48. | Almon-diblathaim, vs. 46. |
| 49. Beer (well) in the desert. Num. 21, 16. 18. | |
| 50. Mattanah, 21, 18. | |
| 51. Nahaliel, 21, 19. | |
| 52. Bamoth, 21, 19. | |

53. Pisgah, put for the range of Mountains of Abarim, near to Nebo, Abarim, of which Pisgah vs. 47. was part; 21, 20.
54. By the way of Bashan to the Plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho, vs. 48. plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho; Num. 21, 33. 22, 1.

NOTE XL.—Page 243.

ITINERARIES. In April, 1835, the Rev. E. Smith made a journey from Beirût along the coast to Yâfa, and thence to Jerusalem. There were ladies in the party, and they travelled leisurely. The following Nos. 1 and 2, are from imperfect notes of that journey. No. 3 is from the Rev. Mr. Lanneau, drawn up from his own notes; and gives the usual rate between Jerusalem and Yâfa. In comparing Nos. 2 and 3 the leisure travelling of one party must be taken into account; as well as the fact, that in one case the direction of the journey was up the mountain, and in the other down.

1. *From 'Akka to Yâfa.*

	H. M.		H. M.
From 'Akka		River Zerka	1 40
River Na'mân	20	Kaisâriyeh	35
" el-Mukûtta'	2 15	A river	55
Haifa	30	River Abu Zabûra	1 50
Convent on Carmel	1	Mukhâlid	2
'Athlit	3 20	A brook [Nahr Arsûf]	1 50
A village	1 40	el-Haram	2 40
Tantûra	45	Nahr el-'Aujeh [or Butrus]	2 05
River Belka		Yâfa	2 05

2. *From Yâfa to Jerusalem.*

	H. M.		H. M.
From Yâfa		Kubâb, on the first hills	2
Yâsûr	1	Lâtrôn, foot of Wady 'Aly	1
A village	1	Sâris, top of the mountain	2 30
Ludd	1 35	Kuryet el-'Enab, in a valley	40
er-Ramleh	45	Jerusalem	3 30

3. *From Jerusalem to Yâfa.*

	H. M.		H. M.
From Jerusalem		Kubâb	1
Kulônich	1 30	Ramleh	2
Kuryet el-'Enab	1 30	Sûrafend	30
Sâris	1	Beit Dejan	1
Bâb el-Wady	1	Yâsûr	50
Lâtrôn	1	Yâfa	1

NOTE XLI.—Page 423.

EARTHQUAKE AT SAFED. The following is the Report of Mr Thomson mentioned in the text, so far as it relates to Safed. He reached that place on the 18th of Jan. 1837. The earthquake took place on the 1st of the same month. See *Missionary Herald* for Nov. 1837, p. 436 sq.

"Just before we began to ascend the mountain of Safed, we met our consular agent of Sidon, returning home with his widowed sister. His brother-in-law, a rich merchant of Safed, had been buried up to his neck by the ruins of his fallen house, and in that awful condition remained several days, begging and calling for help, and at last died before any one was found to assist him! As we ascended the steep mountain, we saw several dreadful rents and cracks in the earth and rocks, giving painful indications of what might be expected above. But all anticipations were utterly confounded when the reality burst upon our sight.

"Up to this moment I had refused to credit the accounts; but one frightful glance convinced me, that it was not in the power of language to overstate such a ruin. Suffice it to say that this great town, which seemed to me like a bee-hive four years ago, and was still more so only eighteen days ago, is now no more. Safed *was*, but is not. The Jewish portion, containing a population of five or six thousand, was built around and upon a very steep mountain; so steep, indeed, is the hill, and so compactly built was the town, that the roofs of the lower houses formed the street of the ones above, thus rising like a stairway one over another. And thus, when the tremendous shock dashed every house to the ground in a moment, the first fell upon the second, the second upon the third, that on the next, and so on to the end. And this is the true cause of the almost unprecedented destruction of life. Some of the lower houses are covered to a great depth, with the ruins of many others which were above them. From this cause it also occurred, that a vast number who were not instantaneously killed, perished before they could be dug out; and some were taken out five, six, and one (I was told) seven days after the shock, still alive. One solitary man, who had been a husband and a father, told me, that he found his wife with one child under her arm, and the babe with the breast still in its mouth. He supposed the babe had not been killed by the falling ruins, but had died of hunger, endeavouring to draw nourishment from the breast of its lifeless mother! Parents frequently told me, that they heard the voices of their little ones crying papa, mamma, fainter and fainter, until hushed in death; while they were either struggling in despair, to free themselves, or labouring to remove the fallen timber and rocks from their children.

"What a dismal spectacle! As far as the eye can reach, nothing is seen but one vast chaos of stones and earth, timber and boards, tables, chairs, beds, and clothing, mingled in horrible confusion. Men everywhere at work, worn out and woe-begone, uncovering their houses in search of the mangled and putrified bodies of departed friends; while here and there, I noticed companies of two or three each, clambering over the ruins, bearing a dreadful load of corruption to the narrow house appointed for all living. I covered my face and passed on through the

half-living, wretched remnants of Safed. Some were weeping in despair, and some laughing in callousness still more distressing. Here an old man sat solitary on the wreck of his once crowded house; there a child was at play, too young to realize that it had neither father nor mother, brother nor relative, in the wide world. They flocked around, us husbands that had lost their wives, wives their husbands, parents without children, children without parents, and not a few left as the solitary remnants of large connections. The people were scattered abroad, above and below the ruins, in tents of old boards, old carpets, mats, canvas, brush, and earth, and not a few dwelling in the open air; while some poor wretches, wounded and bruised, were left among the prostrate buildings, every moment exposed to death from the loose rocks around and above them.

"As soon as our tent was pitched, Mr. C. and myself set off to visit the wounded. Creeping under a wretched covering, intended for a tent, the first we came to, we found an emaciated young female lying on the ground, covered with the filthiest garments I ever saw. After examining several wounds, all in a state of mortification, the poor old creature that was waiting on her lifted up the cover of her feet, when a moment's glance convinced me that she could not possibly survive another day. The foot had dropped off, and the flesh also, leaving the leg-bone altogether bare! Sending some laudanum to relieve the intolerable agony of her last hours, we went on to other but equally dreadful scenes. Not to shock the feelings by detailing what we saw, I will only mention one other case; and I do it to show what immense suffering these poor people have endured, for the last eighteen days. Clambering over a heap of ruins, and entering a low vault by a hole, I found eight of the wounded crowded together under a vast pile of crumbling rocks. Some with legs broken in two or three places, others so horribly lacerated and swollen as scarcely to retain the shape of mortals; while all, left without washing, changing bandages, or dressing their wounds, were in such a deplorable state, as rendered it impossible for us to remain with them long enough to do them any good. Although protected by spirits of camphor, breathing through my handkerchief dipped in it, and fortified with a good share of resolution, I was obliged to retreat. Convinced, that while in such charnel-houses as this, without air but such as would be fatal to the life of a healthy person, no medicines would afford relief, we returned to our tent, resolving to erect a large temporary shed of boards, broken doors, and timber, for the accommodation of the wounded. The remainder of our first day was spent in making preparations for erecting this little hospital.

"*Jan. 19th.* This has been a very busy day, but still our work advanced slowly. We found the greatest difficulty to get boards and timber; and when the carpenters came, they were without proper tools. In time, however, we got something in the shape of saws, axes, nails, and mattocks; and all of us labouring hard, before night the result began to appear. The governor visited and greatly praised our work, declaring that he had not thought such a thing could have been erected; and that the government had not been able to obtain half so good a place for its own accommodation. Some of the wounded were brought and laid down before us, long before any part of the slight building was ready

for their reception; and are now actually sheltered in it, although it is altogether unfinished. After dark, I accompanied the priest, to visit the remainder of the Christian population of Safed. They were never numerous, and having lost about one half of their number, are now crowded into one great tent. Several were wounded; to these we gave medicine. Some were orphans, to whom we gave clothing; and the poor people had their necessities supplied, as well as our limited means would justify. Among the survivors is a worthy man, who has long wished to be connected with us, and in whom we have felt much interest. He applied about a year ago to have his son admitted to our high school; but he was then too young. When I left Beirût, it was my intention to bring this lad with me on my return, should he be alive; but alas! the afflicted father has to mourn not only his death, but that of his mother, and of all his beloved family but one.

"The earth continues to tremble and shake. There have been many slight, and some very violent shocks, since we arrived. About three o'clock to day, while I was on the roof of our building nailing down boards, we had a tremendous shock. A cloud of dust arose above the falling ruins, and the people all rushed out from them in dismay. Many began to pray with loud and lamentable cries; and females beat their bare breasts with all their strength, and tore their garments in despair. The workmen threw down their tools and fled. Soon, however, order was restored, and we proceeded as usual. I did not feel this shock, owing to the fact that the roof of the shed was shaking all the time. Once, however, the jerk was so sudden and violent, as to affect my chest and arms precisely like an electric shock.

"*Jan. 20th.* Having finished our work, collected the wounded, distributed medicine and clean bandages for dressing the wounds, and hired a native physician to attend the hospital, we left Safed about half-past one o'clock P. M. and after a pleasant ride of five hours and a half, encamped before the ruins of Tiberias.

"The destruction of life at Tiberias has not been so great, in proportion to the population, as at Safed; owing mainly to the fact, that Tiberias is built on a level plain, and Safed on the declivity of the mountain. Probably about seven hundred perished here, out of a population of twenty-five hundred; while at Safed, four thousand out of five thousand Christians and Jews were killed; and not far from one thousand Mussulmans."

APPENDIX I.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WORKS

ON

PALESTINE, JERUSALEM, AND MOUNT SINAI.

THE following List comprises, with slight exceptions, only such works as have been consulted in the preparation of these volumes. It is, I believe, nearly if not quite complete, down to the time of Breydenbach and Felix Fabri in A. D. 1483. Of the works subsequent to that period, only the more important or more popular are given. Yet the list even of these, at the time of its preparation, was fuller than any other extant. The Royal Library at Berlin, which I had the privilege of using, is rich in this department; and contains a large number of works on Palestine, from the sixteenth century and onward, which I have not found quoted in any catalogue. True, most of them only repeat each other, and are of little value; as is also the case with many of the more modern books of travels. Yet an enumeration of them all, would certainly belong to a catalogue which should claim to be complete.—A full account of some of the earlier travellers may be seen in BECKMANN'S *Literatur der ältern Reisebeschreibungen*, 2 Vols. Götting. 1808–1810.

The works of Josephus, the chief source next to the Bible for the history and antiquities of Palestine, are in all cases cited after the edition of Havercamp, 2 Vols. fol. Amsterd. 1726. The divisions are the same in the edition of Oberthür, 8 Vols. 8vo. Leipz. 1782–5. The portions of the geographical works of Ptolemy (fl. 250), which relate to Palestine, are given in full by Reland, *Palæstina* p. 426 sq. The same is also the case with that part of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* which comprises the Holy Land; *ibid.* p. 421. This remarkable Table owes its name to Peutinger, a scholar and statesman of Augsburg, who was long its possessor. It is a rude chart or delineation of

VOL. II.—45*

the military roads of the Roman empire, with the distances between the towns, constructed not later than the fourth century, and sometimes referred to the reign of Theodosius the Great, about A. D. 380. Hence it occasionally also bears the name of *Tabula Theodosiana*. Mannert and others place its construction under the reign of Alexander Severus, between A. D. 223 and 235. The present copy, the only one known to exist, appears to have been made in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is a long narrow chart, wound on two rollers, one at each end; and is preserved with great care in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Scheyb first published it fully in *fac simile*, fol. Vienna 1753; and Mannert again, fol. Lips. 1829.

The first of the following Lists includes only works by authors who had themselves travelled or resided in Palestine, etc. The second and third comprise geographical descriptions by other writers. The year prefixed to a work is the actual date of the journey or residence in Palestine. Where this is indefinite, *c.* for *circa* is prefixed. A star (*) is likewise put before the more important works.

I. ITINERARIES, JOURNALS, TRAVELS, ETC.

By actual Residents and Travellers.

* *c.* 330–400. EUSEBII ET HIERONYMI *Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum S. S. Græce et Lat. ed. J. Bonfrerio*, fol. Par. 1631, 1639; also in Hieron. Opp. ed. Martianay Tom. II.—*Ed. J. Clerico*, fol. Amst. 1707, appended to Sanson's *Geogr. Sacra*. Reprinted in Ugolini Thesaur. Tom. V.—The work of Eusebius was written in Greek, and translated into Latin by Jerome with many changes and additions. See Text, Vol. I. Sec. VII. p. 254.

The three following Itineraries were published together by P. Wesseling, with Notes, in 1 Vol. 4to, Amst. 1735.

I. ANTONINI AUGUSTI *Itinerarium*; a mere list of names and distances. The date is not known; but the work is obviously later than the Antonines. The portion relating to Palestine is given by Reland; *Palæst.* p. 416 sq.

II. * 333. ITINERARIUM HIEROSOLYMITANUM seu BURDIGALENSE; from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem. The date is known by the mention (under Constantinople) of the consuls Zenophilus and Dalmatius. Reland has given the names and distances of the places mentioned in Palestine; but not the description of Jerusalem and the vicinity, which is important; *Palæst.* p. 415. There are earlier editions of this Itinerary; and the text of Wesseling is reprinted in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*.

NOTE. These two Itineraries have been republished under the title: *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum ed. G. Parthey et M. Pinder*, Berl. 1848. 8vo.

III. HIEROOLIS GRAMMAT. *Synekdemos*, *Græce*, a list of places in Palestine and elsewhere. The date is not known; but the tract is assigned by Wesseling to the early part of the reign of Justinian, *c.* 530; *Prolegom.* p. 626.

* *c.* 373. AMMONII MONACHI *Relatio de sanctis Patribus barbarorum in*

curione in Monte Sinai et Raithu peremptis, Gr. et Lat. in 'Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti Triumphii, ed. F. Combefis,' Lut. Par. 1660. 8vo. p. 88.

* c. 400. ST. NILI MON. EREMITÆ *Narrationes quibus cades Monachorum Montis Sinai describitur, Gr. et Lat.* in 'Sancti Patris NILI Opera quædam nondum edita, ed. Petro Possino,' Lut. Par. 1689. 4. Lat. in *Acta Sanctor.* Jan. Tom. I. p. 953.¹

c. 600. *Itinerarium B. ANTONINI MARTYRIS (seu PLACENTINI) ex Museo Menardi, Juliomagi-Andium (Angers) 1640. 4.* Printed from another manuscript in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii T. II. p. x. Ugolini Thesaur. Tom. VII.—The date of this Itinerary is uncertain; but it appears to be later than the time of Justinian (ob. 565) and earlier than the Muhammedan conquests.

* c. 697. ADAMNANUS (ex ARCULEO) *de Locis Sanctis Libri III, ed. Gretsero*, Ingoldst. 1619; reprinted in Gretseri Opp. Tom. IV. Ratisb. 1734. Printed also in Mabillon *Acta Sanctor.* Ord. Benedict. Sæc. III. P. II. p. 499. English in Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 1 sq.—Arculfus, a French bishop, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was cast away upon the island of Iona on the western coast of Scotland; where Adamnanus was then abbot of the celebrated monastery. The latter wrote down this account of Palestine from the relation of Arculfus; and presented it in A. D. 698 to Alfred, king of Northumberland. The tract of the Venerable Bede *de Locis Sanctis*, printed in his works, is merely an abstract of this work of Adamnanus. See Beckmann, Vol. II. p. 508 sq.

c. 765. ST. WILLIBALDI *Vita seu Hodæporicon*, containing a notice of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land; printed in Canisii Thesaur. Monumentor. Eccl. et Hist. ed. Basnage, Tom. II. P. I. p. 99 sq. Also in Mabillon *Acta Sanctor.* Ord. Benedict. Sæc. III. P. II. p. 365. The latter editor gives the date A. D. 786. English in Wright's *Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 13 sq. St. Willibald was born in England, and became bishop of Eichstätt in Germany A. D. 742. There exist two recensions of this tract, both of which are given by Mabillon. See *Brocardus* below.

c. 870. BERNHARDI (Sapientis Monachi) *Itinerarium in Loca Sancta*, in Mabillon *Acta Sanctor.* Ord. Benedict. Sæc. III. P. II. p. 523. [472]. Printed also from a MS. in the Cotton Library in "Relations des Voyages de Guil. de Rubruk, Bernard le Sage, et Sæwulf, par F. Michel et T. Wright," 4to. Paris, 1839. p. 201 sq. English in Wright's *Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 23 sq. Mabillon's copy contains only the very brief Itinerary of Bernard and his two companions; that of Michel and Wright gives also a more particular account of the sacred places, which is merely written out from the tract of Adamnanus, probably, by a later hand. Bernard relates, that he received the benediction of the pope Nicholas in the beginning of his journey; doubtless the first of that name, who died A. D. 867; for there was no other pope Nicholas until A.

¹ There exists a small tract ascribed to Eucherius, bishop of Lyons in the 5th century, entitled: *Epistola ad Faustinum de situ Judææ urbiæque Hierosolymitanæ*, printed in Labb. *Biblioth. nov. Manu-*

scriptor. Tom. I. p. 665-7. Ugolini Thesaur. Tom. VII. But Eucherius apparently was never in Palestine; and the tract is drawn from Josephus, Jerome, and others, and has little intrinsic value.

D. 1059. This justifies the date of A. D. 870, which is assigned to this Itinerary by William of Malmesbury, *de Regibus Anglor.* cap. 2. See Beckmann, II. p. 518. The Cotton and Oxford MSS. give the date erroneously, A. D. 970.

1096–1125. FULCHERI CARNOTENSIS *Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum cum armis Hierusalem pergentium*; in Bongars' "*Gesta Dei per Francos*," p. 381. More complete in Du Chesne *Scriptores Francie*. Tom. IV. p. 816. Paris 1641.—Fulcher of Chartres, a monk or presbyter, accompanied Robert duke of Normandy to Palestine, in the first crusade, A. D. 1096. His history extends from A. D. 1095 to A. D. 1124.¹

1102–3. SÆWULFI *Relatio de Peregrinatione ad Hierosolimam et Terram Sanctam*; printed for the first time in Michel and Wright's "*Relations des Voyages de Guil. de Rubruk, etc.*" Paris, 1839. 4to. p. 237 sq. English in Wright's *Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 81 sq.

c. 1125. DANIEL (Igoumen) *Journey to the Holy Land*. Daniel was a Russian abbot (Ἡγούμενος) who visited Palestine in the beginning of the twelfth century. His journal is one of the earliest documents of the old Slavonic language, and was first printed in "*Puteshestwia Russkich Iudei w tchuja zemli*," or "*Travels of the Russians in foreign Lands*," St. Petersburg, 1837. 8.

* c. 1150. EL-EDRISI *Geographia Universalis*, containing an account of Palestine about the middle of the twelfth century. Extracts in Arabic, Rome 1592. 4to. Madrid 1799. 8vo. French, *Geographie d'EDRISI, par P. A. Jaubert*, Tom. I. Paris 1836. 4to. The part which treats of Syria, is printed in Arabic and Latin in Rosenmüller's *Analecta Arabica*, P. II. Lips. 1828.²

* 1160–73. BENJAMIN TUDELENSIS *Itinerarium*, Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew. Often printed e. g. *Hebraice cum Vers. et notis Const. l'Empereur*, Lugd. Bat. 1633. 8. French, *Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin etc. par J. P. Baratier*, 2 Tom. Amst. 1734. 8; also in another version in Bergeron's *Voyages*, Tom. I. la Haye 1735. 4. Eng. *Travels of Rabbi Benjamin*, Lond. 1783. 12mo. Hebrew and English, by A. Asher, with Notes, 2 vols. Berlin, 1840. This last is the best edition of all, and is the one constantly referred to in the text. Also in Wright's *Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 63 sq. Rabbi Benjamin has often been reproached as being full of inaccuracies and fables, and as never having visited the countries he describes. But the former faults are common to the writers of that age; and I have found his account of Palestine, so far as it goes, to be that of an eyewitness, and quite as accurate and trustworthy as any of the narratives of those days.

c. 1175–80. R. PETACHIAE *Peregrinatio etc. Heb. et Lat.* in Wagenseil "*Exercitationes sex Varii Argumenti*," Altorf, 1687. 4. Alt. et Norimb. 1719. 4. Hebrew and French, *Tour du Monde ou Voyages du R. Petachia, par M. E. Carmoly*, Paris 1831. 8. Rabbi Petachia was a Jew of Ratisbon; his Itinerary is of far less value than the preceding work of Rabbi Benjamin.

1175. GERHARDI, *Friderici I. in Ægyptam et Syriam ad Saladinum*

¹ The histories of Fulcher, William of Tyre, and Jacob de Vitry, are inserted in this list on account of the many valuable topographical notices contained in them.

² It is not certain that Edrisi had himself visited Syria; but his description is of too much importance not to be mentioned here.

legati, Itinerarium, A. D. 1175; in the "Chronica Slavonica Helmoldi et Arnoldi Abbatis Lubicensis," ed. Bangart, Lub. 1702. 4. p. 516 sq. Gerhard travelled from Egypt to Damascus by way of Sinai and the east side of the Dead Sea, passing through Bostra. The Itinerary is inserted by Arnold of Lübeck in his Chronicle; it is brief and of little importance.

* 1182-85. WILLELMUS (GUIL.) TYRENSIS *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum etc. seu Historia Belli Sacri*; printed Basel 1549. ib. 1560. ib. 1583. Also in Bongars' *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611. fol. This writer, the chief and most important historian of the crusades, was made archbishop of Tyre in A. D. 1174. He commenced his history in A. D. 1182, (see lib. 1. 3,) and brought it down in twenty-two books from the commencement of the crusades to the raising of the siege of Kerak by Saladin, A. D. 1184. This work contains many valuable topographical notices.

1185. JOANNES PHOCAS *de Locis Sanctis etc. Gr. et Lat.* in the *Symmikta* of Leo Allatius, Colon. Agr. 1658. 8. Venet. 1788. fol. The Latin version is also printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii Tom. II. p. i. Phocas was a Cretan by birth, and lived as a monk in Patmos. He makes no allusion to the crusaders. The above date is that assigned by L. Allatius.

* c. 1190. *En quel estat la Cité de Jherusalem et li seins Lieu estoient à ce jour.*—This very curious and important tract contains a topographical description of the Holy City, as it was when Saladin wrested it from the Franks in October, 1187; see the first paragraph. The tract was first published in the great work *Assises de Jérusalem*, edited by Count BEUGNOT, Paris 1843, fol. Tom. II. p. 531 sq. Reprinted in the App. to Schultz Jerusalem, Berlin 1845, p. 107. Williams' Holy City, 1849, Vol. I. App. p. 184. Also in App. II, of this volume, next after the present list of books.

* c. 1200. BOHAEDDIN *Vita et Res gesta Saladini, Arab. et Lat. ed. A. Schultens; cum Ind. Geograph.* Lugd. Bat. 1735. fol. and with a new title-page, ibid. 1755. Saladin died A. D. 1193. Bohaeddin was his secretary and companion. The Geographical Index of Schultens is valuable for the Arabic topography of Palestine and Syria.

c. 1200. GAUFFRID (JEFFREY) VINISAU *Iter Hierosolymitanum Regis Anglorum Richardi I*; in *Historiæ Anglic. Scriptores* ed. Gale, Tom. II. p. 247 sq. English in Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusaders*, pp. 65-339.

1210. *Samuel Bar Simson, Itinéraire de Palestine*, in Carmoly's *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, Brux. 1847.

1211. WILLEBRANDI AB OLDENBORG *Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ*, printed in the *Symmikta* of Leo Allatius, Colon. Agr. 1658. 8. Venet. 1733. fol. The author was Canon at Hildesheim.

1217. THETMARI (Magistri) *Iter ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. T. Tobler, 1851. —*Historia de dispositione Terræ Sanctæ*, ed. C. M. Laurent, Hamb. 1852.

* c. 1220. JACOBI DE VITRIACO *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Duaci (Douay) 1597. 8vo. Also in Bongars' *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611. fol. and in Martini et Durand *Thesaur. nov. Anecd.* Tom. III. Lut. Par. 1717. The writer, a French priest, became bishop of 'Akka, and composed his history about A. D. 1220, after the first capture of Damietta in A. D. 1219. He died A. D. 1240. See *Histoire Lit. de France*, T. XVIII. p. 224.

To the twelfth and thirteenth centuries belong also the following Itineraries and Collections, six in number:

I. EUGESIPPUS *de distantiis Locorum Terræ Sanctæ, Gr. et Lat.* in the *Symmikta* of Leo Allatius, Colon. Agr. 1653.8. Venet. 1733. fol. To this tract Allatius has prefixed the date A. D. 1040; but the writer on the third page speaks of the fortress Mons Regalis in Arabia Petræa as having been built up by King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem; and this took place in A. D. 1115. See Will. Tyr. 11. 26.

II. EPIPHANII HAGIOPOLITÆ *Enarratio Syriæ, Urbis Sanctæ, etc. Gr. et Lat.* in the *Symmikta* of Leo Allatius, as above. The writer was a Syrian monk. The date of the tract is uncertain; but it seems to be later than that of Phocas, and earlier than the destruction of the monasteries on Mount Tabor just after the middle of the thirteenth century.

III. JOHANNIS WIRZBURGIENSIS *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, in Pezii Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. I. P. III. p. 483. Fabricius places this writer in the early part of the 12th century; Meusel in the 13th. The tract has little value.

IV. * *Gesta Dei per Francos, etc.* (ed. J. Bongars,) Hanoviae, 1611. fol. This volume contains, besides the histories of Fulcher, William of Tyre, and Jacob de Vitry, various tracts by cotemporary authors on the history of the crusades, e. g. Raimund de Agiles, Albert Aquensis, Guibert, and others.

V. * REINAUD *Extraits des Historiens Arabes relatifs aux Guerres des Croisades*, Paris, 1829. 8.

VI. In Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Vol. II. Part I, are contained historical notices of many English pilgrims and crusaders to the Holy Land during the same centuries; but they afford no geographical details of any great value.

c. 1247. JACOBI PANTALEONIS *Liber de Terra Sancta*. This writer, a French priest, became Latin patriarch of Jerusalem in A. D. 1252. The tract here cited is mentioned by Adrichomius, p. 287; but I have found no other notice of it, and cannot learn that it was ever printed. See le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 1257.

1258. JACOB DE PARIS *Description des Tombeaux Sacrés*; in Carmoly's *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, Brux. 1847.

* c. 1283. BROCARDI (Borcardi, Burchardi) *Locorum Terræ Sanctæ Descriptio*, Venet. 1519. 8vo. Printed also in *Sim. Grynæi Novus Orbis Regionum, etc.* fol. Basil 1532. *ibid.* 1555. *Ed. R. Reineccio*, Magdeb. 1587. 4, along with the Itinerary of B. de Saligniaco. *Ed. J. Clerico*, appended to Euseb. et Hieron. Onomasticon, fol. Amst. 1707, after the edition of Grynæus, and reprinted in Ugolini Thesaur. Tom. VI. A different recension is given by *Canisius* in Thesaur. Monumentor. Eccl. et Histor. ed. Basnage, Tom. IV. p. 9. German in Reissbuch des heil. Landes.—This tract of Brocardus appears to have been a favourite in the convents, and was frequently transcribed. Indeed, the monks would seem to have often occupied themselves in writing out this and other like tracts in a different form and style; thus giving, as it were, a new recension of them. There are many manuscripts of Brocardus extant; and even the printed copies exhibit, according to Beckmann, not less than four such recensions. I have myself compared the edi-

tions of Reineccius, le Clerc, and Canisius; and although the facts and the order of them are in general the same, yet the language is different; while each has many additions and omissions as compared with the rest. Indeed, two different writers of this name have sometimes been assumed, in order to account for this discrepancy; though without sufficient ground. Compare the parallel, though less striking cases, of St. Willibald and St. Bernard above.—In like manner there is great uncertainty as to the date. All editors refer the tract to the thirteenth century; some to the early part, and some to the close; but the weight of authority seems to lean towards the latter period, or about A. D. 1280. Adrichomius assigns the year 1283; p. 287. See Beckmann l. c. Vol. II. p. 81 sq. Brocardus himself speaks of Mount Tabor as desolated, which took place in A. D. 1268; cap. 6. p. 175.—The edition referred to in the present work is that of le Clerc.

* 1300–30. ABULFEDA *Tabula Syriae, Arab. et Lat. ed. J. B. Köhler, Lips. 1766. 4.* Also *Descriptio Arabiae, Ar. et Lat. ed. J. Greaves, in Hudson's Geographiæ vet. Scriptores Minores, Tom. III. Oxon. 1712. 8.*—Abulfeda was Emir of Hamah in Syria, and describes the country as an eyewitness. A complete edition of his whole geographical work in the original Arabic, was commenced in Paris in 1837 by Reinaud and Mac Guckin de Slane.

* 1314–22. ESTHORI B. MOSE HA-PARCHI, *Khafthor ca-ferach*, in Rabbini. Parchi was a Jewish scholar, born in Provence. He visited Egypt and was at Cairo in 1313; but soon went to Palestine, and settled down in Beisân. Here he spent seven years in exploring the country; two of which were devoted to Galilee. His work was completed in 1322; and contains, besides various other things, a list of places visited by him and many valuable topographical notices. The book was printed at Venice about 1549; and is now very rare. See Zunz in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 260–263. Most, if not all, of the topographical portions of R. Parchi's work were translated by Zunz, and are given in the same volume, pp. 397–448. This work of Parchi is by far the most important Jewish Itinerary in the Holy Land; and several ancient places, supposed to have been recently first identified, were already recognised by him; e. g. Legio (Lejjûn) as the ancient Megiddo.

* 1321. MARINUS SANUTUS *Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis*, etc. printed in the 'Gesta Dei per Francos,' Tom. II. The author was a noble Venetian; had travelled much in the east, and apparently visited Palestine; and busied himself for many years with a plan for the recovery of that country by the Christians. The third book contains a description of the Holy Land. The year A. D. 1321 was that in which he presented his work to the pope; see p. 1.

1322–56. *The Voyage and Travails of Sir John Maundeville* Kt. extant in many manuscripts and editions, in English, French, Italian, German and Latin; latest edition Lond. 1839. 8; also in Wright's Early Trav. in Pal. p. 127 sq. German in Reissbuch des heil. Landes.—Sir John has been usually regarded as a teller of marvellous stories; but having followed his route from Egypt to Jerusalem, I must do him the justice to say, that his stories are not more marvellous than those of most other pilgrims of those days; while his book, thus far, is quite as correct as most modern travels in the same regions, and much more amusing.

1824-25. *Travels of* IEN BATUTA, translated from the Arabic by Prof. Lee, Lond. 1829. 4.—The part on Palestine occupies only four pages, pp. 19-22.

1834. ISHAK CHELO, *Les chemins de Jérusalem*, in Carmoly, *Itinéraires* etc. p. 217 sq.

1836. GULIELMI DE BALDENSEL *Hodæporicon ad Terram Sanctam*, printed in Canisii Thesaur. Monumentor. ed. Basnage, Tom. IV. p. 381. Not without merit. See Beckmann, I. p. 226.

* 1836-41. LUDOLPHI (seu PETRI) DE SUCHEM *Libellus de Itinere ad Terram Sanctam*, Venet. sine anno, 4to. German, RUDOLF VON SUCHEM, *Von dem gelobten Land und Weg gegen Jherusalem*, sine loc. [Augsb.] 1477. 4to. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes. Latest and best edition by F. Deycks, Stuttg. 1851. See the Preface by Deycks.—Ludolph (German Rudolf) or Peter was vicar (Kirchherr) at Suchem in the diocese of Paderborn. His journal is written with great simplicity, and has something of the marvellous; but is decidedly the best Itinerary of the fourteenth century.

1346. RUDOLPH DE FRAMEYNSPERG, *Itinerarium in Palestinam, ad Montem Sinai*, etc. printed in Canisii Thesaur. Monumentor. Eccl. ed. Basnage, T. IV. p. 358.—This tract occupies only two folio pages; and would not be worth mentioning, except for the sake of completeness.

c. 1349. STEPHEN of Novgorod, *Journey to the Holy Land about A. D. 1349*. In the Russian Travels described above under *Daniel*, A. D. 1125.

To the 14th or 15th century belongs apparently the anonymous tract *de Locis Hierosolymitanis*, Gr. et Lat. in the *Symmikta* of Leo Allatius, Colon. Agr. 1653. 8. Venet. 1733. fol.—The tract is written almost in modern Greek; and this and the contents show it to be quite late.

1384. *Viaggio di* LIONARDO DI NICOLO FRESCOBALDI *in Egitto ed in Terra Santa*, Roma 1818. 8.

1384. *Viaggio al Monte Sinai di* SIMONE SIGOLI, Milano 1841. 8. The author travelled with Frescobaldi.

1420. SOSIM (Hierodiaconus) *Journey to the Holy Land*; in the Russian Travels cited above under *Daniel*, A. D. 1125.

1432-33. BERTRANDON DE LA BROCQUIERE, *Travels to Palestine*, etc. French in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Tom. V. English by T. Johnes, Herford 1807. 8. Also in Wright's *Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 283 sq.

1438. ELIAN DE TAREARE, *L'amour de Sion*, a Jewish Itinerary; in Carmoly, *Itinéraires* etc. p. 324 sq.

1449. STEPH. VON GUMPENBERG (und Andere), *Wahrhaftige Beschreybung der Meerfurth in das heil. Land*, Frankf. 1561. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes.—Of little value.

1466. BASILIUS (a merchant of Moscow) *Journey to the Holy Land*; in the Russian Travels cited under *Daniel*, A. D. 1125.

1470. JELAL ED-DIN, *History of the Temple of Jerusalem*. Translated from Arabic MSS. by Rev. James Reynolds. Lond. 1836. 8vo. A mass of Muhammedan legends with very slight notices of facts; a work very far inferior in value to that of Mejr ed-Din in 1495.—The name is more correctly *Kemâl ed-Din*; see von Hammer in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, LXXXI, p. 22 sq.

1476. HANS VON MERGENTHAL, *Reise und Meerfahrt Herrn Albrechts Herzog zu Sachsen in das heil. Land nach Jerusalem*, Leipz. 1586. 4. Leyd. 1602. 4.

1479-80. HANS TUCHER's *Reyssbeschreibung*, Augsb. 1482. fol. Nurnb. 1482. 4. ib. 1483. 4. Augsb. 1486. fol. Frankf. 1561. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes.

1481-83. *Voyage van Ioos van Ghistele*, to Ghend 1557. 4. ib. 1572. 4. Ioost van Ghistele, a Flemish nobleman, travelled to Palestine in 1481-83, accompanied by his chaplain, Ambrose Zeebout. The latter wrote this description of the journey in the old Flemish dialect.

* 1483-84. BRENH. DE BREYDENBACH, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum ac in Terram Sanctam*, Mogunt. 1486. fol. Spiræ 1490. fol. ib. 1502. fol. German, *Die heiligen Reisen gen Jherusalem, etc.* Maynz, 1486. fol. Augsb. 1488. fol. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes. Printed likewise in French and Dutch.—Breydenbach was dean of the cathedral in Mayence; and travelled to Jerusalem and thence to Mount Sinai with the Count of Solms and several others. This journal has been highly esteemed; but is less exact than that of his contemporary Felix Fabri. See the next article.

* 1483-84. FELIX FABRI (Schmidt) *Eigentliche Beschreybung der Hin- und Wiederfurth zu dem heil. Land gen. Jerusalem*, sine loc. 1556. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes. Complete edition: *F. Fabri Itagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ, et Ægypti Peregrinationem*, edidit C. D. Hassler, Stuttg. 1843. 8. 3 Bde.—Felix, a Dominican friar and preacher at Ulm, first visited the Holy Land in A. D. 1480. In 1483 he again went thither in company with Hans Werli von Zimmer and others. From Jerusalem to Sinai, this party and that of Breydenbach travelled together. On comparing the two accounts, I find that of Fabri to be more full and accurate; and wherever there is a discrepancy, (as at Hebron,) the latter is to be preferred. There is not the slightest ground for the supposition sometimes made, that this work and that of Breydenbach were originally the same. See the preface to the edition of 1556.

NOTE. Thus far the list of printed works is nearly, if not quite, complete. At least, no work of any importance is omitted. About this time pilgrimages to the Holy Land, or at least descriptions of them, seem to have become more frequent. Nobles travelled thither with a suite of attendants; and several meagre journals of this kind and at this period are contained in the *Reissbuch*. Such are the Itineraries of Alexander Palatine of the Rhine, and of John Lewis Count of Nassau, in 1495; and that of Bogislaus X, duke of Pomerania, in 1496.—Henceforward the list comprises only the more important or popular works.

* 1495. MEJR ED-DIN, *History of Jerusalem*, translated from the Arabic into French by Von Hammer in *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. II. pp. 81, 118, 375, etc. Extracts in English in Williams' Holy City, 1849, Vol. I. App. p. 143 sq.—The author speaks of writing in A. H. 900, i. e. A. D. 1495; see p. 376. This is the fullest Arabic description of the Holy City.

1507-8. MARTINI A BAUMGARTEN in Braitenbach *Peregrinatio in Egypt*. Vol. II.—46

tam, Arabiam, Palestinam, et Syriam, Norimb. 1594. 4. English, in Churchill's Coll. of Voyages, Lond. 1704.—Brief, but evidently the remarks of an intelligent observer.

1507-8. GEORGI (Prioris Gemnicensis) *Ephemeris, sive Diarium Peregrinationis Ægypti, Montis Sinai, Terræ Sanctæ et Syriæ*; printed in Pezii Thesaur. Anecdot. T. II. iii. p. 453.

1507-8. ANSELMUS *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, in Canisii Thesaur. Monumentor. Eccl. ed. Basnage, T. IV. p. 776. The author was a Franciscan monk, of the Minores de Observantia. The tract has little value.

1519. LUDWIG TSCHUDI von Glarus, *Reyss und Pilgerfarth zum heiligen Grab*, St. Gallen 1606. 4.

1522. BARTHOL. DE SALIGNIACO *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Terræ Sanctæ Descriptio*, Lugd. Segus. 1526. 4. Also Magdeb. 1587. 4, appended to Brocardus.—The author divides his little work into *Tomes* instead of Sections.

* 1546-49. PIERRE BELON du Mans, *Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouuées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie*, etc. Paris 1553. 8. Ibid. 1555. 8. Augmentéz, Paris 1588. 4. Latin, Antv. 1589. 8. English, Lond. 1693. 8. Extracts in German in Paulus' Sammlung der Reisen, etc. Th. I. II.—Belon was an intelligent and accurate observer.

1552-59. BONIFACIUS a Ragusio *Liber de perenni cultu Terræ Sanctæ*, Venet. 1573. 8.—Bonifacius was a Franciscan, and was Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre for nine years. He also bears the title 'episcopus Stagni.' The work is often quoted by Quaresmius; but I have been able to find no other trace of it. See Quaresm. Elucid. T. I. Præf. p. xxxv. Wadding Annal. Minorum, A. D. 1342. LXXII.

1565-66. JOH. HELEFRICH, *Bericht von der Reise aus Venedig nach Hierusalem, in Aegypten, auf den Berg Sinai*, etc. Leipz. 1581. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes.

1565-67. CHRISTOPH. FÜRER ab Haimendorf, *Itinerarium Ægypti, Arabiæ, Palestinæ, Syriæ*, etc. Norimb. 1620. 4. German, *Reisebeschreibung in Aegypten, Arabien, Palästina*, etc. Nurnb. 1646. 4.

* 1573-76. LEONH. RAUWOLF, *Aigentliche Beschreibung der Reyss so er ain die Morgenlinder. farnehmlich Syriam, Indiam, etc. selbst vollbracht*, 3 Theile, Augsb. 1581. 4. Frankf. 1582. 4. With a fourth or botanical part, Laugingen 1583. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes. English, in Ray's Coll. of curious Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. Lond. 1693. 8. ib. 1705. 8.—Rauwolf was a physician and botanist; and his journal is one of the most important in the sixteenth century. See Beckmann l. c. Vol. I. p. 1. Vol. II. p. 170.

1576-81. SALOM. SCHWEIGGER's *Beschreibung der Reiss aus Tübingen nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg. 1608. 4. ibid. 1614, 1619, 1639, 1664. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes, Ed. 2.—Schweigger was a Protestant theologian of Tübingen. His work affords little information.

1579-84. HANS JAC. BREUNING von und zu Buochenbach, *Orientalische Reyss in der Turkey etc. benanntlich in Griechenland, Egypten, Arabien, Palästina, und Syrien*, Strasb. 1612, fol. The author has occasionally copied Rauwolf. The book is now very rare. See Beckmann Vol. I. p. 269.

1588-84. NIC. CHRISTOPH. (Principis) *RADZIVIL Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio, primum a Th. Tretero ex Polonico Sermone in Latinum translata*, Brunsberg 1601. fol. Antv. 1614. fol. German, *Hierosolymitanische Reyse und Wegfuhr*, Mainz 1602. 4. Also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes, Edit. 2.

* 1586. JEAN ZUALLART (Giovanni Zuallardo) *Il devotissimo Viaggio di Gierusalemme*, Roma 1587. 4. ib. 1595. 8. ib. 1597. 8. Afterwards in French by the author, enlarged, *Très dévot Voyage de Jérusalem*, etc. Anvers 1608. 4; and with a new title, ib. 1626. 4. German under the title: *Joh. Schwallart's Delicia Hierosolymitanæ, oder Pilgerfahrt in das heil. Land*, Cöln 1606. 4; also in Reissbuch des heil. Landes, Edit. 2. The Italian and French editions differ considerably. The form of the name (Zuallardo or Zualart) shows which is referred to.—Zuallart was a Fleming by birth; and made his journey to Jerusalem after having resided at Rome. His book was first printed several times in Italian at Rome; but he afterwards returned to his native country, and published the work anew in French in an improved form at Antwerp. Both the Italian and French editions have quite a number of engravings of objects in and around Jerusalem, apparently from his own drawings; which, though having little merit, became very popular. In the sixth book are collected the prayers, hymns, etc. repeated and chanted by the monks at the various holy places.

* To this period belongs the *Reyssbuch des heiligen Landes*, Frankf. 1584. fol. This is a collection of the Journals of various travellers in the Holy Land, in the German language, either original or translated, made by Sigismund Feyerabend, a bookseller of Frankfort, and hence sometimes known as the *Feyerabend'sche Sammlung*, "Feyerabend's Collection." Of the authors already enumerated the original Reissbuch contains *Brocardus*, *Maundeville*, *Ludolf von Suchem*, *Gumpenberg*, *Tucher*, *Breydenbach*, *Felix Fabri*, *Helffrich*, and *Rauwolf*, besides nine others; in all eighteen.—Another edition, with a second part containing the journals of *Schweigger*, *Radzevil*, and *Zuallart* (Schwallart), somewhat abridged, appeared under the title: *Bewahrtes Reissbuch des heiligen Landes*, etc. Frankf. 1609. fol. Also with only a new title-page, Frankf. 1629. Nürnberg. 1659.

1589. DE VILLAMONT *Voyages* [en Italie et en Palestine], Paris 1600. 8. ib. 1604. 8. Atlas 1605. 8. Lyon 1606. 8. Paris 1614. 8.

c. 1590. PANT. D'AVEYRO *Itinerario da Terra Santa et todas suas Particularidades*, Lisboa 1598. 4. ib. 1600 4.

1596. BERN. AMICO, *Trattato delle piante e imagine de' sacri edifizii di Terra Santa, disegnati in Jerusalemme*, Roma 1609. fol. Firenze 1620 fol.—The author was Præses. (vicar) of the Holy Sepulchre in 1596. The work has been chiefly esteemed on account of the plates; which however have very little merit.

1596. GER. DANDINI, *Missione Apostolica al Patriarca e Maroniti del Monte Libano*, Cesena 1656. French: *Voydge du Mont Liban, traduit de l'Italien du R. P. Jerome Dandini, par R. S. P. (Richard Simon)*, Paris 1675. 18mo.

* 1598-99. JOH. COTOVICUS (Kootwyk), *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, Antv. 1619. 4.—Kootwyk was Doctor of Laws at Utrecht; and

a close and judicious observer. His work is more complete and important than any other of the sixteenth or preceding centuries. Yet he seems to have made considerable use of the *Voyage* of Zuallart; his engravings, at least, are all exact copies of those contained in that work. He is very full in respect to the monastic rites and ceremonies; and gives the prayers and hymns repeated by the monks at the various holy places; but these also seem to have been copied by him from Zuallart's sixth book.

1598-99. DON AQUILANTE ROCHETTA *Peregrinations di Terra Santa, etc.* Palermo 1630. 4. The plates are from Zuallart.

1609-27. WILL. LITHGOW, *Discourse of a Peregrination from Scotland to the most famous Kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Lond. 1632. 4. *ibid.* 1646. 4. Dutch, Amst. 1652. 4.—Negligent and of little value.

* 1610-11. GEORGE SANDYS' *Travailes, containing a History of the Turkish Empire, etc. a Description of the Holy Land, of Jerusalem, etc. with fifty graven Maps and Figures*, fol. Lond. 1615, 1621; sixth ed. 1658, etc. Dutch, Amst. 1654. 4. *ib.* 1665. 4. Germ. Frankf. 1669. 8.—The author writes with quaint simplicity and undoubted fidelity. The engravings, which refer to Jerusalem and the vicinity, are copied directly from Cotovious, though ultimately from Zuallart.

1614-26. PIETRO DELLA VALLE *Viaggi descritti da lui medesimo in lettere famigliari*, 8 Tom. Roma 1650-58. French, Paris 1661. 4. *ibid.* 1664. 4. *ibid.* 1745. 8. Amst. 1766. 8. etc. English, Lond. 1665. fol. Dutch, Amst. 1664-65. 4. German, Genf 1674. fol.—Easy and superficial. The author was the first to procure for Europe a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

c. 1615. HENRY TIMBERLAKE, *A true and strange Discourse of the Travels of two English Pilgrims towards Jerusalem, Gaza, Grand Cairo, etc.* Lond. 1616. Also in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 327.

* 1616-25. FRANCISQ. QUARESMI *Historica, theologica et moralis Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio*, 2 Tom. fol. Antv. 1639.—Quaresmius was from Lodi in Italy, and resided in Jerusalem as a member of the Latin convent at two different times. In his address to the reader on the last leaf of the second volume, he tells us that the work was commenced in A. D. 1616, and completed about 1625, in Jerusalem; comp. Tom. I. p. ix. He then returned to Italy, and endeavoured to get his manuscript printed; but without success. He was now sent out a second time to Jerusalem, as Guardian or "*Terræ Sanctæ Præsul et Commissarius apostolicus*," and held this office during the years 1627-29. On his subsequent return to Europe, circumstances led him to Flanders, where the printing of his work was begun in 1634, and completed in 1639. He appears afterwards to have become Procurator General of the order of the Franciscans, and their Provincial in the province of Milan. See Morone *Terra Santa* nuov. illustr. T. II. p. 880, 883 sq.—The work of Quaresmius is very indefinite and interminably prolix. It has very little value in a topographical respect; but is important for the history of the Catholic establishments in the Holy Land, and as giving the state of the Latin tradition at the time when it was written.

1627. F. ANT. DEL CASTELLO, *El devoto Peregrino y Viage de Tierra Santa*, Madrid 1656. 4.—The plates are borrowed from Zuallart.

1685-86. GEORG CHRISTOFF NEITZSCHITZ, *Siebenjährige Weltbeschauung*, [1680-37.] herausgegeben von C. Jäger, Bautzen 1686. 4. Nürnberg. 1678. 4. Magdeb. 1758. 4.—This work has more of pretension than of merit.

1644-47. BERNARDIN SURIUS, *Le pieux Pèlerin ou Voyage de Jerusalem*; Bruxelles 1666. 4.—The author was Præses (Vicar) of the Holy Sepulchre.

* 1646-47. BALTH. DE MONCONYS, *Journal des Voyages, publié par son fils*, 3 Tom. Lyon 1665. 4. Paris 1677. 4. ib. 1695. 12mo. 5 Tom. The first volume contains the travels in Egypt, Mount Sinai, Palestine and Syria. The author was a diligent observer, especially in what relates to the arts and sciences among the orientals.

* 1651-52. J. DOUBDAN, *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1657. 4. 1661. 4. 1666. 4. The first edition bears only the initials J. D. The second has the name in full. The author was Canon of St. Denis; and his work exhibits learning and research.

1651-58. MARIANO MORONE da Maleo, *Terra Santa nuovamente illustrata*, 2 Parti, Piacenza 1669. 4.—The author was Vicar and acting Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre for seven years, and a particular friend and disciple of Quaresmius; see P. II. p. 381, 383 sq.

1655. IGNATIUS VON RHEINFELDEN, *Neue Jerosolymitanische Pilgerfarth, oder kurze Beschreibung des gelobten heiligen Landes*, Constanzt 1664. 4. Würzb. 1667. 4.—The author was a Capucin friar.

1655-59. JEAN DE THEVENOT, *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant... et des Singularitez particulières de l'Archipel, Constantinople, Terre Sainte, etc.* Rouen et Paris 1665. 4. English, Lond. 1687.—Also, *Suite du Voyage du Levant*, Paris 1674. 4. *Voyage de l'Indostan*, Paris 1684. 4. All reprinted under the title: *Voyages tant en Europe, qu'en Asie et Afrique*, 5 Tomes, Paris 1689. 8. Amst. 1705. 12mo. ib. 1712. 12. ib. 1727. 8. etc. German, *Reisen in Europa, Asia, und Afrika*, Frankf. 1693. 4. English, *Travels in the Levant etc.* Lond. 1687. fol. —Thevenot has long had to suffer the imputation of not having himself visited the countries he describes; but of having compiled his work from the accounts of other travellers, both oral and written, and especially those of d'Arvieux. So Moreri Dict. Historique Tom. X. p. 138. Paris 1759. This however is now said to be an error, which arose from confounding him with Nicolas Melch. de Thevenot, who about the same time published a collection of Travels by various authors under the title: *Relation de divers Voyages curieux etc.* 2 Tom. en 4 Part. fol. Paris 1664. ib. 1672. ib. 1696. See the Biographie Universelle, art. THEVENOT Jean et Melchisedek. Rosenmüller Bibl. Geogr. I. i. p. 75-77. Meusel Biblioth. Histor. II. i. p. 257. X. ii. p. 171.—D'Arvieux himself bears testimony to the fact of Thevenot's having been in Palestine, and relates his having been captured by a Maltese corsair and brought into Haifa; he speaks too of having afterwards aided Thevenot in his further journeys, and of his death in the east. See d'Arvieux Mémoires, Paris 1735, Tom. I. p. 284. Tom. III. p. 849. Comp. Thevenot's Voyages, Amst. 1727. Tom. II. p. 660 sq.

* 1658-65. LAUR. D'ARVIEUX, *Voyage dans la Palestine, vers le Grand Emir, Chef des Arabes du désert connu sous le nom de Bédouin, etc. fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV. Avec la description de l'Arabie par Abulfeda*, tra-
Vol. II.—46*

duite en Français par M. de Roque, Paris 1717. 8. Amst. 1718. 8. German by Rosenmüller, *Die Sitten der Beduinen-Araber*, Leipz. 1789. 8. Dutch, Utrecht 1780. 8. English, Lond. 1718. 8. ib. 1723. 8.—D'Arvieux resided as a member of the French factory at Sidon from 1658 to 1665; and died as consul at Aleppo A. D. 1702. His account of the Bedawin is regarded as one of the best. His travels in general, including the above journey, are found in the following work: *Mémoires du CHEV. D'ARVIEUX, contenant ses Voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, etc. recueillis de ses originaux, par Labat*, Paris 1735. 8. 6 Tomes. German, *des Herrn von Arvieux hinterlassene merkwürdige Nachrichten u. s. w.* Kopenh. u. Leipz. 1753. 8. 6 Bde.

1666–69. FRANZ FERD. VON TROILLO, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung, etc. nach Jerusalem, in Egypten, und auf den Berg Sinai*, Dresden 1676. 4. Leipz. u. Frankf. 1717. 8. Dresden u. Leipzig 1733. 8.—The author was a Silesian nobleman, well-meaning, but credulous.

1672–83. CORN. DE BRUYN (LE BRUN), *Reyzen door den Levant, etc.* Delft 1699. fol. French, *Voyage au Levant, etc.* Paris 1714. fol. Paris et Rouen 1725. 4. 2 Tom.—The author was a Flemish artist; and the numerous engravings from his drawings constitute the chief merit of his work; although this is not great. He professes to have borrowed freely from Della Valle, Thevenot, Dapper, and others.

* 1674. MICH. NAU, *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1679. 12. Apparently with only a new title-page, Paris 1702, 1744, 1757.—For the use of this volume I was indebted to the Library of the University of Göttingen.

1684. HEINR. MYRIKE's *Reise von Constantinopel nach Jerusalem und dem Lande Kanaan; mit Anmerkungen von J. H. Reitz*, Osnabr. 1714. 8. Itzstein 1719. 8. ib. 1789. 8. Dutch, Rotterd. 1725.—The author was chaplain of the Dutch embassy at Constantinople.

1688. DE LA ROQUE, *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, 2 Tom. Paris 1722. 12. Amst. 1728. 12.

* 1697. HENRY MAUNDRELL, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter* 1697. Oxford 1703. 8. ib. 1707, and often. Also in Wright's *Early Trav.* in Pal. p. 383 sq. French, Utrecht 1705. 12. Paris 1706. 12. German, Hamb. 1706. 8. ib. 1737. 8; also in Paulus' *Sammlung Th. I.* Dutch, by Münsterdam, 1705. 8; also in Halma's 'Woordenboek van het H. Land,' Franeeck. 1717. 4.—Maundrell was chaplain of the English factory at Aleppo. His book is the brief report of a shrewd and keen observer; and still remains perhaps the best work on those parts of the country through which he travelled. His visit to Jerusalem was a hasty one; and he there saw little more than the usual routine of sacred places pointed out by monks.

1697–98. A. MORISON, *Relation historique d'un Voyage au Mont de Sinai et à Jérusalem*, Toul 1704. 4. German, *Reisebeschreibung, etc.* Hamb. 1704. 4.—The author styles himself 'Chanoine de Bar-le-Duc.' His work is full; but not to be compared in other respects with that of his cotemporary, Maundrell.

* 1700–23. VAN EGMOND EN HEYMAN, *Reizen door een gedeelte van Eu*

ropa... Syria, Palästina, Aegypten, den Berg Sinai, etc. 2 Deelen, Leyd. 1757-8. 4. English, *Travels, etc.* by Van Egmond and Heyman, 2 vols. Lond. 1759. 8.—John Heyman was Professor of Oriental Languages in the university of Leyden, and travelled in the east from 1700 to 1709. J. E. van Egmond van der Nyenburg was Dutch ambassador at Naples, and travelled in 1720-23. Many years afterwards, the journals of both were reduced to the form of letters by J. W. Heyman, physician in Leyden; but in such a way that the observations of the two travellers are not distinguished. This work ranks among the best on Palestine.

1722. *A Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai and back again. Translated from a Manuscript written by the [Franciscan] Prefetto of Egypt, by* ROB. CLAYTON, Bishop of Clogher, Lond. 1753. 4. ib. 1753. 8. Reprinted in Pinkerton's Coll. of Voyages and Travels, Vol. X. Also as an Appendix to Maundrell's Journey, Lond. 1810. German, *Tagereise etc. übersetzt von Cassel*, Hannov. 1754. 8.

* 1722. THOMAS SHAW's *Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Lond. 1738. fol. ib. 1757. 4. Edinb. 1808. 8. Also in Pinkerton's Coll. of Voyages and Travels, Vol. XV. French, *Voyages, etc.* 2 Tom. La Haye 1748. 4. German, *Reisen u. s. w.* Leipz. 1765. 4.—Dr Shaw was chaplain of the English factory at Algiers from 1720 to 1732; and travelled in Egypt and Palestine in A. D. 1722. He afterwards became Professor of Greek at Oxford; and died in 1752. His observations are judicious and valuable.

1737-38. JONAS KORTENS *Reise nach dem gelobten Lande, Aegypten, Syrien, und Mesopotamien*, Altona 1741. 8. With three Supplements, Halle 1746. 8. With four Suppl. Halle 1751. 8.—Korte was a bookseller at Altona. His work shows him to have been without learning and somewhat credulous. What he saw, he describes with honest simplicity; but he also relates much on hearsay, without distrusting the accuracy of his informers.

* 1737-40. RICHARD POCOCKE's *Description of the East and some other Countries*, 2 Vols. in 3 Parts, fol. Lond. 1743-48. ibid. 1770. 4. German by Windheim, Erlangen 1754. 4. 3 Bde. Revised by Breger, ibid. 1771. Dutch by Cramer, Utrecht, 1780. French, without the maps and plates, Paris, 1772. 12. 6 Tom.—Pococke was in Palestine in 1738; and died in 1765, as bishop of Meath. He was a classical scholar, but not a good biblical one; and had but a slight knowledge of the Arabic. He is not always a strictly faithful reporter; and the judgment of Michaelis is correct, that Pococke the eyewitness is to be carefully distinguished from Pococke the transcriber of other travellers or of ancient authors. He not unfrequently describes in such a manner, as to leave the impression that he is telling what he himself saw; while a closer inspection shows that he has only drawn from other books. Yet his work is one of the most important on Palestine. See Michaelis Oriental. Biblioth. Th. VIII. S. 111. Rosenmüller's Bibl. Geogr. I. i. p. 85. The plans and views which accompany this work were obviously made only from recollection, and are wretched. The plans of Sinai and Jerusalem, for instance, can hardly be said to have the slightest resemblance to their originals; and only serve to mislead the reader. So too the professed copies of the Sinaitic Inscriptions.

* 1749-58. FRIDR. HASSELQUIST, *Iter Palestinum: eller Resa til Heliga landet, etc.* Stockholm, 1757. 8. German, *Reisen nach Palästina von 1746 bis 1752, herausgegeben von Linnæus*, Rostock, 1762. English, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant, etc.* Lond. 1766. 8. French, Paris 1769.—The author was a pupil of Linnæus, to whom most of his letters are addressed. He was sent out to make collections in Natural History, and died on his way back at Smyrna. From his reports and papers, Linnæus added an Appendix on the Natural History of Palestine; which is still perhaps the most complete scientific treatise extant on the subject.

1754-55. STEPHAN SCHULZ, *Leitungen des Höchsten auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa, etc.* Halle, 1771-75. 8. 5 Bde. The Journey in Palestine is found in Vol. V.—Schulz travelled as a missionary to the Jews, and afterwards became pastor at Halle. His journal is prolix and trivial in the extreme. An abstract (much improved) is given in Paulus' *Sammlung*, Th. VI, VII.

1760-68. GIOV. MARITI, *Viaggi per l' Isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina, etc.* Luca e Firenze 1769-71. 8. 5 Tom. French, Neuwied 1791. 8. Tom. I, II. In German, abridged, Altenb. 1777. 8.—The author was a Florentine ecclesiastic, an Abate.

* 1761-67. CARSTEN NIEBUHR, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenh. 1772. 4. French, *Description de l'Arabie*, Copenh. 1773. 4. Amst. 1774. 4. Paris 1779. 4.—A larger work is: *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, Bd. I. II. Copenh. 1774-8. 4. Bd. III. Hamb. 1837. French, Tom. I. II. Paris, 1776-80. 4. Amst. 1776-80. 4. Berne, 1770. 8. English by Heron, abridged, *Travels through Arabia, etc.* Lond. 1792. 4. 2 Vols.—Niebuhr is the prince of oriental travellers; exact, judicious, and persevering. His visit to Jerusalem and the Holy Land was brief and hurried; so that he saw little more than what the monks chose to show him. It is contained in the third volume, published nearly sixty years after the other two. His plan of Jerusalem is very imperfect.

1783-85. C. F. VOLNEY, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, etc.* Paris, 1787. 8. 2 Vol. 4th Ed. ibid. 1807. English, *Travels, etc.* 2 Vols. Lond. 1787. 8. German, 3 Bde. Jena 1788-90. The work is a series of essays, lively and imaginative, yet containing much valuable information.

1792-98. W. G. BROWNE, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, etc.* Lond. 1799. 4. German, Leipz. u. Gera 1800. 8.

1800-2. EDW. DAN. CLARKE, *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Lond. 1811, etc. 4to. 5 Vols. 4th Ed. Lond. 1816-18. 8vo. 11 Vols.—Dr Clarke was only seventeen days in Palestine, having landed at 'Akka, June 29th, 1801, and embarked again at Yafa, July 15th. His work exhibits diligent research in books; the notes being often worth more than the text; but there is a great lack of sound judgment. Some of the author's extravagant hypotheses and rash assertions have been elsewhere alluded to. See Vol. I. Notes XXVI and XXVIII, at the end.

1802. LT. COL. SQUIRE, *Travels through part of the ancient Cœle-Syria*; in R. Walpole's *Travels in various Countries of the East*, Lond. 1820, pp. 239-852.—Mr W. Hamilton and Lt. Col. Leake were Col. Squire's companions during this journey.

1803-7. ALI BEY, *Travels in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, etc.* Lond. 1816. 4. 2 Vols.—The author was a Spaniard named *Domingo Badia y Leblich*, who travelled as a Muhammedan. He was in Palestine in 1807. See Vol. II. pp. 140, 259.

* 1803-10. ULRICH JACOB SEETZEN, *Briefe, etc.* in Zach's 'Monatliche Correspondenz,' scattered through many volumes. The most important letters are in Vol. XVII, XVIII, XXVI, XXVII. A few less important extracts are also contained in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. I. pp. 43, 112. II. pp. 275, 474. III. p. 99. Some portions of these letters were translated into English under the title: "*A Brief Account of the countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and Dead Sea,*" Lond. 1813. 4.—Seetzen was judicious, enterprising, and indefatigable. He died by poison in Arabia in 1811. What we have hitherto had from him are only occasional and hasty letters. His journals have quite recently been published for the first time: *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, etc.* 3 Bde, Berlin, 1854-55. The third volume did not come to hand in season to refer to it in this work. These volumes of Travels comprise the daily jottings of Seetzen in his journal, often in pencil; but were never arranged nor written out by him. For his well considered and final judgments, therefore, we must still look to his letters, in the collections above specified. These volumes cover all his journeys, until his arrival in Egypt. Letters describing his researches in Egypt, and his subsequent journey in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, are found in Zach l. c. Vol. XXVI, XXVII.

1806-7. F. A. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, etc.* Paris, 1811. 8. 3 Tomes; and often. English, *Travels, etc.* Lond. 1811. 8. 2 Vols. German, Leipz. 1812. 8. 3 Bde.—Eloquent and superficial. The references to authorities are for the most part worthless. See above, Vol. I. Note XXVIII, at the end.

* 1809-16. JOHN LEWIS BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, Lond. 1822. 4. German, *Reisen in Syrien, etc. mit Anmerkungen von W. Gesenius*, Weimar, 1823-4. 8. 2 Bde.—This work contains all the journeys of Burckhardt in Syria, Palestine, and Mount Sinai. His other travels do not belong here. As an oriental traveller, Burckhardt stands in the very highest rank; accurate, judicious, circumspect, persevering. He accomplished very much; yet all this was only preparatory to the great object he had in view, viz. to penetrate into the interior of Africa. He died suddenly in 1817, at Cairo.

1811. J. FAZAKERLEY, *Journey from Cairo to Mount Sinai, and return to Cairo*; in R. Walpole's *Travels in various Countries of the East*, Lond. 1820. p. 362.—This journey was made in company with Mr. Galley Knight.

1815. WILLIAM TURNER, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, Lond. 1820. 8. 3 Vols. The account of Palestine is in Vol. II.

1815-16. OTTO FR. VON RICHTER, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, herausgegeben von J. P. G. Evers*, Berlin 1822. 8.—The narrative is brief; but marks a careful observer. The author died at Smyrna in 1816.

1816. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, *Travels in Palestine*, Lond. 1821. 4. ib. 1822.

8. 2 Vols.—*Travels among the Arab Tribes, etc.* Lond. 1825. 4. ib. Ed. 2. 8vo. 2 Vols.—Both together in German, *Reisen, etc.* Weimar 1827. 8. 2 Bde.

1816–18. ROB. RICHARDSON, M. D. *Travels along the Mediterranean and parts adjacent, during the years 1816, 17, 18.* Lond. 1822. 8. 2 Vols.—Well written, but often inaccurate.

1817. T. R. JOLLIFFE, *Letters from Palestine, etc.* 2 Vols. Lond. 1819. 8. 8d Edit. Lond. 1822. 8.—German by Bergk, *Reise in Palästina u. s. w.* Leipz. 1821.

1817–18. LE COMTE DE FORBIN, *Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818* Paris 1819. fol. With splendid plates. Also without plates, Paris 1819. 8. The work has more value for the arts than for science.

* 1817–18. IBBY AND MANGLE, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor, during the years 1817 and 1818* Printed for private distribution. Lond. 1822. 8. Reprinted Lond. 1847. 12mo. The references are made to both editions.—Well written and full of accurate information.

* 1818 TH. LEGH, *Excursion from Jerusalem to Wady Musa*, in Mac-michael's "Journey from Moscow to Constantinople in the years 1817–18." Lond. 1819. 4. Chap. IV. p. 185. Reprinted in the (American) Biblical Repository, Oct. 1833. Vol. III. p. 618.

1818. F. W. SIEBER, *Reise von Kairo nach Jerusalem, mit Kupfern*, Prag 1823. 8.—Sieber's Plan of Jerusalem was the basis of Berggren's, and thus of Oatherwood's.

1820–21. J. M. A. SCHOLZ, *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandria und Perætonium, ... Egypten, Palästina, und Syrien*, Leipz. u. Sorau 1822. 8.—The author was Catholic Professor of Theology at Bonn. His work contains good information relative to the Catholic establishments in Palestine.

1820–21. F. HENNIKER, *Notes during a visit to Egypt, ... Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem*, Lond. 1823. 8. Hasty and superficial.

1821. JOHN CARNE, *Letters from the East*, 2 Vols. 8vo. Lond. 8d. Edit. 1830. Also, *Recollections of Travels in the East*, 2 Vols. 8vo. Lond. 1830.

1821–22. J. BERGGREN, *Resor i Europa och Oesterländerne*, 3 Delen, Stockholm 1826–28. 8. German, *Reisen in Europa und in Morgenlande, aus dem Schwedischen*, 3 Bde. Leipz. u. Darmst. 1828–34. 8.

1823. REV. WM. JOWETT, *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land*, Lond. 1825. 8. Boston 1826. 12.

* 1826–31. ED. RÜPPELL, *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan, und dem Peträischen Arabien*, Frankf. 1829. 8. Also, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 Bde. Frankf. 1838–40. 8. The latter work includes another excursion to the peninsula of Sinai in 1831, undertaken in order to determine more accurately the elevation of the mountains. See *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 103.

* 1828. LEON DE LABORDE, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, par Laborde et Linant, Paris 1830–34. fol. English, *Journey through Arabia Petraea, etc.* Lond. 1836. 8. ib. 1838. 8.—The chief value of the French original consists in its splendid plates; of which the text is for the most part explanatory. The English work is a smaller compilation, containing only a portion of the plates on a reduced scale.

1829. A. PROKESCH (Ritter von Osten), *Reise ins heilige Land im Jahre 1829* Wien 1831. 8.

1880-81. MICHAUD ET POUJOULAT, *Correspondence d'Orient en 1880-81*. 7 Tom. Paris 1884. 8.

1882-83. ED. HOGG, M. D. *Visit to Alexandria, Damascus, and Jerusalem, during the successful campaign of Ibrahim Pasha*. 2 Vols. Lond. 1835. 12.

1833. REV. SPENCER HARDY, *Notices of the Holy Land, etc.* Lond. 1835. 8.

1833. REV. VERE MONRO, *A Summer Ramble in Syria*. 2 Vols. Lond. 1835. 8.

* 1834. (MARMONT) DUC DE RAGUSE, *Voyage en Hongrie... en Syrie, en Palestine, et en Egypte*. 5 Tom. Paris 1837. 8. Bruxelles 1837-39. 12.—Valuable chiefly in a political and military respect.

1836. J. L. STEPHENS, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia, and the Holy Land, by an American*. 2 Vols. 12mo. New York 1837. London 1837. Several editions.

1836. REV. C. B. ELLIOTT, *Travels in the three great Empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey*, 2 Vols. London 1838. 8.—The Journey in Syria and Palestine is described in the second volume.

1836-38. JOSEPH RUSSEGGGER, *Reisen in Europa, Asien, und Afrika*. Stuttg. 1841-49. 8. 4 Vols. The author travelled mainly as a geologist. His notices of Palestine are contained in the first and fourth volumes.

1837. LORD LINDSAY'S *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*. 2 Vols. Lond. 1838. 12. Several editions.

1837. JOSEPH SALZBACHER, *Erinnerungen aus meiner Pilgerreise nach Rom und Jerusalem im Jahre 1837*. 2 Bde. Wien 1839. 8.—The author is "Domcapitular" or Canon of St. Stephen's Cathedral Vienna. His work contains the latest information as to the Catholic establishments in Palestine.

1837. G. H. VON SCHUBEERT, *Reise nach dem Morgenlande*, 8 Bde. Erlangen 1838-40. 8.—One main object of this journey was Natural History. The author is Professor in the University at Munich.

* 1838. JOHN BOWRING, *Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria. Presented to both Houses of Parliament*. Lond. 1840. fol. Dr Bowring travelled in Egypt and Syria in 1838, as the accredited agent of the British Government, for the purpose of collecting information on the trade and commerce of those countries. The Report contains a large and valuable body of facts.

1842-43. REV. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, *Notices of Jerusalem; an Excursion to Hebron and Sebbeh or Masada; and Journey from Jerusalem northwards to Beirût, etc.* In *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, pp. 17-87.

1842-43. REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, *The Holy City*, Lond. 1845. 8. Second edition, Lond. 1849. 8. 2 Vols.—Mr Williams stands forth as the champion of all ecclesiastical and other tradition.

* 1842-47. ERNST GUSTAV SCHULTZ, *Jerusalem, eine Vorlesung*. Berlin 1845.—*Mittheilungen über eine Reise durch Samarien und Galilæa* [in 1847]. In *Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges.* 1849, III. 46 sq.—Schultz was Prussian consul at Jerusalem, with some interruptions, from 1842 till 1851; in which latter year he died. He was not always an exact observer, and his judgments were sometimes hastily formed; but his bearing was ever kind and gentlemanly.

1842-52. COL. CHURCHILL, *Mount Lebanon, a ten years' Residence, from 1842 to 1853, etc.* 3 Vols. Lond. 1853. 8vo. This work has many off hand stories and statements, which are not to be relied upon. The map of Lebanon professes to have been taken from the surveys of the English engineers; but it is full of mistakes.

* 1842-58. W. H. BARTLETT, *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* [in 1842], Lond. 1844; also in a second edition enlarged.—*The Nile Boat, or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt* [in 1845], Lond. 1849.—*Forty Days in the Desert, in the Track of the Israelites* [in 1845], Lond. no date.—*Jerusalem Revisited* [in 1853], Lond. 1855.—Mr Bartlett was an artist; and the main purpose of his journeys was to obtain artistic illustrations of the places visited. In this respect his works are of high value. His descriptions also are written with taste and good sense.

1843. REV. ELI SMITH, *A Visit to Antipatris* [in April 1843]. Also: *Account of an ancient temple on Mount Lebanon* [Deir el-Kül'ah]. In *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, pp. 478 sq. 557.

* 1843. REV. JOHN WILSON, D. D. *Lands of the Bible visited and described*, Edinb. 1847. 8. 2 Vols.

1843-45. REV. WM. M. THOMSON, *The Sources of the Jordan, etc.* as visited in 1843; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1846, pp. 184 sq.—*Tour from Beirût through Northern Syria to Aleppo, and back*, in 1847; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1849, pp. 1, 243, 447, 663.

1845. W. KRAFFT, *Die Topographie Jerusalems*, Bonn 1846.

* 1845-6. TITUS TOBLER, M. D. visited Jerusalem at this time, and has published the following six works relating to the Holy City and its environs: 1. *Bethlehem*, St. Gallen 1849.—2. *Golgotha*, St. Gallen 1851.—3. *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, St. Gallen 1852.—4. *Denksblätter aus Jerusalem*, St. Gallen 1853.—5. *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, 2 Bde. Berlin 1853-54.—6. *Beitrag zur medicinischen Topographie von Jerusalem*, Berlin 1855.

1847. H. GADOW, *Ein Ausflug von Jerusalem über Jericho an den Jordan, das todte Meer, und nach Mär Saba*; in *Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges.* 1848, II. pp. 52 sq.—*Mittheilungen über die gegenwärtigen Terrainverhältnisse in und um Jerusalem*; *ibid.* 1849. III. p. 35 sq.

* 1848. W. F. LYNCH, Commander, *Official Report of the United States' Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan*; published at the National Observatory, Washington 1852. 4. Appended is the extensive and valuable geological report of Dr H. J. ANDERSON, *Geological Reconnaissance of part of the Holy Land*.—This official work was preceded by a more popular one: *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, Phila. 1849. 8.

1849-50. H. A. DE FOREST, M. D. *Notes of a Tour in Mount Lebanon and to the eastern side of Lake Huleh*; in the *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 237 sq.—*Notes on Ruins in the Buk'a and in the Belid Ba'albek*; *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 351 sq.

1849-51. A. VON KREMER, *Mittel-Syrien und Damascus*, Wien 1853. 8vo.—Also, *Topographie von Damascus*, 2 Th. Wien 1854-55. 4to.—Of little value

c. 1850. *The true Site of Calvary*; in the Museum of Classical Literature, 1858. Vol. II. p. 311-476.

1850-51. F. DE SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques*, 2 Vols. Paris 1853. 8. 'Also English: *Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1853.—The English title, at least, is a misnomer; the author travelled only around the south end of the Dead Sea. My references to this work are all to the English edition.

1851-52. O. W. M. VAN DE VELDE, *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, 2 Vols. Edinb. and Lond. 1854. 8.

1852-54. REV. J. L. PORTER, *Excursion to the Summit of Hermon*; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 41 sq.—*Excursion to the Lakes east of Damascus*, *ibid.* p. 342 sq.—*Excursion from Damascus to Yabrud etc.* *ibid.* p. 483 sq.—*Notes of a Tour from Damascus to Ba'albek and Hums*, *ibid.* p. 649 sq. From these papers much information has been extracted relative to the environs of Damascus; as also much was received orally from the author during my visit to the city. To him I was also indebted, in 1852, for a copy of his map of the course of the Barada from its source in Anti-Lebanon.—The substance of the above papers, as also an account of his residence in Damascus, a journey into Haurân, and other excursions, has been since published by Mr Porter under the title: *Five years in Damascus*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1855. This work reached me too late to be of service in preparing my own account of that city.

1858. ARTHUR PENNEY STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, Lond. 1856.

II. WORKS ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE, ETC.¹

By writers who had not themselves visited that country.

1. PALESTINE.

1590. CHRIST. ADRIKOMIUS, *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, cum Tabulis geograph.* Colon. Agr. 1590. fol. *ibid.* 1593, 1600, 1613, 1628, 1682.—The author was a Dutch ecclesiastic, a native of Delft, and died at Cologne in 1585. He follows chiefly Brocardus; but gives at the end of the volume a list of many other authors consulted.

1646. SAM. BOCHARTI *Geographia Sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*, Oadomi (Caen) 1646. fol. Franckf. 1674. 4. Lugd. Bat. 1692. fol. *ibid.* ed. Villemandy, 1707. fol.

1665. NIO. SANSON, *Geographia Sacra ex V. et N. Test. desumpta et in Tabulis quatuor concinnata*, Paris 1665. Cum Notis Clerici, Lugd. Bat. 1704 fol.—Sanson, a celebrated French geographer, died A. D. 1687.

¹ The date here prefixed refers to the time of first publication.

1677. OLF. DAPPER's *Naukeurige Beschrijving van gantsch Syrie, en Palestyn of Heileige Lant, etc.* Rotterd. 1677 fol. Amst. 1681. fol. German, *Asia, oder Beschreibung des gantzen Syrien und Palestina oder gelobten Landes*, Amst. 1681. fol. Nürnberg. 1689. fol. A great mass of materials thrown together without judgment.

* 1701. CHRISTOPH. CELLARIUS, *Notitia Orbis Antiqui seu Geographia Plenior*, 2 Tom. 4 to. Lips. 1701-5. Auxit J. C. Schwarz, ib. 1781-82. With new title, ib. 1772-73. Syria and Palestine are contained in the second volume.

1708. ED. WELLS, *An Historical Geography of the New Test.* 2 Vols. Lond. 1708. 8. ib. 1712. 8; several times reprinted. Also, *An Historical Geography of the Old Test.* 3 Vols. Lond. 1712. 8. etc. Both works in Germ. by Panzer, Nürnberg. 1765. 8. 4 Theile.

* 1714. HADE. RELAND, *Palestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, Traj. Bat. 1714. 4. Norimb. 1716. 4. Reprinted in Ugolini Thesaur. Antiq. Sacr. T. VI.—This yet remains the standard classic work on Palestine, as far down as to the era of the crusades. A new edition, including the results of modern researches, would be still more valuable.

1758-68. WILL. ALB. BACHMANN *Heilige Geographie, etc.* 6 Deelen. Utrecht 1758-68. 8. German by G. A. MAAS, *Historische und Geographische Beschreibung von Palästina, etc.* II Th. in 7 Bde. Cleve u. Leipz. 1766-75. 8.

* 1785. ANT. FRIEDR. BÜSCHING's *Erdbeschreibung*. Th. V, *Palästina. Arabien, etc.* Altona 1785 8. With a new title-page as Th. XI. Abth. I. Hamb. 1792.—One of the best treatises on the modern geography of Palestine.

1790. YSBRAND VAN HAMELVELD, *Aardrijckunde des Bijbels etc.* Amst. 1790. 8. 6 Deelen. German by Janisch, *Biblische Geographie*, Hamb. 1793-96. 8. 3 Bde.—The translation was never completed.

1799. CONRAD MANNEBT, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*. Th. VI. Abth. 1, *Arabien, Palästina, Syrien*, Nürnberg. 1799. 8. Edit. 2. Leipz. 1831.

1817. C. F. KLÖDEN *Landeskunde von Palästina*, Berlin 1817. 8.

* 1818. CARL RITTER *Die Erdkunde etc.* Th. II, *West-Asien*. Berlin 1818. 8. For the second edition see below, 1848-55.

* 1820. G. B. WINER, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, Leipz. 1820. 8. Rewritten, much enlarged, and improved, 3d edition, Leipz. 1847-8. 2 Bde.—The geographical articles are written with great care.

1826. E. F. KARL ROSENMÜLLER, *Biblische Geographie*, 3 Bde. Leipz. 1823-28. 8. The second volume is occupied with Palestine.—This work appears to have been compiled hastily and without extensive research.

* 1835. CARL VON RAUMER, *Palästina*, Leipz. 1835. 8. Third edition, enlarged and much improved, Leipz. 1850.—The work is compiled with great diligence, and forms an excellent Manual.

1841. J. KITTO, *Palestine, its Physical and Bible History*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1841.

1841. S. MUNK, *Palestine : Description Géographique, Historique, et Archéologique*, Paris 1841. This work was published before the author had access to the Biblical Researches; and, being stereotyped, all later editions remain without change.

* 1848-55. CARL RITTER, *Vergleichende Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palästina und Syrien*, 4 Bde. Berlin 1848-55. These volumes constitute a part of the second edition of the author's great work: *Die Erdkunde*, etc. viz Th. XIV, XV. i-ii, XVI, XVII. i-ii.—This is a vast storehouse of all that relates to the geography of Palestine and Syria.

2 JERUSALEM.

* 1747. J. B. D'ANVILLE, *Dissertation sur l'Etendue de l'ancienne Jérusalem et de son Temple*, Paris 1747. 8. Reprinted in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*.

1789. J. F. PLESSING, *Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab*, Halle 1789.

1883. JUSTUS OLSHAUSEN, *Zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem*, Kiel 1883. 8.

1838. F. G. CROME, *Jerusalem*, in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, Sect. II. Th. 15. p. 273—321. This is the most complete and valuable essay on the ancient and modern topography of the Holy City.

1847. JAMES FERGUSON, *An Essay on the ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, Lond. 1847.

1852. FALLMERAYER, *Denkschrift über Golgotha und das Heilig-Grab*, in "Abhandlungen der K. Bayer. Akademie der Wiss." III. Cl. VI. Bd. III. Abth. Published also separately, Munich 1852. 4to.

APPENDIX II.

LA CITEZ DE JHERUSALEM.

The following curious and important tract, describing the streets and religious establishments of Jerusalem, at the time the city was captured from the Christians by Saladin in A. D. 1187, was first published as a note by Count Beugnot, in his splendid edition of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, Tome II. p. 581 sq. Paris 1848. (This work is also issued as part of the great collection: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Lois*, Tome I, II.) The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Fonds de Sorbonne, No. 387, fol. 304-308. Nothing further respecting it has been made known. The first paragraph shows, that the description refers to the time of Saladin's conquest; and the tract was written probably not long after that event.—I have subjoined a few slight notes, by way of explanation.

I. *Enquel estat la citez de Jherusalem et li seins lieu estoient à ce jour.*

“Pource que li plus des bons Crestiens parolent et hount parler volentiers de la seinte cité de Jherusalem, et des seins lieux où Jhesu Cris fu mors et vis, nous dirons comment elle aroit au jour que Salhadins et li Sarrazin la conquissent sur les Crestiens. Aucunes gens porent estre qui le vodrent ouir; oïl à qui il desplaisoit, porent trespasser ce lieu

“Il ot en la cité de Jherusalem III. maistres portes en crois, l'une endroit l'autre, entre les pourternes. Or les vous nommeray comment elles serient. La porte David estoit vers soleil couchant et estoit à la droiture des portes Obres,¹ qui estoit vers soleil levant de derrieres le temple Domini. Cele porte tenoit à la porte David². Quant on estoit devant cele porte, si tournoit on à main destre, en une rue par devant la tour David. Si poit on aler au mont de Syon par une posterne qui là estoit en cele rue à mein senestre. Ainsi comme on illoit hors de la posterne, un moustier monseigneur S. Jaque de Galice,³ qui frere estoit monseigneur S. Jehan evangeliste; là disoit on que S. Jaques ot la teste copée et pource fist on le moustier là. La grant rue qui aloit de la tour David droit aux portes Ores. La grant apeloit on la rue David,⁴ jusqu'au change, à mein senestre. De la tour David avoit une grant

¹ This gate, written further on *Ores* and *Oires*, would seem to be the Golden gate.

² For 'la porte David,' it should doubtless read 'la tour David,' as in the next sentence.

³ Here we have the great Armenian convent with its church of St. James.

⁴ This 'street of David,' is the street leading down from the Yafa gate as far as to the angle at the bazars.

place où on vendoit le blé. Et quant on avoit un peu avalé cele rue, qui avoit non la rue David, si trouvoit on une rue à mein senestre qui avoit non *la rue au Patriarche*,¹ pource que li patriarches manoit au chief de cele rue. Li patriarches avoit une porte de là où on entroit en la maison de l'Ospital. Après si avoit une porte par où on entroit ou moustier deu Sepucure, mais n'estoit mie la mistre. Quant on venoit au change là où la rue David failloit, si trouvoit on une rue qui avoit non *la rue de Mont Syon*. Et à l'issue du change trouvoit on une rue couverte à vote qui avoit non *la rue des Herbes*; là vendoit on toutes les herbes, et tous les fruis de la vile, et les espices. Au chief de cele rue avoit 1. lieu où on vendoit le poisson. Et avoit une grant place à mein senestre, là où en vendoit les fromages et les poules et les oes. A mein destre de cel marchié estoient li lié as orfèvres surieis. Et si y vendoit on les paumes que li pomier aportent d'outremer. A mein destre de cel marchié estoient les eschepes des orfèvres latins. Au chief des eschopes avoit une abaie de nonnains, que on apeloit *Seinte Marie la Grant*. Après cele abaie de nonnains trouvoit on une abaie de moignes noirs, que on apeloit *Seinte Marie la Latine*. Après trouvoit on *la maison de l'Ospital* à mein destre.

II. De ce meisme.

"De la droiture de l'Ospital estoit *la mestre porte du sepucure*. Devant cele porte du sepucure avoit une moult bele place pavee de marbre. A mein destre de cel Sepulcre avoit 1. moustier que l'on appelle S. Jaque des Jacopins. A mein destre, devant de cele porte du Sepulcre, avoit 1. degré par où en montoit ou mont de Calvaire. Là sus, en son le mont, avoit une moult belle chapelle. Et si avoit 1. autre huis en cele chapelle, par où en entroit ou moustier du sepuchre, et y avaloit on par uns autres degrez qui là estoient. Tout ainsi c'on entroit ou moustier du Sepulcre, desouz le mont de Calvaire, si estoit Golgatas; à mein destre estoit li clochiers du sepulcre, et si avoit une chapelle que en apeloit Seinte Trinité. Cele chapelle si estoit mout grans, car on y espousoit toutes les fames de la cité. Et là estoit li fons où en baptizoit touz les enfans de la cité. Et cele chapelle si estoit tenant au sepucure, si comme il y avoit une porte de dont on entroit ou moustier; à l'endroiture de cele porte estoit li monumens. En cel endroit, là où li monumens, estoit li moustiers tous roons, et si estoit ouvres par desure, sanz couverture. Et dedans cest le monument estoit la pierre dou sepulcre, et li monumens couvers a voute au chavech de cel monument, ausi com au chief de l'autel par dehors, que l'on apeloit Chavee; là chantoit en chascun jour au point du jour. Il avoit moult bele place tout entour le monument et toute pavée, si com en aloit à pourcession tout entour le monument. Après, vers orient, estoit li cueurs du sepucure, là où li chanoines chantoient; si estoit lons. Entre le cuer, l' où li chanoine estoient et le monument, avoit 1. autel là où li Grieu chantoient. Mès 1. autre clos avoit entre i; y avoit 1. par où on aloit de l'un à l'autre. Et en milieu du cuer au chanoines, avoit 1. letrin de marbre, que en apeloit le compas; lassus list en l'e

¹ The 'street of the Patriarch' is that kiah and above the Church of the Holy running north just below the pool of Heze- Sepulchre.

pistre. A main destre du mestre autel de ce cuer estoit mons de Calvarie. Si que, quant on chantoit messe de la Resurrexion, li diacres, quant il chantoit l'Evangile, si se tournoit vers le mont de Calvaire quant il disoit *Crucifixum*; après si se tournoit vers le monument quant il disoit *resurrexit, non est hic*, si monstroit au doigt: *Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum*; et puis si se retournoit au livre si pardisoit son Evangile. Au cheves dou cuer avoit une porte, par là où li chanoine entroient en leur officines, à mein destre. Entre cele porte et mont de Calvaire avoit 1. mout parfont fossé, où en avaloit à degrez. Là avoit une place que en apeloit Sainte Helaine. Là trouva sainte Helainne la crois et les clous et le martel et la courone. En cele fossé, ou tens que Jhesu Cris fu en terre, getoit on les cors de larrons qui estoient crucifiez, quand on les despendoit. Et quant on leur coupoit ou poing ou teste, ou en en faisoit aucune justice, on le faisoit ou mont de Calvarie; que on y faisoit les justices et ce que les lois apportoient, et que on gistoit les membres que on jugoit a pardre aus malfaiteurs. Tout ainsi que li chanoine isoient dou sepulchre, à mein senestre estoit leur dortoirs, et à mein destre li refrotois et tenoit au mont de Calvarie. Entre ces .ii. offices estoit leur clistres et leur preaus. En un lieu du peel avoit une grant ouverture, dont on veoit en la chambre Elaine qui dessous estoit, car autrement n'i veoit on goute.

III. *De ce meisme.*

"*Le changes estoit tenans à la rue des Herbes, que on apeloit Mal-quis-mat. En cele rue cuisoit on la viande au pelerins, que en vendoit, et si lavoit on les chiez. Et si aloit on de la rue au sepulchre. Tout avant de cele rue de Mal-quimat, avoit une rue que en apeloit la rue Courerte, là où en vendoit la draperie; et estoit toute à voute par desure*¹ Et par cele rue aloit on au sepulchre. Cele rue dont aloit du change aus portes Oires, avoit à non *la rue du Temple*; pour ce l'apeloit on *la porte du Temple*, que en venoit ainçois au Temple que aux portes Oires. A mein senestre, si com on avaloit cele rue à aler au Temple, là estoit la Boucherie, là où en vendoit la char de la boucherie à ceux de la vile. A mein destre avoit une autre rue par là où on aloit à l'Ospital. Cele rue avoit non *aus Alemans*. A mein senestre, sur le pont,"² avoit 1. moustier de S. Gile. Au chief de cele rue trouvoit on unes portes que en apeloit portes Precieuses; que Jhesu Cris par ces portes entroit en la cité de Jherusalem, quant il ala par terre. Ces portes si estoient en un mur qui estoit entre la cité et le mur des portes Oires.

IV. *De ce meisme.*

"Entre le mur de la cité et le mur des portes Oires si estoit li Temples. Et si y avoit une grant place qui plus estoit d'une traictie de lonc et le giet d'une pierre de lé, ain que en veigne au Temple. Cele place si estoit pavée, dont on apeloit cele place le Pavement. A mein destre, si come en isoit de ces portes, estoit *li Temples Salemon*, là où li frere du temple manolent. A la droiture des portes Precieuses et des portes Oires estoit li moustiers du Temple Domini. Et si estoit en haut, si come il monta aus degrez haus. Et quant on montoit

¹ These three streets are the three parallel streets of the bazar.

² Of this *pont* nothing further is known

ces degrez, si trouvoit on moult large, et cis pavement aaloit tout entour le moustier du Temple. Li moustiers dou Temple estoit tous rons. Et à mein senestre du haut pavement du Temple, estoit l'offecine de l'abbé et des chanoines. Et de cele part avoit uns degrez par où en montoit au Temple, du bas pavement en haut. Devers soleil levant, tenant au mostier du Temple, avoit une chapelle de monseigneur S. Jaque l'apostre, le menor; pource estoit ilec quant cele chapele que il y fu martiriez, quant li Juis le giterent de sur le Temple aval. Dedans cele chapelle estoit li lieus où Jhesu Cris delivra la pecharresse qui on menoit martirer, pource qu'ele avoit esté prise en avoultere. Au chief de ce pavement, par devers soleil levant, ravaloit en uns degrez à aler aus portez Oires. Quant on les avoit avalez, si trouvoit l'on une place grant, ains que en venist au portes; là seoit li autres que Salemons fist. Par ces portes ne passoit nus, ains estoient murées, et se n'i passoit nulz que n foiz en l'an, que on les desmuroit; et aloit on à pourcession le jour de Pasques Flories, pource que Jhesu Cris y passa à cel jour, et fu recueillis à pourcessions; et le jour de la feste Seinte Crois en stenbre, pour ce que par ces portes fu raportée la crois en Jherusalem, quant li emperieres de Rome Eracles le conquesta en Perse et par cele porte la remist en la cité et [a] la en à pourcession encontre lui. Par ce que on n'issoit mie hors de la vile par ces portez, yl y avoit une posterne par encoste, que en apeloit *la porte de Josaphat*.¹ Par cele posterne issoient ceulz de la cité hors de cele part. Et cele posterne estoit à mein senestre des portez Oires, par devers midi. Y avoloit on du haut pavement du Temple bas, de dont on aloit au Temple Salmon. A mein senestre, si com on aloit du haut pavement en bas, là avoit 1. moustier que on apeloit le Biers. Là estoit li bers dont Diex fu berchiés en s'enfance, si que en disoit. Ou moustier dou Temple avoit iiii. portes en crois; la première estoit devers souleil couchant; par celi entroient cil de la cité ou Temple; et par celi, devers soleil levant, entroit on en la chapelle, et si s'enrissoit on ileques aus portes oires. Par la porte devers midi entroit on ou temple Salmon. Et par la porte devers Aquillon entroit on en l'abaïee.

V. De ce meisme.

" Or vous ai devisé du Temple et dou Sepulcre, coment il seent, et de l'Ospital, et des rues qui estoient des porte de David de ci as portez Oires, l'une endroit l'autre. Cele devers Aquilon avoit non *la porte Seinte Estiene*.² Par cele porte entroient tout li pelerin et tout cil qui par devers Acre venoit en Jherusalem, et par toute la terre du flun jusqu'à la mer d'Escalone. Dehors cele porte, ainsi com on y entroit, à mein destre avoit un moustier de monseigneur Saint Estienes qui fu lapidés. Devant ce moustier, à mein senestre, avoit un grant manson que en apelloit l'Asnerie; là souloient gesir li asne et li sommier de l'Ospital, pource avoit non l'Asnerie. Ce moustier de S. Estiene abatirent li Crestien de Jherusalem devant ce qu'il fussent assegié, pour ce que li moustiers estoit près des murs. L'Asnerie ne fu pas abatue, ains ot puis grant mestier aus pelerins qui par treuage venoient en Jherusalem, quant

¹ The present gate of St. Stephen, on the east side of the city.

² Now the gate of Damascus.

elle estoit as Sarrasins, et que les sarrasins n'es laissent mie hebergier dedens la cité; pour ce lor [fu] la maison de l'Asnerie gran mestier. A mein destre de la porte de Jherusalem, tenant au murs, devant à la maladrerie, avoit une posterne que on apeloit la posterne S. Ladre. Quant li sarrasins orrent conquise la cité sur les Crestiens, par là metoient il ens les Crestiens pour aler couvertement au Sepulcre. Car li sarrasins ne vouloient mie que li Crestien veissent la couvine de la cité; pour ce les metoie on ens par la porte le Patriarche, qui estoit en la rue dou moustier du Sepulcre, ne on ne les metoit mie ens par la mestre porte. Mais sachiez bien de voir que li Crestien pelerin qui vouloient aler au sepucre et as autres seins liens, que li sarrasins en avoient d'eulz granz treus et grans leviers et grans services. Li sarrasins les prisoient bien chascun an xx^m besans. Mais en escomenia après tous les Crestiens qui logier en donoient, par quois il ne valoit mie tant. Quant on entroit en la cité par la porte de S. Estiene, si trouvoit on II. rues, l'une à destre et l'autre à senestre qui aloit à la porte de mont Syon qui estoit endroit midi. Et la porte en mont si estoit à droiture, aloit à une posterne que on apele la Tanerie et aloit droit par dessous le pont. Cele rue qui aloit à la porte du Mont Syon, avoit à non *la rue Sainte Estiene*.¹ Descei que en venoit as changes des Suriens avoit à mein destre qui en apeloit *la rue dou Sepucre*; ² là estoit la porte de la Meson dou Sepucre: par là entroient ceus du Sepucre en leur meisons et en leur manoirs. Quant en venoit devant ce change, si tornoit en à mein destre une rue couverte à voute, par où en aloit au moustier dou Sepucre. En cele rue vendoit li Surien leur draperie et si faisoit on les chandele de cire. Devant ce change vendoit on le poison. A ces changes tenoient les III. rues qui tenoient aux autres chanches des Latins. Dont l'une de ces III. rues avoit non *rue Couverte*. La vendoit li Latin leur draperie; et l'autre rue des Herbes, et la tierce Masquismat. Par la rue des Herbes aloit on en la rue du Mont Syon, dont on aloit à la porte du Mont Syon, et tres copoit on la rue David. Par la rue Couverte aloit on en une rue par le change des Latins; cele rue apeloit on la rue de l'Arc Judas, pour ce que en disoit que Judas s'i pendi: si y avoit I. arc de pierre. A senestre de cele rue avoit I. moustier de S. Martin. Et près de cele porte avoit I. moustier de S. Pierre. Là disoit on que ce fu que Jhesu Cris fist la boue que il mist es eux de celui qui n'avoit onques veu. Hors de la porte de Mont Syon si trovoit on III. voies. Une voie à mein destre qui aloit à l'abaïe et au moustier de Mont Sion. Et entre l'abaïe et les murs de la cité avoit I. grant atré et I. moustier, en milieu de la voie; à mein senestre si aloit selonc les murs de la cité droit au portes Oïres et d'ilec avaloit on ou val de Josaphat, et si en aloit en *la fontaine de SSyloe*. Et de cele porte à mein destre sur cele voie, avoit I. moustier de S. Pierre en Galiceinte. En tel moustier avoit une parfonde, là où en disoit que S. Pierres se musa, quant il ot Jhesu Cris renoïé et il oï le coc chanter, et là ploura il. La voie, à la droiture de cele porte, par devers midi, si aloit par desur le mont, de si que en passalareie si avaloit on le mont et aloit en par cele porte en Bethleem.

¹ This is the street leading from the present Damascus gate to the bazars.

² Apparently the street leading up from the preceding one, on the north of the

Church of the Holy Sepulchre; forming the western portion of the present *Via dolorosa*.

VI. *De ce meisme.*

"Quant on avoit avalé le mont, si trouvoit en l. lai en la valée, qu'en apeloit *le lai Germain*,¹ que Germain le fist faire pour recueillir les ianes qui descendoient des montaignes quant il plovoit; et là abuvroit on les chevaux de la cité. D'autre part la valée, à mein senestre, pres d'iluec, avoit l. Carnier que en apeloit Chaudemar. Là getoit on les pelerins qui mouroient à l'Ospital de Jherusalem. Cele [valée] où li charniers estoit fu acheté des deniers dont Judas vendi la cher Jhesu Crist, si come l'Evangile temoigne. Dehors la porte avoit l. lai par devers soleil couchant, que on apeloit *le loy du Patriarche*,² là où on recueilloit les iaues d'iluec entour pour abeurer les chevos. Près de cele lai avoit un charnier que en apeloit le Charnier du Lyon. Il avint jà, si com en disoit, à l. jour qn'i passez estoit, qu'il avoit entre Crestiens et Sarrasins une bataille entre celle charnier et Jherusalem, où il avoit mout de Crestiens ocis, et que li Sarrasins de la bataille les devoient tous faire lendemain ordoir pour la puor. Tant que il avint que uns lyons vint par nuit, les porta touz en cele fosse, si con en disoit; pour ce l'apeloit on le Charnier du Lyon. Et dessus ce charnier avoit l. moustier où en chantoit chascun jour près d'ileques. A une lieue avoit une *abeie de nonnains*,³ là où en disoit que une des pieces de la vraie croie fu cueillue . . .

VII. *De ce meisme.*

"Or reveing à la porte S. Estienne, à la rue qui aloit à mein senestre, qui aloit à la posterne de la Tanerie. Quant on avoit alé une grant piece de ceste rue à mein senestre, que on apeloit *la rue de Josaphat*; ⁴ quant en avoit l. pon alé avant, si trovoit en l. quarrefour d'une voie, dont la voie qui venoit devers senestre au Temple et aloit au Sepucre. Au chief de cele voie avoit une porte par devers le Temple, que on apeloit *portes Doulereuses*.⁵ A main destre, sur le carfor de cele voie, fu li ruisiaus dont l'Evangile temoigne; dont il disoit que nostre sires le passa quant il fu menez crucifier. En cel endroit avoit un moustier de S. Jehan l'evangelistre, et si y avoit un grant manoir. Cil manoirs et li moustiers estoit de nonnains de Bethanie; la manioient eles quant il estoit guerre de Sarrasins. Or reveing à la rue de Josaphat. Entre la rue de Josaphat et les murs de la cité, à main senestre, avoit rues, ainsi com a une vile. Là manioient li plus de ceulx de Jherusalem, et ces rues apeioit on la Merie. En tel merie avoit un moustier de sainte Marie Madelaine; et près du moustier avoit une posterne. En ne pavoit mie issir de hors au chans, mais entre li murs en aloit on. A main destre de cele rue de Josaphat avoit un moustier que en apeloit *le Repons*; ⁶ là disoit on que Jhesu Cris se repousa quant on le mena crucifier. Et là estoit la prison où il fu mis la nuit que il

¹ 'Le lai Germain' appears to be the Birket Sultân. So Schultz p. 119.

² Now the Birket Mamilla, west of the city.

³ Now the convent of the Cross, Deir el-Musillabeh.

⁴ This was the street leading on the north of the Haram to the former gate of Jehoshaphat, now St. Stephen's.

⁵ These 'portes doulereuses' correspond to the present Ecce Homo. The name seems to contain the germ of the later 'Via dolorosa,' which was then obviously unknown.

⁶ This name, 'le Repons' should read 'le Repous,' as appears from the next clause.

fu pris en Gessemani. Un peu avant en cele rue avoit esté *la maison Pilate*. A main senestre, devant cele maison, avoit une porte par où en aloit au Temple. Près de la porte de Josaphat, à mein senestre, avoit une abaie de nonnains, si avoit à non *Sainte Anne*. Devant cele abeie avoit une fontaine que en apeloit la Fontaine dessous la pecine. Cele fontaine ne quert point, ains estoit desure. En cele fontaine, au temps de Jhesu Crist, descendoit li anges et mouvoit li aue, et li premiers malades qui y descendoit après estoit garris de s'enfermeté. Cele fontaine avoit v. porches où li malades gisoient, si con on dit. De la porte de Josaphat si avaloit on en val de Josaphat. Si avoit une aceie de noirs moigne. En cele abeie avoit un moustier *de madame Sainte Marie*. En cel moustier estoit li sepucres où ele fu enfouie. Li Sarrasins quant il orent prise la cité abatirent cele abeie et en porterent les pierres à la cité fermer, mais le moustier n'abatirent il mie. Devant ce moustier, au pié dou mont d'Olivet, avoit l. moustier en une roche que on apelloit *Gessemani*: là fu Jhesu Cris pris; d'autre part la voie, si con l'en monte au mont d'Olivet, tant con on giteroit une pierre, avoit l. moustier que on apeloit S. Sauveur; là Jhesu Cris aourer la nuit qu'il fu pris; et là li sueurs de son cors aussi com sans. Ou val de Josaphat avoit hermites et veveles. Et s'estoit tout contreval, car je ne sai mie nommer jusqu'a de Sylœ. Et sur le mont d'Olivet avoit une abeie de blancs moignes. Près de cele abeie, à main destre, avoit une voie qui aloit en Betanie, toute la costiere de la montaigne. Seur le tour de cele voie avoit l. moustier qui avoit à non Sainte Patenostre; là disoit on que Jhesu Cris fist la patenostre et l'enseigna à ses apoutres. Près d'iluec fu li figuiers que Diex maudist quant il aloit en Jherusalem, entre le moustier qui avoit non Belfage. Là vint Jhesus Cris le jour de Pasques Flories, et le jor envoia il en Jherusalem ii. disciples pour une asnesse et d'iluec ala en Jherusalem sur l'asnesse — Or vous ai dit et nomé les abeïs et les moustiers de Jherusalem, par dehors Jherusalem et par dedens et les rues des Latins; mais je ne vous ai mie nommé les abeïes et les moustiers des Suriens, ne des Grejois, ne des Jacobins, ne des Boanins, ne des Nestorins, ne des Hermites, ne des autres manieres des gens qui n'estoient mie obeissant à Rome, dont il y avoit moustiers et abeïes en la cité: pour ce ne vous veil mie parler de toutes ces gens que je ici nomme, qui n'estoient mie obeissant à Romme, si con en disoit."

ITINERARY.

I. FROM CAIRO TO, SUEZ. (SEC. II.)

WITH CAMELS.

General rate of Travel, 2 G. M. the Hour.

Monday, March 12th.

From Cairo, Bâb en-Nûar.—General Course East.

	H. M.
1. Kâid Beg,	30
2. Wady Liblâbeh,	35
3. W. en-Nehedein,	1 30
Total	2 35

Tuesday, March 13th.

From W. en-Nehedein.—General Course East.

1. Jurf el-Mukâwa,	1 15
2. W. Abu Hailezôn,	35
3. W. Ansûry,	2 20
4. W. el-'Ankebiyeh er-Reiyâneh,	1 25
5. W. el-'Ankebiyeh el-'Ateishâneh,	1
6. W. el-'Eshrah,	30
7. W. el-Furn,	30
8. el-Mawâlih,	2 35

Total 10 10

Thermom. F. 10 a. m. 59°
7 p. m. 57°
Wind N. N. E. cold. Clear.

Wednesday, March 14th.

From el-Mawâlih.—General Course East.

1. W. Jendal,	2 40
2. W. Athîleh,	1
3. W. Hufeiry,	2 55
4. Rejûm esh-Shawâghirtiyeh,	1 15
5. W. Seil Abu Zeid,	1 55

Total 9 45

Thermom. F. Sunrise, 47°
10 a. m. 59°
2 p. m. 65°
Sunset, 62°
Cloudy; then clear. Wind N. E. cold.

Thursday, March 15th.

From W. Seil Abu Zeid,		H. M.
1. W. Emshash,	E. by S.	2 05
2. el-Muntûla',	E. by S.	1 05
3. 'Ajrud,	E. S. E.	2 25
4. Bir Suweis,	S. E.	3 10
5. Suweis (Suez),	S. E.	1

Total 9 45

Thermom. F. Sunrise, 44°
10 a. m. 62°
2 p. m. 71°
Sunset, 66°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. E.

Whole distance from Cairo to Suez, 32½ hours.

OTHER ROUTES FROM THE VALLEY OF THE NILE TO SUEZ.

1. Râs el-Wâdy.	2. Abu Za'bel.
Sûk et-Tell.	el-Muntûla'.
Rejûm el-Khail.	'Ajrud,
Suez.	etc.
3. Cairo.	4. Cairo.
Birket el-Haj.	el-Besâtin.
Dâr el-Humra.	Gandali.
W. Hufeiry,	W. Seil Abu Zeid,
etc.	etc.
5. Cairo.	6. Tibbin.
el-Besâtin.	W. Tawârik,
Gandali.	etc.
W. Tawârik.	
'Ôdheib.	
Suez.	

II. FROM SUEZ TO MOUNT SINAI. (SEC. III.)

WITH CAMELS.

Friday, March 16th.

From Suez.	n. m.	
1. Mounds of ancient Canal,	N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	1 35
2. Point at N. E. corner of Bay,	E. S. E.	25
3. Point opposite Suez,	S. by E.	1 35
4. Encampment,	S. by E.	35

Total 4 10

From Suez direct about 1 30

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	48°	} at Suez.
10 a. m.	65°	
2 p. m.	75°	
Sunset,	70°	
Clear and pleasant.	Wind N.	

Saturday, March 17th.

From Encampment.—General Course
from S. by E. to S. S. E.

1. 'Ayūn Mūsa,	2 10
2. W. er-Reiyaneh,	1 05
3. W. el-Kürdhieh,	2
4. W. el-Ahtha,	1 30
5. W. Südr, middle,	3 05

Total 9 50

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	52°
10 a. m.	68°
2 p. m.	74°
Sunset,	69°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind N. E.

Sunday, March 18th.

Remained encamped in Wady Südr.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	53°
10 a. m.	68°
2 p. m.	71°
Sunset,	66°
Clear.	Wind E. N. E.

Monday, March 19th.

From W. Südr,		
1. Wady Wardān,	S. by E.	3 15
2. W. el-'Amārah,	S. S. E.	3 30
3. 'Ain Hawārah,	S. S. E.	2
4. Nukeia' el-Fūl,	S. S. E.	30

5. W. Ghūrūndel,	S. S. E.	n. m.
6. Encampment in do.	S. W.	1 30

Total 10 45

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	49°
10 a. m.	67°
2 p. m.	72°
Sunset,	68°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind N. W.

Tuesday, March 20th.

From W. Ghūrūndel,		
1. Wady Useit,	S. E.	2 15
2. W. Thāl.	S. E. by S.	2 20
3. W. Shubeikeh,	S.	1
4. W. et-Taiyibeh, head,	S.	30
5. Sarbūt el-Jemel, (S. E. cor.)	E. S. E.	3 10
6. Encampment in W. Humr.	E. by N.	1 45

Total 11

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	59°
10 a. m.	76°
2 p. m.	79°
Sunset,	76°
Clear and warm.	Wind N. W.
light; at evening strong.	

Wednesday, March 21st.

From Encampment,		
1. Head of W. Humr,	{E. S. E. 1 40, {E. 1	2 40
2. Top of ascent,	S. E. by E.	20
3. Debbet er-Ramleh,	E. S. E.	1 25
4. Point in the plain,	E. S. E.	30
5. Wady Sūwuk; foot of Sūrābit el Khādīm,	S.	2 15
6. W. el-Khūmīleh, (Encamp.)	S. E.	1

Total 8 10

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	64°
10 a. m.	72°
2 p. m.	76°
Sunset,	68°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind N. E.
strong.	

Thursday, March 22d.

From Encampment,		
1. Angle of W. Khūmīleh,	S. E.	1 30
2. W. Seih, open place,	S. E.	1

3. Head of W. el-Bürk,	(S. by W. 80° S. S. E. 2 15	2 45
4. W. 'Akir,	S. S. E.	25
5. W. Kineh, mouth, S. E. by S.		35
6. el-Lebweh, pass or plain,	S. E. by S.	2
7. W. Beräh, Encampment,	S. E. by S.	1
Total		9 15

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 54°
10 a. m. 68°
2 p. m. 69½°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. E.

Friday, March 23d.

From Encampment,		
1. Wady el-Akhdar, S. S. E. ½ E.		1 20
2. W. esh-Sheikh, S. S. E.		1
3. el-'Örf, S. E. by S.		2
4. W. Soláf, S. S. E.		1 80
5. Nükb Håwy, bottom, S. E.		1
6. Nükb Håwy, top, S. by E.		1
7. Convent, S. E. by S.		2
Total		9 50

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 48°
10 a. m. 72°
2 p. m. 73°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.

Whole distance from Suez to the Convent,
63 hours.

*Saturday and Sunday, March 24th and 25th.**At the Convent.**March 24th.*

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 56°
10 a. m. 63°
2 p. m. 65°

March 25th.

Sunrise, 57°
10 a. m. 65°
2 p. m. 67°
Sunset, 65°

Both days clear. Wind N. W.

Monday, March 26th.

THER. F. Sunrise, 56° at Convent.
10½ a. m. 60° Top of Sinai.
2 p. m. 65° Horeb, Basin.
Sunset, 65° el-Arba'in.
Clear. Wind N. W. At 1 p. m. a
slight shower on Sinai and Horeb.

VOL. II.—48

Tuesday, March 27th.

THER. F. Sunrise, 47° at el-Arba'in.
10 a. m. { 43° in shade, } top of St.
 { 48° in sun, } Catharine.*
Clear. Wind N. W. cold and piercing.

*Wednesday, March 28th.**At the Convent.*

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 47°
10 a. m. 64°
2 p. m. 62°
Sunset, 58°
Clear. Wind N. W.

*III. FROM MOUNT SINAI TO 'AKA-BAH. (SEC. IV.)**WITH CAMELS.**Thursday, March 29th.*

From the Convent,		R. M.
1. Wady esh-Sheikh, N. N. W. ½ W.		25
2. W. es-Sebâ'iyeh,		
mouth, E. N. E.		50
3. Tomb of Sheikh Sâlih, N. N. E.		1 15
4. Encampment in W. es-Suweiriye, N. E. by N.		40
Total		3 10

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 49° } At
10 a. m. 65° } Convent
2 p. m. 66°
Sunset, 60°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.

Friday, March 30th.

From Encampment,
1. Top of Pass, (water-shed), N. E. by E. 45
2. Wady el-'Örfân, E. by S. 80
3. Jebel Fera', (entrance) E. 1 20
4. Wady Sa'l, plain, gen. E. 5 30
5. 'Öjrat el-Fûras, (ridge) N. E. 1
6. Encampment in branch of W. Mûrrah, N. E. 30
Total 9 35

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 38°
10 a. m. 72°
2 p. m. 76°

Clear. Sun very oppressive in Wady Sa'l. Wind in the morning N. E., afterwards S. W.

* The Thermometer rose at first in the sun to 52° Farenh. but sunk to 48° on being exposed to the wind.

Saturday, March 31st.

From Encampment,	R. M.	
1. Wady Mürrah, N. E.	25	
2. el-Burka', E. N. E.	40	
3. Rihân esh-Shûkâ'a, (end) N. E.	1 20	
4. W. el-Ajeibeh, E. N. E.	1 15	
5. 'Ain el-Hüdhera, (opposite) E. by N.	1 40	
6. Wady Ghûzâleh, head, gen. E. N. E.	1 15	
7. Wady er-Ruweihibi-yeh, Encamp. gen. N. E.	1	
Total	7 35	

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	58°
10 a. m.	80°
2 p. m.	77°
Sunset,	73°
Clear and sultry.	Wind S. S. E.

Sunday, April 1st.

Remained encamped.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	62°
10 a. m.	84°
Clear and cloudy alternately.	Wind S. W.

Monday, April 2d.

From Encampment,	
1. Wady running N.E. N.E. by E.	55
2. Wady running S. E. N. E.	50
3. Wady es-Sûmghy, S. E.	45
4. A side Wady, N. N. E.	1 40
5. Head of Wady es-Sa'deh, S. E.	40
6. en-Nuweibi'a, fountain, gen. E. N. E.	1 55
7. el-Wâsit,	1 15
8. Nuweibi'a of the Terabin,	45
9. Encampment,	45
Total	9 30

General Course along the coast, N. N. E.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	63°
10 a. m.	69°
2 p. m.	76°
Sunset,	74°

Clear and cloudy alternately.
Wind N. E. strong.*Tuesday, April 3d.*

From Encampment,	
1. Mûrbût Ka'ûd el-Wâsileh,	1 45
2. Râs el-Burka',	2 45
3. Abu Suweirah,	1 30
4. Wady el-Muhâsh,	3

5. End of et-Tih,	R. M.	1
6. Wady el-Mukûbbeleh,		30
7. Wady el-Huweimirât, Encamped.		1

Total 11 30

General Course of the coast, N. N. E.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	64°
10 a. m.	68°
2 p. m.	79°
Sunset,	76°

Clear and fine. Wind N. E. strong.

Wednesday, April 4th.

From Encampment,	
1. Wady el-Huweimirât, (northern.)	1
2. Wady Merâkh, mouth,	1 55
3. W. el-Kûreiyeh, or el-Kûrey,	45
4. W. el-Mezârik.	30
5. W. Tâba', (fountain)	45
6. Râs el-Musry, (point)	45
7. N. W. corner of Gulf,	2
8. Castle of 'Akabah, S. E.	1 20

Total 9

General Course of the western coast N. E.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	62°
10 a. m.	76°
Sunset,	74°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind N. E. strong.

Whole distance from the Convent to 'Akabah, 50½ hours.

IV. FROM 'AKABAH TO JERUSALEM (SEC. V.)

WITH CAMELS.

Thursday, April 5th.

From the Castle of 'Akabah,	
1. Foot of W. Mountain, N. W.	1 25
2. Encampment, W. N. W.	1 20

Total 2 45

THERMOM. F. 10 a. m.	70°
2 p. m.	74°
Sunset,	60°
Clear.	Wind N. E. strong.

Friday, April 6th.

From Encampment,		R. M.
1. Wady el-Muary,	W. N. W.	45
2. Gate of Pass,	N. W.	15
3. Râs en-Nâkh,	W. N. W.	1 30
4. Mufârik et-Turk,		
(fork,)	W. N. W.	55
5. el-Humeirâwât,	N. W.	1 35
6. Wady el-Khumileh,	N. N. W.	1 10
7. W. el-'Adhbeh. En-		
camp.	N. N. W.	2 50

Total 9

Thermom. F. Sunrise,	56°
10 a. m.	56°
2 p. m.	62°
Sunset,	56°

Clear and cold. Wind N. and strong.

Saturday, April 7th.

From Encampment,		R. M.
1. Top of low ridge,	N. N. W.	45
2. W. el-Ghaidherah,	N. by W.	2 35
3. Ghûdhîr, (Pool),	N. by W.	1 45
4. Wady el-Jerâfeh,	N. by W.	1 30
5. W. el-Ghubey,	N. by W.	1 30
6. W. Bûtlîhât,	N. by W.	30
7. W. Ghûdhâghidh.		
Encamp.	N. by W.	1 15

Total 9 50

Thermom. F. Sunrise,	39°
10 a. m.	61°
2 p. m.	56°
Sunset,	53°

Clear and cloudy alternately.—
Wind S. W., at evening N. W. A
smart shower at 2½ o'clock, and
other showers round about.

Sunday, April 8th.

Remained encamped.

Thermom. F. Sunrise,	35°
10 a. m.	60°
2 p. m.	63°
Sunset,	59°

Clear. Wind W. strong. The
coldest morning.

Monday, April 9th.

From Encampment,		R. M.
1. W. el-Haikibeh,	N. by W.	2 15
2. W. el-Kureiyeh,	N. by W.	2 10

		R. M.
3. W. Abu Tin,	N. N. W.	2 40
4. W. el-Khûrâizeh,	N. N. W.	40
5. W. 'Arâif en-Nâkah,	N. N. W.	1
6. Ridge W. of Jebel		
'Arâif,	N. N. W.	30
7. Plain of W. el-Mâyein,		
N. side. Encamp.	N.	1 50
Total		10 45

Thermom. F. Sunrise,	88°
10 a. m.	65°
2 p. m.	72°
Sunset,	68°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.	

Tuesday, April 10th.

From Encampment,		R. M.
1. Wady el-Lussân,	N. by W.	50
2. W. el-Muzeiri'ah,		
(bed),	N. by W.	40
3. W. el-Jerîr,	N. by W.	1 45
4. Gap in a ridge,	N. by W.	1 30
5. W. el-Jâifeh,	N. N. E.	1 20
6. W. el-Kûsâimeh,		
(wells,)	N. N. E.	2 30
7. W. el-'Ain, (bed,)	N. N. E.	1 10
8. Encampment,	N. N. E.	25

Total 10 10

Thermom. F. Sunrise,	64°
10 a. m.	71°
2 p. m.	73°
Hazy. Wind S. E. till 9 a. m. then N. W.	

Wednesday, April 11th.

From Encampment,		R. M.
1. Wady es-Serâm,		
head,	N. E. by N.	1 30
2. Wady es-Serâm,		
plain,	N. E. by N.	45
3. 'Abdeh, or el-'Aujeh,	N.	1 30
4. Junction of road,	N. E. by E.	1 30
5. W. el-Abyad, and		
Sheikh el-Amry,	N. E. by N.	45
6. W. en-Nehlyeh,	N. E. by N.	1 30
7. W. er-Ruhaibeh,	N. E. by N.	1 15

Total 8 45

N. B. For other Routes from the
Convent of Mount Sinai to Ruhai-
beh and Gaza, see Note XXIV, at
the end of Vol. I

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 66°
 12 m. 88°
 2 p. m. 76°
 Sunset, 66°
 Wind N. E. About 11 a. m. S.—
 A violent Simoom till 5 p. m. with
 thick haze; then N. W.

Thursday, April 12th.

From Ruhaibeh,		
1. W. el-Kürn, el-Khū-	gen. N. E.	2 50
Isaah,	N. N. E.	1 30
2. W. el-Khūza'y,	N. N. E.	1 10
3. W. el-Mürtūbeh,	N. N. E.	
4. Bir es-Seba', Beer-	N. N. E.	2 50
sheba,	N. E.	1
5. Encampment,		
	Total	9 20

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 60°
 10 a. m. 72°
 2 p. m. 73°
 Sunset, 66°
 Clear and pleasant. Wind S. W.
 then N. W.

Friday, April 13th.

From Encampment,		
1. Entrance of Moun-	N. E. by E.	3 20
tainas,	N. E. by E.	2 50
2. edh-Dhoheriyeh,		
	Total	6 10

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 50°
 10 a. m. 68°
 2 p. m. 66°
 Clear and pleasant. Wind S. W.

Saturday, April 14th.

From edh-Dhoheriyeh,		
1. el-Khūlil, Hebron, N. E. by E.		5
2. Rāmet el-Khūlil,		1
3. ed-Dirweh,		1
4. Kūfln,		1
5. el-Burak, (Solomon's Pools)		2 30
6. Rachel's Tomb,		1 10
7. Mār Elyās, (Convent)		30
8. el-Kuds, Jerusalem, (Gate)		1 05
	Total	13 15

General Course from Hebron to
 Jerusalem, between N. E. by N. and
 N. N. E.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 42°
 10 a. m. 61°
 Clear and cold. Wind N. E. strong.

X. X. Whole distance from 'Akabah to Jerusalem,
 80 hours.

**V. FROM JERUSALEM TO BETHEL,
 ETC. (SEC. IX.)**

WITH HORSES.

General rate of Travel, 2.4 G. M. or 3 Rom.
 M. the Hour.

Friday, May 4th.

From Jerusalem, N. E. corner,		X. X.
1. Ridge N. of Mount		
of Olives,	N. 25° E.	25
2. 'Anāta, (Anathoth)	N. E.	50
3. el-Hizneh,	N. 20° E.	40
4. Jeba', (Geba)	N.	40
5. Mūkhmas, (Michmah)	N. E.	50
6. Deir Duwān,	{ N. by W. 30	1 05
	{ N. 10° E. 35	
7. et-Taiyibeh,	N. N. E.	1 50
	Total	6 20

Saturday, May 5th.

From Taiyibeh,		
1. Beitln, (Bethel)	W. S. W.	2
2. el-Bīreh, (Beeroth)	S. 48° W.	45
3. Rām-Allah,	W.	20
4. el-Jib, (Gibeon) S. by W. † W.		1 15
5. Neby Samwil,	S. 21° W.	30
(Mizpeh)		
6. Jerusalem, Damasc.		
Gate,	S. 35° E.	1 50
	Total	6 40

**VII. FROM JERUSALEM TO 'AIN
 JIDY, THE DEAD SEA, JORDAN,
 ETC. (SEC. X.)**

WITH HORSES.

Tuesday, May 8th.

From Jerusalem, Yāfa Gate,		
1. Mār Elyās,	S. 25° W.	1
2. Rachel's Tomb,	S. W. by S.	30
3. Beit Lahm, Beth-		
lehem,	S. 5° E.	25
4. el-Burak, Solomon's		
Pools,	S. W. ?	1 05

5. el-Fureidîs, (Frank Mountain,) Base, E. S. E.?	N. M.	1 50
6. Tents of the Ta'âmirah, W. S. W.		40
Total		5 30

Wednesday, May 9th.

From Encampment,		
1. Tekû'a, (Tekoa) S 5° E.		25
2. Bir ez-Za'ferâneh, S. 35° W.		1 40
3. Beni Na'im, } S. 70° W. 1 15		
S. 50° E. 1		2 45
4. Zif, W. side of Tell, S. W. ½ S.		1 15
5. Kurmul, (Carmel) S. ½ W.		1 15
6. Ma'in, (Maon) S. ½ W.		25
Total		7 45

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 50°
 2 p. m. 67°
 Clear and cool. Wind W.

Thursday, May 10th.

From Carmel,		
1. Bir Selhûb, E. ½ S.		4 10
2. Wady el-Ghâr, bottom, E. ½ S.		40
3. Nûkb 'Ain Jidy, (Pass) E. ½ S.		1 50
4. 'Ain Jidy, (En-gedi) E. S. E.		45
Encamp.		
5. Shore of Dead Sea, E. S. E.		25
Total		7 50

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 51°
 2 p. m. 82°
 Sunset, 80°
 Clear and pleasant. Wind East; at evening W.

Friday, May 11th.

From Head of the Pass,		
1. Wady Sudeir,		50
2. Wady Hûsâsah,		2 30
3. Wady Derejeh, (Khûreitân)		50
4. Wady et-Ta'âmirah,		35
5. Cliff over 'Ain Terâbeh,		1 05
Total		5 50

General Course all day about N. N. E. parallel to the shore.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 68°
 2 p. m. 85°
 Sunset, 78°
 Clear and warm. Wind East; in the afternoon North.

VOL. II.—48.*

Saturday, May 12th.

From Encampment,		
1. Wady Râs el-Ghuweir, gen. N. N. E.	N. M.	1 05
2. Wady er-Râhib, or en-Nâr, gen. N. N. E.		2 25
3. Râs el-Feshkhah, N. E. by E.		15
4. 'Ain el-Feshkhah, N. E. by E.		40
5. 'Ain Jehâir, N. E. by E.		2 10
6. el-Helu, (Ford of Jordan) about E. N. E.		1 10
7. 'Ain Hajla, (Beth Hoglah) N. W. ½ N.		55
8. Kûsar Hajla, S. W. by W.		20
9. Erih, (Jericho) N. 38° W.		1 15
Total		10 15

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 70°
 10 a. m. 84°
 Sunset, 78°
 Clear and hot. Wind East; in the afternoon S.

Sunday, May 13th.

Remained at Jericho.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 70°
 10 a. m. 86°
 2 p. m. 91°
 Sunset, 76°
 Clear and hot. Wind South; in the afternoon W.

Monday, May 14th.

From Jericho,		
1. 'Ain es-Sultân, direct, N. 35° W.		35
2. Ridge above Sugar Mills, N. 60° W.		15
3. 'Ain Dûk, about N. N. W.		50
4. Top of Pass, W.		45
5. High ridge, S. W. by S.		40
6. Arab cemetery, S. W. by W.		1
7. Deir Duwân, { W. by N 1 45		
N. W. 1 20		3 05
8. Beitîn, (Bethel) abt. N. W. by W.		1
Total		8 10

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 64°
 Sunset, 58°
 Clear and pleasant. Wind W.

Tuesday, May 15th.

From Beitîn,		
1. el-Bireh, (Fountain) S. W. ½ W.		1

	E. M.
2. 'Atâra, ruins, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	40
3. er-Râm, (Ramah) S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	45
4. Tuleil el-Fâl, S. 10° W.	50
5. Sha'fat, (opposite) S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	15
6. Scopus, brow, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	20
7. Jerusalem, Damascus Gate, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	25

Total 4 15

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	48°
2 p. m.	76°
Sunset,	71°
Clear and warm.	Wind W.

VIII. FROM JERUSALEM TO GAZA AND HEBRON. (SEC. XL)

WITH MULES.

Thursday, May 17th.

	E. M.
From Jerusalem,	
1. Mâr Elyâs, S. 25° W.	1
2. Rachel's Tomb, S. W. by S.	35
3. Beit Jâla, W. by S.	30
4. Height N. W. of Beit Jâla, about N. W.	15
5. High point W. of W. Bittir abt. W. by N.	40
6. Beit Atâb, N. 63° W.	2 30
7. Ruined Khân, S. 17° W.	1
8. Beit Nettif, S. 85° W.	1 30

Total 8

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	68°
10 a. m.	76°
Sunset,	68°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind W.

Friday, May 18th.

From Beit Nettif,	
1. Ridge W. of { S. W. 20	1 15
Wady es-Sûmt, { W. by N. 55	
2. Well in valley, W. by N.	80
3. Deir Dubbân, Caverns,	35
4. Kudna,	50
5. Beit Jibrîn ¹ (Eleutheropolis)	1 05
6. Dhikrin, N. N. W.	1 25
7. Tell es-Sâfieh, N. 10° W.	1 05

Total 6 45

¹ From the Well (No. 2) to Beit Jibrîn, the whole distance is to be reckoned about two hours on a straight course.

	E. M.
THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	62°
2 p. m.	78°
Sunset,	68°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind W.

Saturday, May 19th.

From Tell es-Sâfieh,	
1. Sümmeil, S. 50° W.	1 20
2. Kurâtiyeh, S. 80° W.	1 20
3. Bureir, { S. 55° W. 90	2 15
{ S. 48° W. 45	
4. Beit Hündn, S. 80° W.	2 05
5. Ghüzzeh (Gaza), { S. 80° W. 55	1 25
{ S. W. 30	

Total 8 25

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	68°
10 a. m.	82°
2 p. m.	80°
Sunset,	73°
Clear, pleasant, warm.	Wind S.
W. At evening N. W.	

Sunday, May 20th.

Remained at Gaza.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	71°
10 a. m.	75°
Sunset,	70°
Clear and pleasant.	Wind N. W.
Afternoon S. W.	

Monday, May 21st.

From Gaza,	
1. Hâj, { N. E. 30	2 35
{ E. 80	
E. by N. 45	
2. Bureir, N. 20° E.	1 20

Total 3 55

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	64°
10 a. m.	75°
Sunset,	64°
Wind S. W. Afternoon N. W.	

Tuesday, May 22d.

From Bureir,	
1. Um Lâkis, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	45
2. Tell el-Hasy, S. 55° E.	1 05
3. 'Ajlân, ² N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	30

² The direct distance from Um Lâkis to 'Ajlân is 45 or 50 minutes.

4. es-Sakkariyeh,	{ E. by S. 30 E. 25	55
5. el-Kubeibeh,	abt. E. by N.	1 30
6. Beit Jibrin,	N. E.	1 10
7. ed-Dawāimeh,	{ S. S. E. 30 S. 20° E. 45 S. 20° W. 30	1 45
Total		7 40

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 54°
10 a. m. 80°
2 p. m. 78°
Sunset, 68°
Clear and sultry. Wind S. W.

Wednesday, May 23d.

Return and reckon from Beit Jibrin,		
1. Idhna (Jedna),	{ S. S. E. 30 E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 90	2
2. Teffüh (Beth Tapuah),	gen. E. S. E.	2 15
3. el-Khūlil (Hebron)	{ E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 1 S. 65° E. 45	1 45
Total		6

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 64°
10 a. m. 86°
2 p. m. 86°
Sunset, 65°
Morning clear, Wind S. W. After 11 o'clock, violent Sirocco and haze. Evening, Wind N. W. clear.

Thursday, May 24th, and Friday, May 25th.

Remained at Hebron.

May 24th.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 54°
10 a. m. 70°
2 p. m. 72°
Sunset, 56°

May 25th.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 49°
10 a. m. 68°
2 p. m. 71°
Sunset, 59°
Both days clear and fine. Wind N. W.

IX. FROM HEBRON TO WADY MUSA AND BACK. (SEC. XII.)

WITH CAMELS.

Saturday, May 26th.

From Hebron,		R. M.
1. Tell Zif,	about S. by E.	1 35
2. Kurmul (Carmel),	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	1 25
3. Top of Mountain,	S. 8° E.	1
4. Encampment, about S. S. E.		1 05
Total		5 05

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 43°
10 a. m. 69°
Sunset, 66°
Clear, cool, pleasant. Wind N. W.

Sunday, May 27th.

Remained encamped.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 54°
10 a. m. 74°
2 p. m. 82°
Sunset, 67°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.

Monday, May 28th.

From Encampment,		
1. Rujeim Selāmeḥ,	about S.	3 20
2. ez-Zuweirah el-Fōka,	gen. S. E.	1 45
3. ez-Zuweirah,	S. E.	4 35
4. Wady en-Nejd,	S. E.	10
Total		9 50

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 52°
Sunset, 80°
Wind S. W. Towards evening N. E. from Dead Sea.

Tuesday, May 29th.

From Wady en-Nejd,		
1. Khashm Usdum,	{ S. E. 35 N. end, { S. S. E. 25	1
2. S. W. corner of Dead Sea,	about S. S. E.	1 40
3. W. el-Fikreh, and W. end of cliffs,	gen. S. 38° W.	2 30
4. 'Ain el-'Arūs,	gen. S. S. E.	45
5. Mouth of Wady el-Jeib,	gen. S. 30° E.	1 15

6. Encampment in el-Jeib, {	S. S. W. 1 50	H. M.
	S. 1 20	8 10
Total		10 20

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 70°
2 p. m. 92°
Sunset, 88°
Clear and sultry. Wind variable.

Wednesday, May 30th.

From Encampment,		
1. 'Ain el-Buweirideh,	S. to S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	7 30
2. W. side of porphyry cliffs,	S.S.E. 1 40	3 10
3. Nûkb Nemela, {	S.E. by E. 1 30	
foot,	S. 50	1 15
4. Nûkb Nemela, top,	S. S. E. 25	
(Encamp.)	gen. S. S. E.	1 15
Total		13 10

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 69°
10 a. m. 96°
12 m. 102°
2 p. m. 96°
Sunset, 76°
Wind S. W. At first pleasant,
then a fierce Sirocco.
At evening N. W.

Thursday, May 31st.

From Encampment,		
1. es-Sik of Neme- la, W. end, {	S. E. 55	
	S. S. W. 25	2 50
	S. E. 1 30	
2. Sutûh Beida, {	S. S. E. 30	50
mid. of plain,	S. by W. 20	
3. es-Sik of Wady Musa, E. end, {	gen. S. 2	2 15
	abt. W. 15	
4. Wady Mûsa,	gen. W.	30
Total		6 25

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 75°
Warm but pleasant. Wind N. W.

Friday, June 1st.

From Wady Mûsa, return,		
1. Nûkb Nemela, top, (see May 31)	5	
2. Nûkb Nemela, foot, "	40	
3. W. side of porphyry cliffs, "	1	
4. Encampment in el-'Arabah, gen. N. 55° W.	4 20	
Total		11

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 67°
Sunset, 82°
Clear and warm. Wind N. W.

Saturday, June 2d.

From Encampment,		
1. Wady el-Jeib (E. side),	abt. W. N. W.	1 45
2. 'Ain el-Weibeh,	W. N. W.	50
3. 'Ain el-Murei- dhah, {	N. N. W. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 15
	N. N. E. 2	
4. Nûkb el-Khûrâr, top,	N. N. W.	3
5. Nûkb es-Sûfâh, foot,	N. N. W.	2 40
6. Id. (Zephath),	gen. N. N. W.	1 05
7. Encampment,	gen. N. N. W.	1 30
Total		14 05

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 68°
10 a. m. 78°
Clear and warm. Wind S. W.
strong.

Sunday, June 3d.

From Encampment,		
1. Nûkb el-Muzeikah, N. 15° W.	2	
2. Kubbet el-Baul,	N. N. W.	1 15
3. 'Ar'arah (Aroer), {	N. N. W. 1 40	2 45
	N. 1 05	
4. Encampment,	N. E.	1 05
Total		7 05

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 66°
Sunset, 74°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.

Monday, June 4th.

From Encampment,		
1. el-Milh (Malatha),	N. E.	1
2. Top of mountain- ridge,	N. 26° E.	2 05
3. Semû'a (Eshte- moa',	abt. N. 20° E.	3
4. Wady el-Khûlîl, bottom,	abt. N. 20° E.	1 40
5. el-Khûlîl (He- bron)	abt. N. 20° E.	2 15
Total		10

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 59°
Sunset, 67°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.

Tuesday, June 5th.

Remained at Hebron.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	61°
10 a. m.	80°
2 p. m.	80°
Sunset,	71°

Clear and warm. Wind N. W.

X. FROM HEBRON TO RAMLEH AND JERUSALEM. (SEC. XIII.)

WITH HORSES.

Wednesday, June 6th.

From Hebron,	R. M.
1. Dûra (Dora, Adora, Adoraim),	W. by S. 2 30
	S. W. 1
2. el-Burj,	W. 1 3 20
	S. W. 1
	S. by W. 20
Total	5 50

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	74°
10 a. m.	88°

Clear and warm. Wind S.

Thursday, June 7th.

From el-Burj,	
1. Um esh- { N. E. by E. 20	1
Shûkaf, { N. N. E. 40	
2. Idhna (Jedna) N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	2 15
3. Terkûmieh, { N. N. E. 25	1 05
(Tricomias) { E. 25	
	E. N. E. 15
4. Beit Nûsib (Nezib) N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	85
5. Bîr es-Sûr, { N. N. W. 30	50
	N. N. E. 20
6. Beit Nettîf, { N. by E. 15	1 50
	N. 1 35
Total	7 85

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	72°
2 p. m.	97°
Sunset,	88°

Clear and very warm. Wind N. W.

Friday, June 8th.

From Beit Nettîf,	R. M.
1. 'Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh),	N. 12° W. 1 30
2. Well in the Plain,	N. N. W. 2 05
3. 'Âkir (Ekron), abt. N. W. by W.	1 35
4. er-Ramleh,	N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 1 50

Total 7

THERMOM. F. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. m.	76°
Sunrise,	83°
11 a. m.	94°
12 m.	105°
2 p. m.	97°
Sunset,	90°

Slight haze, very hot. Wind N. W.

Saturday, June 9th.

From Ramleh,	
1. Ludd (Lydda) N. 57° E.	45
2. Dâniyâl, S. 3° E.	40
3. Jimzu (Gimzo), S. 85° E.	30
4. Um Rûsh, abt. E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	2 10
5. Beit 'Ur et-Tahta, abt. E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	1
6. Beit 'Ur el-Fôka, S. 60° E.	1
7. el-Jib (Gibe-on), { S. 65° E. 1 40	2 30
	S. 27° E. 50
8. Beit Hanîna,	50
9. Jerusalem,	1 30

Total 10 55

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	76°
Warm, but pleasant.	Wind N. W.

XI. FROM JERUSALEM TO NAZARETH AND MOUNT TABOR. (SEC. XIV.)

WITH MULES.

Wednesday, June 13th.

From Jerusalem,	
1. el-Bîreh (Beeroth),	gen. N. 4° E. 3
2. Jifna (Goph-na), { N. N. E. 35	1 35
	N. 1
3. 'Ain Sinia,	N. E. 25
4. Wady el-Belât, head,	gen. N. 1 15

5. Jiljilia,	gen. N.	50
6 Sinjil,	E.	1 05
Total		8 10

Thermom. F.	4 a. m.	52°
	Sunrise,	56°
	2 p. m.	76°
	Sunset,	66°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.		

Thursday, June 14th.

From Sinjil,		
1. Turmus 'Aya,	N. 85° E.	30
2. Seilûn (Shiloh),	N. N. E.	30
3. Lubban, the	{ N. W. by W.	20
village,		W. 30
		N. 10
4. Khân es-Sâ-	{ E. by N.	20
wieh,		N. N. E. 20
5. Ridge S. of the	N. by W.	45
plain Mûkhna,		
6. Mouth of Nâbulus	N. N. E.	2 25
valley,	N. W.	30
7. Nâbulus,		
Total		6 20

From Nâbulus to summit of Gerizim, S. W. 20 min. steep ascent; S. E. 20 min. level.

Thermom. F.	Sunrise,	64°
	2 p. m.	78°
	Sunset,	73°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.		

Friday, June 15th.

From Nâbulus,		
1. Sebüstieh (Sa-	{ W. N. W. 1	2 10
maria),		
	{ N. by W. 1	1 05
2. Ridge N. of Se-		
büstieh,	N. by E.	1 05
3. Jeba',	E. N. E.	1
4. Sântûr,	{ E. N. E. 20	50
	N. E. 30	
5. Kûbâtiyeh,	abt. N. E.	1 25
6. Jenin (Gineza),		1 30
Total		8

Thermom. F.	Sunrise,	62°
	2 p. m.	82°
	Sunset,	70°
Clear and warm. Wind N. W.		

Saturday, June 16th.

From Jenin,		
1. Zer'in (Jezreel),	N. 15° E.	2 15
2. 'Ain Jâldûd,	abt. S. E.	30
3. Solam (Shunem),	about N.	1 30
4. Foot of mountains of		
Nazareth, (N. side		
of Great Plain),	abt. N. 9° W.	1 45
5. en-Nâsirah {	abt. N. 9° W.	1 15
(Nazareth), {	circuitous.	
Total		7 15

Thermom. F.	Sunrise,	64°
	2 p. m.	78°
	Sunset,	72°
Clear and pleasant. Wind N. W.		

Sunday, June 17th.

Remained at Nazareth.

Thermom. F.	Sunrise,	64°
	10 a. m.	88°
	2 p. m.	88°
	Sunset,	74°
Clear and sultry. Wind S.		

Monday, June 18th.

From Nazareth,		
1. Debûrieh (10 min. N.		
of vill.)	E. S. E.	1 45
2. Mount Tabor, summit,	E. S. E.	1
Total		2 45

Thermom. F.	Sunrise,	80°
	10 a. m.	98°
	2 p. m.	95°
	Sunset,	74°
Hazy and sultry. Wind S. E.		
Violent Sirocco.		

XII. FROM MOUNT TABOR TO SAFED. (SEC. XV.)

WITH MULES.

Tuesday, June 19th.

From Tabor,		
1. Khân et-Tujjar, {	N. N. W. 45	1 55
	abt. N. 15	
	abt. N. E. 55	

2. Lâbleh,	{ gen. N. 82° E.	H. M.	
	abt. N. N. E.	1	20
3. Tell Hattin,	abt. N. N. E.	1	
4. Hattin,	abt. N. circuitous,	25	
5. Tûbariyeh (Tiberias),	abt. S. E. by E.	2	
Total		6	40

THERMOM. F. Sunrise, 64°
Sunset, 80°
Clear and warm. Wind S. W.

Wednesday, June 20th.

From Tûbariyeh,			
1. el-Mejdel (Magdala),	abt. N. W.	1	10
2. W. er-Rûbûdiyeh and			
Abu Shûsheh,	N. by W.	50	
3. Khân Minyeh			
(Capernaum),	N. 62° E.	40	
4. Tell Hûm,	N. E.	1	05
5. Mouth of Jordan,	N. E.	1	05
Total		4	50

Note.—Excursion on the Plain at the N. end of the Lake of Tiberias.

From mouth of Jordan,			
1. el-Mes'adiyeh,	S. 40° E.	20	
2. Dûkah,	S. 25° E.	25	
3. et-Tell (Julias),	N. 5° W.	50	
4. Encampment,	S. 60° W.	40	

The rate of travel on this excursion was more rapid than usual.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	75°		
2 p. m.	95°		
Sunset,	85°		
Clear and very warm.		Wind S. W.	
Sirocco.			

Thursday, June 21st.

From mouth of Jordan,			
1. Damascus road,	abt. W. N. W.	2	35
2. Safed,	abt. W. N. W.	2	05
Total		4	40

Note.—From Safed to Benît about 55 minutes; viz. N. 40° E. 30 min., and N. 45° E. 25 min.

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	71°		
10 a. m.	82°		
2 p. m.	82°		
Clear and pleasant.		Wind W.	

XIII. FROM SAFED TO BEIRÛT.
(SEC. XVI.)

WITH MULES.

Friday, June 22d.

From Safed,		H. M.	
1. el-Jish (Giscal),	N. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	2	20
2. High Land N.			
N. W. of W.			
el-Mu'addamlyeh,	N. by W.	1	40
3. Bint Jebel,	abt. N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	1	55
Total		5	55

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	61°		
10 a. m.	87°		
Clear and pleasant.		Warm.	

Saturday, June 23d.

From Bint Jebel,			
1. Haddâta,	{ N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	
	N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$		
2. Brow of mountain,	N. W.	25	
3. Kâna (Kanah),	abt. W. N. W.	2	55
4. Kabr Hairân,	abt. W. N. W.	55	
5. Râs el-'Ain,	abt. W. N. W.	1	10
6. Sûr (Tyre),	abt. N. N. W.		
circuitous.		1	10
Total		8	35

THERMOM. F. Sunrise,	65°		
Clear and pleasant.			

Sunday, June 24th.

Remained at Tyre.

Monday, June 25th.

From Sûr,			
1. Khân el-Kâsimiyeh,		1	45
2. 'Adlân (Ruins),		1	45
3. Khân el-Khûdr (St. George),		1	15
4. 'Ain el-Kanterah,		25	
5. 'Ain el-Burâk,		45	
6. Nahr ez-Zaherâny,		20	
7. Nahr Senfk,		1	15
8. Saïda (Sidon),		85	
Total		8	05

Tuesday, June 26th.

From Saida,

1. Bridge of Nahr el-Auwaly
(Bostrenus),
2. Neby Yûnas,
3. Nahr ed-Dâmûr (Tamyras),
4. Khân el-Musry,
5. Khân Khulda,
6. Wady Shuweifâ,

H. M.	7. Beirût, grove, (Encamp ½ h. S. of gata.)	H. M.	
			2
40		Total	9 10
2 20			
1 25	Thermom. F. Sunrise,	68°	
40	2 p. m.	84°	
1 15	Sunset,	78°	
50	Clear and pleasant.	Warm.	

INDEX I.

ARABIC NAMES AND WORDS,

CHIEFLY GEOGRAPHICAL.

Names beginning with *Abu*, *Um*, *Beit*, and *Kefr*, are in every case to be sought under these words. In respect to names beginning with *'Ain*, *Bir*, *Deir*, *Rds*, *Tell*, and the like, the arrangement is not so uniform; and some of them will be found under the second part of the name.

The particular object of this Index is, to represent the Arabic orthography of the Arabic names and words occurring in the Text and Notes; usually with the signification, where one is known. Hence the reference to pages is not always full; the more important passages only being cited, where a name appears more than once. Yet it is sufficiently full, to serve as a General Index for all the Arabic words and names of places, mentioned in the body of the work.

For the pronunciation of the several consonants and vowels, the reader is referred to the specifications immediately following the Preface in Vol. I.

A

A'âneh, 'aid,' ii. 3.
 'Abâbideh, Arabs, i. 111.
 el-'Abbâd, Ar. i. 571.
 el-'Abbâdin, Ar. i. 571.
 'Abdeh, Gr. *'Εβδα*, *Eboda*, i. 194.
 'Abeithirân, i. 41, 148.
 Abu el-Aswad, 'the black,' ii. 474.
 Abu el-'Auf, ii. 266, 267, 269.
 Abu Burka', 'veil,' i. 157.
 Abu Dis, i. 432.
 Abu Ghaush, i. 247.
 Abu Hailezôn, W. 'of snails,' i. 39.
 Abu Jerideh, ii. 177.
 Abu Kusheibeh, ii. 139.
 Abu Nâsir, ii. 333, 394.
 Abu Nujeim, i. 479, 486.
 Abu Nuṣeir, i. 571.
 Abu Nuteighineh, i. 602.
 Abu Mâṭhy (with Dâd), i. 146.
 Abu Mas'ûd, i. 104.

Abu Rashid, Ar. ii. 155.
 Abu Retemât, i. 189.
 Abu Shebbân, ii. 205.
 Abu Shukheidim, i. 453.
 Abu Shûsheh, ii. 401.
 Abu Subbâh, i. 573.
 Abu Suweirah, dim. 'picture,' name of
 fountains, i. 50, 63, 65, 146, 157.
 Abu Terâifeh, ii. 198.
 Abu Tîn, 'father of clay,' i. 184.
 Abu 'Ulejân, i. 602.
 Abu Yamîn, i. 571.
 Abu Za'bel, i. 44.
 Abu Zeitûn, ii. 146.
 'Abûd, ii. 229.
 'Abûdiye, 'service,' ii. 8.
 el-Abweib, for Buweib, dim. 'door,' i. 154
 el-Abyad, 'white,' i. 195.—ii. 447, 473.
 'Adas, 'lentiles,' i. 167.
 el-'Adhbeh, i. 177.
 'Adlân, ii. 474.
 el-'Adwân, Arabs, i. 548.

- 'Adweiribân, ii. 387.
 el-'Afûleh, ii. 320, 328, 331.
 'Afûrbala, Lat. *Forbelat*, ii. 328.
 Ahbek, ii. 16.
 el-Ahmar, 'red,' i. 569.
 Ahmed, i. 218.
 el-Ahey, ii. 112, 157.
 el-Ahtha, i. 63.
 'Aid, guide at Sinai, i. 101, 105, 108, 109;
 Burekhardt's guide, i. 157, 160.
 Ailah, Heb. *Elath*, i. 169, 170.
 el-'Ain, 'fountain,' i. 153.—i. 189, 190.—
 i. 444.
 'Ain Abûs, ii. 273.
 Ain 'Arik, i. 446.
 Ain el-Buridch, 'cold spring,' ii. 336.
 Ain el-Burâk, ii. 476.
 'Ain Jâlûd, ii. 324.
 'Ain Jâlûd, 'F. of Goliath,' ii. 324.
 'Ain Jidy, Heb. *En-gedi*, 'fountain of the
 kid,' i. 508.
 'Ain el-Kanterah, ii. 476.
 'Ain Kârim, i. 458, 469.
 'Ain Mâhil, ii. 350.
 'Ain el-Meiyiteh, 'dead fountain,' ii. 323.
 'Ain el-Mudauwarah, 'round spring,' ii.
 400.
 'Ain Shems, *Brth-shemesh*, i. 25.—ii. 224.
 'Ain Sinia, ii. 264.
 'Ain et-Tin, ii. 403.
 'Ain Warkuh, ii. 507.
 'Ain ez-Zeitûn, ii. 444.
 el-'Ajârimeh, Ar. i. 571.
 el-'Ajcibeh, i. 150.
 'Ajich, ii. 312.
 'Ajûr, ii. 22.
 'Ajûn, *Ejlon*, ii. 49.
 'Ajûn, i. 444, ii. 438.
 'Ajrum, a plant, i. 84, 499.
 el-'Ajran, ii. 441.
 'Ajrud, i. 45.
 el-'Akabuh, 'the descent, steep declivity,' i.
 171.
 el-Akhûr, 'the green,' i. 85.
 'Akîr, 'barren,' i. 83.
 'Akîr, *Ekrôn*, Gr. *Ἀκκάρων*, Lat. *Accaron*,
 ii. 227.
 'Akka, Heb. *Acco*, ii. 336, 366.
 'Akkûr, ii. 503.
 'Akrahbeh, Gr. *Ἀκραββελν*, Lat. *Acrabi*, ii.
 280.
 el-Akya, 'the farthest,' mosk, i. 297.
 el-'Al, Heb. *Elealeh*, i. 551.
 'Alawin, Arabs, i. 165.
 'Aleikât, Sing. 'Aleiky, Arabs, i. 134.
 'Alûn, or Ghâlim, not Heb. *Elim*, i. 69.
 See Ghûrûndel.
 'Allâr el-Fûka, 'the upper,' ii. 14.
 'Aly es-Sûghîr, ii. 450.
 el-'Alya, 'the upper,' i. 447.
 el-'Amârah, 'building,' Wady, i. 66.
 el-'Amarin, Arabs, ii. 48.
 Amatah, Gr. *Ἀμαθός*, 'mathus,' i. 569.
 'Ambek, for 'Anbek, i. 603.
 el-Amir, Ar. i. 571.
 'Amleh, ii. 27.
 'Ammâr es-Sâlîmeh, i. 601.
 el-'Ammârin, Ar. ii. 155.
 Amrân, Sing. 'Amrâny, Arabs, i. 167, 181
 el-'Amry, i. 195.
 el-'Amûd, 'the column,' i. 262.—ii. 402.
 'Amûria, ii. 266.
 'Amwâs, Gr. *Ἐμμαός*, *Ἀμμαούς*, *Emmaus*,
 Nicopolis, ii. 30, 232.
 'Anâh, Heb. *Anab*, i. 494.
 'Anâbeh, 'Annâbeh, ii. 232.
 'Anûta, Heb. *Anathoth*, i. 487.
 el-'Anazeh, Arabs, ii. 176.
 el-'Ankebiyeh, i. 37.
 el-'Ankebiyeh el-'Aţeshâneh, 'the dry,' i.
 40.
 el-'Ankebiyeh er-Reiyâneh, 'the wet,' i.
 39.
 Ansairiyeh, vulg. for Nusairiyeh, q. v.
 el-Ansariyeh, ii. 474.
 Ansûry, Wady, i. 39.
 el-'Arabah, 'rapid river,' but here from
 Heb. *Arabah*, 'plain, desert,' i. 162.—
 ii. 186.
 'Arid, Heb. *Arad*, ii. 101, 201.
 'Arâif en-Nâkah, dim. 'crest of a female
 camel,' i. 179, 184.
 el-'A'raj, 'lame,' ii. 410, 411.
 'Arak, 'wine-spirit,' ii. 82.
 'Arâk el-Ghûfir, ii. 267.
 'Arâk el-Menshiyeh, ii. 34.
 'Arâk es-Suweidân, ii. 49.
 'Arâneh, ii. 316, 319.
 el-'Ar'ar, 'juniper,' Heb. *אֶרְאֵר*, ii. 124.
 'Ar'arah, Heb. *Aracr*, ii. 199.
 el-Arba'in, 'the forty,' i. 107.—VIII. i. 569.
 Ard, 'low plain,' Heb. *אֶרֶץ* earth, ii. 369.
 el-'Arcijeh, i. 500.
 el-'Arish, i. 199, 601, 602, 603.
 'Arkûb, 'defile,' ii. 17.
 Arnûtiêh, a ruin, ii. 263.
 'Arrâbeh, ii. 312.
 'Arrûb, i. 488.
 Arsûf, ii. 242.
 'Arûbbûneh, ii. 317.
 el-'Arûs, 'the bride,' ii. 117.
 el-'Asas, i. 444.
 el-Ashhab, 'the gray,' M. i. 167, 174.
 'Ashûr, ii. 455.
 'Asitia, ii. 340.
 'Askûlân, Heb. *Askelon*, ii. 33.
 'Aslûj, ii. 201.
 Aswan, *Syene*, i. 19.
 el-'Asy, riv. *Orontes*, ii. 507.
 'Asyûn, Heb. *Ezion*, i. 169, 170.
 'Atâkah, i. 43, 48.
 'Atâra, Heb. *Ataroth*, i. 448.—ii. 265; also
 i. 575.
 'Athâl, i. 70. See Thâl.
 el-Athlêh, i. 41.

'Athlīt, ii. 470.
 el-'Atīyeh, 'gift,' i. 602.
 'Attārūs, i. 570.
 'Attir, *Jattir*? i. 494. ii. 204.
 el-'Aujeh, perhaps for el-'Auja, 'crooked,'
 i. 191, 600.—i. 568.—Riv. ii. 243,
 248.
 Aulād Sa'id, Ar. i. 36, 133.
 Aulād Suleimān, Arabs, i. 135.
 'Aulam, Gr. Οὐλαμμά, *Ulama*, ii. 356.
 Aurushlim, Heb. *Jerusalem*, i. 258.
 Auwaly, riv. *Bostrēnus*, ii. 485, 486.
 'Awārimēh, Sing. 'Arimy, Arabs, i. 133.
 'Aweibid, dim. 'worshipper,' i. 40, 42.
 'Awerta, ii. 274.
 el-'Ayūn, 'fountains,' Wady, ii. 447.
 'Ayūn el-'Abbāsy, ii. 409, 418.
 'Ayūn Mūsā, 'fountains of Moses,' i. 62.
 el-'Azazēh, ii. 27, 30.
 el-'Azāzimeh, Sing. 'Azzamy, Ar. i. 186.
 el-'Aziriyeh, *Bethany*, rel. adj. fem. pr. n.
 Lazarus, i. 432.
 'Azmūt (z for ḏha), ii. 279.

B

Ba'albek, ii. 394, 497.
 Bāb, 'gate, door,' i. 262, and often.
 Bāb en-Nūr, 'gate of victory,' i. 38.
 el-Bahārāt, Ar. i. 571.
 el-Bahr, 'the sea,' i. 582.
 Bukhshush, 'a present.' Turkish.
 Ba'lin, ii. 33.
 el-Bālū'a, 'pond,' ii. 262.
 Bānias, Gr. *Paveds*, *Paneas*, ii. 436, 437,
 439.
 el-Bārīd, 'the cold,' ii. 319.
 el-Barūk, ii. 485.
 Baṭīḥah, 'a low tract liable to be over-
 flowed by streams,' ii. 410, 411.
 Baurin, ii. 274.
 el-Bawāṭy, i. 602.
 el-Bda', 'novelty,' i. 599.
 Bedawin, Sing. Bedawy. From collect.
 Bedu, properly 'desert.'
 Bedu, 'a desert'; collect. 'desert-men,'
 Bedawin, ii. 112.
 el-Bedūn, Ar. ii. 143, 155.
 el-Beiḏa, 'the white,' F. ii. 115.
 Beirut, Gr. Βηρυτός, *Berytus*; not Heb.
Berothah, ii. 490-497.
 Beisān, Heb. *Beth-shean*, ii. 320, 328, 354.
 Beit 'Affa, ii. 34.
 Beit 'Ainūn, i. 489.
 Beit 'Alām, ii. 57.
 Beit 'Amreh, ii. 206.
 Beit 'Atāb, ii. 13.
 Beit 'Auwa, ii. 219.
 Beit Darās, ii. 34.
 Beit Dejan, Heb. *Beth-Dagon*, ii. 282.—
 ii. 280.
 Beit ed-Dīn, comm. Bteddin, ii. 485.
 Beit Dirdis, ii. 44.
 Beit Dukkah, i. 458.
 Beit Ellu, ii. 255.
 Beit 'Enān, ii. 255.
 Beit Fār, ii. 226.
 Beit Fejjār, i. 479.
 Beit Fūrik, ii. 280.
 Beit Fūsil, ii. 16.
 Beit Hanina, ii. 256.
 Beit Hanūn, ii. 35.
 Beit Hebrūn, see Hebrūn, ii. 90.
 Beit Hūnūn, see Beit Hanūn.
 Beit Iba, ii. 303.
 Beit Iksa, i. 458, 460.
 Beit Imrin, ii. 311.
 Beit Jāla, i. 218. ii. 2.
 Beit el-Jemāl, 'house of camels,' ii. 224.
 Beit Jibril, Heb. *Gabriel*, ii. 28.
 Beit Jibrin, Gr. Βαιτορύδρα, *Betogabra*, ii.
 24, 28, 51, 57.
 Beit Kād, ii. 316.
 Beit Laḥm, 'house of flesh,' Heb. *Bethle-
 hem*, 'house of bread,' i. 218, 471.
 Beit Lid, ii. 303.
 Beit Mirsim, ii. 216, 218.
 Beit Miry, ii. 493.
 Beit el-Mukdis, *Jerusalem*, i. 258.
 Beit Nebālū, Heb. *Neballat*? ii. 232.
 Beit Nettir, ii. 15, 223.
 Beit Nūbah, ii. 254.
 Beit Nūṣib, *Nezib*, ii. 17, 57, 221.
 Beit er-Rūsh, ii. 216.
 Beit Sāhūr, i. 469, 471, 479.
 Beit Šufāfa, i. 469.
 Beit Šurik, ii. 255.
 Beit Ta'mar, i. 471.
 Beit Ūla, ii. 16.
 Beit Ūlia, ii. 457.
 Beit Ummar, i. 216. ii. 55.
 Beit Ūnia, i. 453, 454.
 Beit 'Ūr, Heb. *Beth-horon*, ii. 250, 251.
 Beit Ūzin, ii. 303.
 Beita, ii. 273.
 Beitin, Heb. *Bethel*, i. 448, 449.
 Belād, 'district.'
 Belād Beshārah, ii. 438, 449.
 Belāt, 'a flat rock,' ii. 265, 266, 271.—ii.
 274, 275.
 Belbeis, i. 37.
 Beled, 'town, village.'
 el-Belka, ii. 521.
 Bellān, a plant, i. 209.
 el-Benāt, 'the daughters,' i. 88.
 Benāt Ya'qōb, 'daughters of Jacob,' i.
 405, 414 sq. 441.
 el-Beneiyāt, Ar. i. 186.
 Beni Ḥamīdeh, Ar. i. 371.
 Beni Ḥasan, Ar. i. 371.
 Beni Ḥemād, ii. 103.
 Beni Na'im, *Capbar Barucha*, vill. i. 489,
 491.—Ar. ii. 156.
 Beni Šukhr, Ar. i. 571. ii. 156.
 Beni Waḡel, Ar. i. 135.

- Benit, ii. 434, 439.
 Berâh, 'open desert,' i. 84.
 Bereikût, Heb. *Berachah*? i. 491.
 Berfilya, ii. 249.
 Berkâsieh, ii. 34.
 el-Besâtin, 'the gardens,' i. 37.
 Beshârah, 'glad tidings,' i. 36, 42, 90.
 Bessûm, ii. 369.
 Betras, see Buṭras.
 el-Beyâd, 'whiteness,' ii. 455.
 el-Beyâneh, i. 182.
 el-Beyûdh (with Dâd), ii. 101.
 Biddu, i. 453, 458. ii. 255.
 Bint Jebeil, ii. 447-449.
 Bir el-Bûr, 'well of detestation,' i. 41.
 Bir Kûlîdhia, ii. 21.
 Bir Nebûda, i. 455, 458.
 Bir es-Seba', Heb. *Beersheba*, i. 204.
 Bir Selhûb, i. 499.
 Bir es-Sâmîriyeh, ii. 283.
 Bir Suweis, 'well of Suez,' i. 45.
 Bir ez-Zeit, 'well of oil,' ii. 264.
 el-Bireh, Heb. *Beer* or *Beeroth*, i. 451, 452. ii. 262.
 el-Birein, 'two wells,' i. 192, 195.
 Birkeh, Birket, 'pool, tank,' i. 37, 326-330.
 Bittir, W. ii. 4.
 el-Biyûd, see el-Beyâd.
 Blâria, ii. 308.
 Bteddin, see Beit ed-Dîn.
 Budrus, ii. 232.
 Bûgh bigh, 'shallow wells,' i. 87, 111.
 el-Bukû'a, Heb. בִּקְעָה, 'valley, deep plain,' ii. 437, 498.
 el-Buk'ah, 'low plain,' ii. 387.
 Bukûr, ii. 55.
 Bûlus, Gr. Παῦλος, *Paul*; ii. 16, 223.
 el-Buradân, ii. 29.
 el-Burak, 'reservoir,' i. 218, 474.
 el-Burajineh, ii. 490.
 el-Bureij, dim. 'tower,' ii. 80.
 Bureir, ii. 35, 45.
 el-Burj, 'castle,' Gr. πύργος, Germ. *Burg*, ii. 216, 217.—ii. 249.
 Burj el-Bûrjineh, ii. 490.
 Burj Keis, ii. 16.
 Bûrin, see Baurin.
 el-Burk, 'lightning,' i. 82.
 Burka, i. 442.—ii. 311.
 el-Burka, 'the veil,' i. 167.
 el-Burkein, i. 602.
 Burkin, ii. 317.
 el-Buṣairch, dim. of Buṣrah, Heb. *Bozrah*, ii. 167.
 el-Bûtâhy, ii. 129.
 Bûtâsheh, ii. 224.
 Buṭlîhât, i. 181.
 Buṭm, *Pistacea terebinthus*, i. 208. ii. 222.
 Buṭrus, Gr. Πέτρος, *Peter*, ii. 248, 528.
 el-Bûṭṭauf, ii. 337, 369.
 el-Buweib, dim. 'door,' ii. 115.
 el-Buweirideh, dim. 'the cold,' ii. 122.
 Bzumûr, ii. 508.
 Dahab, Heb. *Di-Zahab*, i. 147. ii. 187.
 ed-Dahariyeh, 'the eternal,' i. 263.
 ed-Dâlieh, 'vine,' ii. 412.
 Dâmeh, ii. 369.
 ed-Dânûr, Gr. Ταυράς, Δαμοῦρας, *Tamyras*, *Damouras*, ii. 488, 489.
 Dâniyâl, 'Daniel,' ii. 248, 249.
 Dâr el-Hûmra, 'red court,' i. 41, 599.
 Dâr el-Kamar, comm. Deir el-Kamr, ii. 436, 439.
 Dâr Kânôn, ii. 457.
 ed-Dârôn, Gr. Δαρῶν, Lat. *Daroma*, ii. 38.
 ed-Daumeh, i. 212.
 Daumeh, Gr. Ἐδουμά, *Eduma*, ii. 280.
 ed-Dawâimeh, ii. 55.
 ed-Dawâ'irah, Arabs, i. 527.
 Debbet en-Nûsb, i. 75.
 Debbet er-Ramleh, 'plain of sand,' i. 77.
 Debûrieh, Heb. *Daberath*, Gr. Δαβριή, ii. 350, 363.
 ed-Deir, 'convent,' M. i. 94.
 Deir Abu Dhu'if (dh for Dâd), ii. 816.
 Deir Abu Mesh'al, i. 453. ii. 250, 255.
 Deir Abu Tûr, i. 276.
 Deir el-'Asal, ii. 216.
 Deir 'Aṭiyeh, ii. 507.
 Deir Bez'a, ii. 255.
 Deir Dubbân, 'C. of a fly,' ii. 23, 67.
 Deir Duwân, i. 442, 573.
 Deir Esneid, ii. 35.
 Deir Ghûzâl, ii. 316.
 Deir el-Haṭab, ii. 275, 279.
 Deir el-Hawa, 'C. of the air,' ii. 5, 14, 16.
 Deir Ibn 'Obaid, i. 471.
 Deir Jerûr, i. 445.
 Deir Kâdis, i. 453. ii. 255.
 Deir el-Kâdis Mûdistûs, i. 276.
 Deir el-Kamr, see Dâr el-Kamar.
 Deir el-Kâl'ah, ii. 493.
 Deir Ma'in, ii. 250.
 Deir Mâr Sûba, i. 382, 531.
 Deir Sâmit, ii. 219.
 Deir Sheruf, ii. 303.
 Deir es-Sidd, i. 437.
 Deir Tureif, ii. 232.
 Deir Yesin, i. 458.
 ed-Deirât, i. 499.
 Delâta, ii. 440, 445.
 ed-Delheimiyeh, ii. 387.
 Demna, ii. 356.
 ed-Dera'ah (d for Dhâl), i. 519.
 Derb, 'road.'
 Derb el-Bân, i. 37.
 Derb el-Ḥaj, 'pilgrim road,' i. 37.
 Derejeh, 'steps,' i. 528.
 Derûsieh, ii. 16.
 ed-Derûz, Druzes; Sing. ed-Derazy, ii. 511.
 edh-Dhafary (dh for Dâd), W. i. 72.
 Dhâher el-'Omar, ii. 393, 394.
 edh-Dhu'yikah (dh for Dâd), 'narrowness,' i. 173.

- Dhāneh (dh for Dād), Gr. *Θάνα*, *Thana*, ii. 168.
 Dhibān, Heb. *Dibon*, ii. 527.
 Dhikrān, ii. 29.
 edh-Dhoheriyyeh, abstr. 'noon,' i. 209, 211, 494. ii. 216.
 Dhuhairy, Arabs, i. 133.
 edh-Dhūllām, ii. 102.
 edh-Dhūlūl (dh for Dād), 'error,' i. 76, 148.
 Dhurrah, D. esh-Shāmy, 'Syrian Dhurrah,' maize. D. es-Seify, 'Summer Dhurrah,' millet, i. 561.
 Dibs, 'syrup of grapes;' Heb. דְּבִשׁ honey, ii. 81.
 Diffeh, Nerium Oleander, ii. 126, 401, 474.
 ed-Dilbeh, i. 212.
 Dimeshk esh-Shām, *Damascus*; usually called esh-Shām, ii. 498.
 Dimreh, ii. 35.
 ed-Dirweh, i. 217.
 Doghry, Turkish, 'straight ahead,' ii. 219.
 Döm, species of palm; also the lote-tree, i. 161, 505.
 ed-Dūly, ii. 320, 326, 355.
 Dūk, Gr. Δώκ, *Doch*, i. 571.
 Dūkah, ii. 411.
 Dukkān, 'shop,' ii. 487.
 ed-Dūnniyyeh, ii. 494.
 Dūra, Heb. *Adoraim*, Gr. Ἀδωρα, Δωρα, *Adora*, *Dora*, ii. 213, 214.
 Durah, see Dhurrah.

E

- el-'Ebyr, Heb. עֲבָרִי *Hebrew*, ii. 281.
 'Eddis, ii. 34.
 Ehdeib, ii. 102.
 Ehteim, Ar. i. 571.
 Elealeh, see el-Āl.
 Eliās, see Elyās.
 Eljy, ii. 128.
 Elteit, i. 161, 168.
 Elyās, or Eliās, Heb. *Elījah*; Gr. Ἠλίας, *Elias*, i. 219.
 el-Em'az, ii. 115.
 Emir, 'prince.'
 Emir Beshir, ii. 486.
 Emshāsh, corrupted for Meshāsh, 'water-pits,' i. 43, 45, 180, 184.
 Endor, Heb. *Endor*, ii. 356, 360.
 Erha, i. 576.
 Eriha, *Jericho*, i. 552.
 el-Ertā, i. 177.
 Esdūd, *Ashdod*, ii. 33.
 el-'Eshra, 'W. of socialness,' i. 40.
 el-'Esh-sheh, ii. 409.
 Eyūb, pr. n. *Job*, i. 332.
 el-Ezbekiyyeh, i. 28.

F

- Fahmeh, 'a coal,' ii. 312.
 el-Fāiya, W. ii. 104, 196, 197.

VOL. II.—49*

- Fakhr ed-Dīn, 'glory of judgment,' ii. 343.
 el-Fālūjy, ii. 34, 49, 67.
 el-Fārah, 'mouse,' i. 439, 440, 558.
 Faras el-Jundy, 'soldier's horse,' i. 41.
 el-Fārī'a, i. 569. ii. 279.
 Fedu, 'redemption,' i. 182.
 Feifeh, ii. 112.
 Feirān, *Pharan*, i. 85, 117, 126.
 Fellūh, 'a cultivator.' Plur. Fellāhīn, 'cultivators,' tillers of the soil.
 Fendeh, 'a subdivision,' i. 159.
 Fendekūmieh, Gr. Πεντακώμια, *Pentacomia*, ii. 312.
 Fera', i. 147, 148.
 el-Feranj, W. ii. 69, 220.
 Ferāshāt esh-Shih, i. 602.
 el-Ferūsh, 'the plateaus,' i. 148.
 el-Feshkhab, i. 531, 533.
 Fik, ii. 386, 437.
 el-Fikreh, W. ii. 116, 178, 180.
 Firdeh, tax, i. 426.
 el-Fōka, 'the upper.'
 el-Fosht, Old Cairo, i. 27.
 el-Fūdhly (dh for Dād), Ar. i. 181.
 Fūkin, ii. 13.
 Fūkū'a, ii. 316, 317.
 el-Fūleh, 'a bean,' ii. 328.
 el-Furei'a, i. 94, 146.
 el-Fureidis, dim. of Fardūs, *Paradise*, Frank Mountain, i. 478.
 Fūrkha, ii. 266, 267.
 el-Furn, 'W. of the oven,' i. 40.
 el-Fūsūl, Gr. Φασαλίς, *Phasaëlis*, i. 569.
 Fustak, 'Pistacia,' i. 505.
 el-Fuṭeis, i. 200.
 el-Fūwār, i. 441, 558.

G

- Gaza, see Ghūzzeh.
 Ghafir, i. 132, 138.
 el-Ghaidherah, i. 179, 180.
 el-Ghaur, 'aqua multa,' F. ii. 174, 186.
 el-Ghār, 'laurel,' W. i. 488, 500.
 Gharbūn, i. 37, 40.
 el-Ghārib, 'camel's hump,' i. 111.—i. 208. ii. 179, 197.
 el-Ghaul, 'evil spirit,' ii. 221.
 el-Ghawārineh, Sing. Ghūry, 'inhabitants of the Ghor,' i. 512, 552. ii. 112, 113, 411, 412, 436.
 el-Ghāzieh, ii. 476.
 el-Ghor, 'a long valley between two mountains,' i. 152. ii. 112, 113, 183.
 el-Ghubey, i. 181.
 el-Ghūbsheh, i. 35.
 el-Ghūdhāghidh (dh for Dād), 'diminutions,' i. 181.
 el-Ghūdhāh (dh for Dād), ii. 119.
 Ghūdhir, a corruption for Ghūdir, 'pool, stagnum,' i. 180.

el-Ghūdhyan (dh for Dād), Heb. *Ezion* ?
i. 169, 182.
Ghūdir, ii. 490; see Ghūdhfr.
el-Ghūfr, 'toll,' i. 427.
el-Ghūjar, ii. 436.
el-Ghūrāb, 'the raven,' i. 322.
el-Ghūrābeh, ii. 266.
Ghūrbeh, i. 87.
Ghureir, Burckh. i. 180, 603.
Ghūrūd, i. 676, 533. ii. 116.
el-Ghūrūdeh, i. 61.
Ghūrūndel, Gr. *Ἀρίδης*, *Arindela*, i. 68.
—ii. 117, 168.
el-Ghuwein, dim. Heb. *Anim*, ii. 204.
el-Ghuweir, dim. of el-Ghór, ii. 121, 154,
175, 194.
Ghūzāleh, 'gazelle,' i. 152.
Ghūzu, 'marauding party,' ii. 110, 176.
Ghūzzeh, *Gaza*, i. 198. ii. 37.
el-Gizeh (Jim hard), i. 25.

H

el-Habeshy, 'the Abyssinian,' M. i. 147.
Hābūs, i. 148.
el-Hadb, ii. 216.
Haddāta, Haddāthah, ii. 450, 454.
Haifa, Gr. *Ἡφά*, *Ephe*, *Sycaminum*, ii.
336, 340.
el-Haikhēh, i. 184.
Hailezōn, Hailazon, 'snails,' i. 39.
Hairān, pr. n. Hiram, ii. 456.
Haiwāt, Sing. Haiwy, Arabs. Adj. from
Haiyeh, 'a snake,' having the same
letters as Heb. *Hivite*, i. 137, 160, 186.
el-Haj, (Heb. *הַי*) 'a pilgrim caravan,' i.
37, 171, 599, 600.
Hajla, Heb. *Beth-Hoglah*, i. 544.
Hajr el-'Alawy, 'stone of the 'Alawy,' i.
162.
Hajr er-Rukkāb, 'stone of the riders,' i. 66.
Hajr Usdum, 'stone of Sodom,' i. 502.
Hakl, 'field,' i. 159, 172, 599.
Halhūl, see Hālhūl.
Hamah, Heb. *Hamath*, ii. 503, 507.
el-Hamām, 'pigeons,' ii. 378, 398.
el-Hamūdh (dh for Dād), i. 601.
el-Hamma, ii. 370.
Hamām, see Hūmmām.
Hanāweih, ii. 456.
Handhal, *Cucumis colocynthus*, i. 83.
Hanneh, Anna, ii. 26.
el-Haram, 'the holy,' i. 244.
el-Harāmiyeh, 'the robbers,' ii. 265.
Haramōn, Heb. *Hermion*, ii. 327.
Harb, i. 134.
Hāris, ii. 454.
Hārūn, Heb. Aaron, i. 391. ii. 125.
el-Hasana, i. 603.
Hasb, ii. 119, 177.
Hāsbeiya, ii. 432, 433, 437, 438.
el-Hasy, ii. 47, 48.

Hasya, ii. 507
Hatta, ii. 34.
Hattin, ii. 378.
el-Haudeh, 'circuitous path,' ii. 179.
Haudeh, ii. 274.
Hamī Kibriyān, 'Cyprian's trough,' ii. 4.
Haurān, Heb. *Hauran*. Gr. *Ἀσπασίς*, *Au-*
ranitis, ii. 432, 439.
Hawāra, ii. 273.
Hawārah, 'destruction,' i. 66, 67.
el-Hawāzim, Arabs, ii. 176.
el-Haweit, dim. 'a string,' i. 87, 111.
Haweitāt, Sing. Haweity, rel. adj. from
Haweit, dim. 'a string,' i. 162, 206,
207. ii. 155, 156.
el-Hebāhibeh, Ar. ii. 156.
Hebrūn, Heb. *Hebron*, ii. 90.
Heikal, pr. n. i. 146.
Heish, M. ii. 437.
el-Hejāva, Arabs, i. 183, 530.
et-Helel, 'the lawful,' i. 185, 188, 190.
el-Helu, 'sweet,' i. 535.
Hemālet, see Hūmādet.
el-Henādy, Arabs, ii. 47.
el-Henādeh, Arabs, ii. 48.
el-Henājireh, Sing. Hanjery, Ar. i. 186.
Hendij, ii. 446.
el-Hendis, i. 182.
el-Henna, i. 505.
Hesbān, Heb. *H shōn*, i. 551.
Hibrān, W. i. 87, 111.
el-Hijr, ii. 522.
el-His-meh, i. 174. ii. 155.
el-Hiz-meh, i. 439.
Hubeibeh, plant, i. 505, 535.
Hūbin, ii. 13.
el-Hūdhra (dh for Dād), Heb. *Hazereth*, i.
151.
Hūdhfr, Sing. Hūdhry (dh for Dād), Arabs
living in towns and villages, i. 207.
ii. 112.
Hūdhūr (dh for Dād), i. 445.
el-Hūfiry, ii. 121, 174.
el-Hufir, i. 194.
Hūj, ii. 44.
el-Hūleh, ii. 434, 436, 440.
Hūlhūl, Heb. *Halhul*, i. 216, 489.
Hūmādet el-'Anaz, 'pebbly desert of A.'
i. 184.
Hūmādet el-Berbery, i. 601.
el-Hūmādy, Ar. i. 181.
el-Hūmām, see el-Hamām.
el-Hūmeidy, Ar. i. 181.
el-Hūmeirwāt, 'red,' Plur. i. 158, 159.
el-Hūmeit, i. 148.
el-Hūmeiyimeh, ii. 168.
Hūmmām, 'bath,' M. i. 70, 71.
Hūmmām Far'ōn, 'Pharaoh's bath,' i. 69,
79.
Hūmmām esh-Shefa, 'bath of healing,' i.
343.
el-Hūmmār, Heb. *חֲמָר*, asphaltum, i. 517
ii. 188, 189.

Ḥammūs, chick-pea, ii. 447.
 el-Ḥumr, W. i. 71, 73, 75.—M. i. 95, 111.
 Ḥūmra Fedān, ii. 121.
 Ḥums, Gr. Ἐμεσα, *Emessa*, ii. 503, 507.
 Ḥūršī Beirūt, 'grove of Beirūt,' ii. 490.
 el-Ḥūsān, ii. 13.
 Ḥū'ān Abu Zenneh, 'horse of a monkey,' i. 70.
 el-Ḥūsāh, i. 506, 527, 528.
 Ḥusein, i. 165. ii. 315.
 el-Ḥuṣn, 'fortress,' vill. ii. 432, 438.
 Ḥuṣn el-Ghūrāb, 'fortress of the raven,' i. 211.
 Ḥuṣn es-Sufiry, ii. 493.
 Ḥussān, ii. 101.
 Huwāra, see Hawārāh.
 el-Ḥuweimirāt, i. 158, 159.

I

Ibn Ghānūm, Ar. i. 571.
 Ibn Ma'an, ii. 378, 398.
 Ibn 'Omar, ii. 27, 215.
 Ibn Shedid, see Shedid.
 Ibn Sūkr, i. 74, 82.
 Idhna, Gr. Ἰδνά, *Jedna*, ii. 54, 57, 69, 219.
 Ijnisnia, ii. 308.
 Ikbrimm, i. 184, 185.
 Iksāl, Heb. *Chisloth*, *Chesulloth*, Gr. *Ξαλώθ*, *Xaloth*, ii. 332.
 Imām, i. 483.
 Irbid, Heb. *Arbel*, Gr. Ἀρβηλα, *Arbela*, ii. 378, 398, 399.
 el-'Isāwiyeh, rel. adj. fem. from 'Isa, Jesus, i. 437.
 'Isa el-Jerrāhy, i. 240.
 Iskanderiyeh, Alexandria, i. 13-17.
 Isma'il, }
 Isma'in, } Ishmael, ii. 5.
 Isma'ilyeh, Sing. Isma'ily, ii. 512.
 Isrā'īl, Israel, i. 330.
 el-Ithm, 'crime,' W. i. 162, 167, 174.

J

Ja'deh, hyssop? i. 106, 109.
 el-Jāfēh, 'the concave,' i. 189.
 Jāihah, i. 441.
 el-Ja'ilāt, Ar. ii. 156.
 Jālūd, comp. 'Ain Jālūd, ii. 267.—ii. 323.
 Jālūt, Goliath, ii. 324.
 el-Jāmi'a, 'place of assembly,' mosk. i. 244, 301.
 Jāmūs, buffalo, ii. 412.
 el-Jānieh, i. 453. ii. 255.
 Juulān, Heb. *Golan*, Gr. Γαυλωνίτις, *Gaulonitis*, ii. 413, 416, 432, 437, 439.
 el-Jauzeh, 'walnut,' i. 104.
 el-Jawābireh, Ar. ii. 156.
 el-Jāzy, ii. 156.
 Jeba', Heb. *Geba*, i. 440, 577.—ii. 312.

Jeb'ah, Heb. *Gibeah*, ii. 6, 13, 16.
 Jebāl, 'mountains,' Heb. *Gebal*, Gr. Γεβαλήν, *Gebalene*, ii. 154.
 el-Jebārāt, Arabs, i. 186. ii. 44.
 Jebātha, Lat. *Gabatha*, ii. 344.
 Jebeil, Heb. *Gebal*, Gr. Βύβλος, *Byblos*, ii. 506.
 Jebeil Ḥasan, dim. 'M. of Ḥasan,' i. 599.
 Jebel, 'mount, mountain.'
 Jebeliyeh, 'mountaineers,' i. 135, 598.
 Jedireh, i. 455.
 Jedūr, Heb. *Gedor*, ii. 13.
 Jehāir, i. 535.
 el-Jehālin, el-Jehāliyeh, Sing. Jehāly, Arabs, i. 186, 499. ii. 98.
 Jehār, W. i. 488.
 Jehennām, Gr. Γέεννα, *Gehenna*, i. 269, 273.
 el-Jeib, W. ii. 118, 120, 174.
 Jel'ād, Heb. *Gilead*, i. 527, 570.
 Jelameh, ii. 319.
 Jelbōn, Heb. *Gilboa*, ii. 316, 325.
 Jemrūrah, ii. 70.
 Jenbeh, ii. 101.
 Jendal, i. 41.
 Jenin, Gr. *Ginva*, *Ginva*, Heb. *En-ḥanani*, ii. 314, 315.
 Jennābeh, ii. 16.
 el-Jerūfeh, 'the gullying,' i. 180, 199. ii. 124, 125.
 Jerish, vill. ii. 16.
 Jerba, ii. 314.
 Jerf, see Jurf.
 el-Jerrah, W. ii. 104.
 el-Jerrūr, comp. Heb. *Gerrar*, i. 188, 189.
 el-Jesmaniyeh, *Gethsemane*, i. 234.
 Jezirat Far'on, 'Pharaoh's island,' i. 161.
 Jezirat el-Yehūdīyeh, i. 50.
 Jezzān, ii. 436, 439.
 el-Jib, Heb. *Gibcon*, i. 455. ii. 256.
 Jibia, ii. 265.
 Jifna, see Jufna.
 Jil'ād, see Jel'ād.
 Jiljilia, ii. 265, 266.
 Jiljūleh, Heb. *Gilgal*, Gr. Γαλγούλη, ii. 243.
 Jimrin, ii. 16.
 Jimzu, Heb. *Gimzo*, ii. 249.
 el-Jish, Rabb. *Gush Halub*, Gr. Γισχάλα, *Gisca'a*, ii. 445, 446.
 el-Jisr, 'the bridge.'
 Jisr Benāt Ya'kōb, 'bridge of the daughters of Jacob,' ii. 441.
 el-Jiyeh, ii. 487.
 Jubb Jenin, ii. 484.
 Jubb Yūsuf, 'Joseph's pit,' ii. 418, 419.
 Jufna, Gr. Γόφνα, *Góphna*, Heb. *Ophni*? ii. 263, 264.
 el-Jūghāmīleh, i. 601.
 Juneid, ii. 303.
 Jurf, 'gully,' or more properly 'a bank washed away and undermined by a torrent,' i. 173.
 Jurf el-Muḳāwa, 'gully of M.' i. 39.

Jurfa, ii. 16.

Juseir, dim. 'bridge,' ii. 34.

K

el-Kū'a, 'plain,' i. 73, 111, 150.

Kū'a el-Barūk, i. 603.

Kū'a en-Nūkb, i. 176.

el-Ka'ābneh, Arabs, i. 499, 527. ii. 155.

Kabr, 'tomb,' ii. 90.—ii. 370.

Kabr Hairān, 'tomb of Hiram,' ii. 456.

el-Kābu, 'vault,' ii. 5.

Kadita, ii. 444.

el-Kādī, 'judge,' ii. 454.—Riv. and bridge, ii. 488.

el-Kāhirah, 'the conquering,' Cairo, i. 23.

Kāid Bez (g for Kāf), i. 38.

Kaisariyeh, Gr. *Καيسάρεια*, *Cæsarea*, ii. 241.

Kalāwūn, ii. 237.

Kāna, Heb. *Kanah* W ii. 273.—Vill. ii. 453, 456.

Kāna el-Jelil, Heb. *Kanah*, Gr. *Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, *Cana of Galilee*, ii. 340, 346.

Kaneitar, i. 88.

Kanōbin, Gr. *Καινόβιον*, *Cænobium*, ii. 506.

Kashveya, see Kuzheiya.

el-Kāshūry, 'sterilis, infaustus,' ii. 281.

el-Kāsimiyeh, ii. 472.

Kātherin, Catharine, i. 95, 109.

Kaukab, 'meteor,' ii. 340.

Kaukab el-Hawa, 'meteor of the air,' ii. 328, 356, 361.

el-Kaus, 'arrow,' ii. 221.

el-Kebir, 'the great,' ii. 478.

Kedes, Heb. *Kedesah* of Naphtali, ii. 439.

el-Keferein, 'the villages,' i. 569.

Kefiyeh, i. 64, 162.

Kefr Adān, ii. 319.

Kefr 'Aḳab, i. 576.

Kefr Kenna, ii. 347, 369.

Kefr Kūd, Gr. *Καπαρκότια*, *Caparcotia*, ii. 317.

Kefr Kāllin, ii. 274.

Kefr el-Lebad, ii. 303, 308.

Kefr Menda, ii. 340.

Kefr Murr, 'bitter,' i. 452. ii. 262.

Kefr Musr, ii. 356.

Kefr Sāba, Gr. *Καπαροσαβὰ*, *Antipatris*, ii. 242, 243.

Kefr Sabt, ii. 369.

Kefr Selwān, Heb. *Shiloh*, Gr. *Σιλωὰμ*, *Silom*, i. 232, 342.

Kefr Šom, 'fasting,' ii. 6.

Kefrah, ii. 356.

Keis, Keisiyeh, ii. 17.

el-Kelb, 'the dog,' ii. 492, 498.

el-Kelt, Heb. *Cherith*? i. 441, 557, 558.

Kenenjeh, ii. 205.

Keniseh, Chald. *ܟܢܝܫܐ*, 'a synagogue, church,' ii. 281.

Kerak, 'castle,' i. 236, 502, 507, 519. ii. 85, 166, 524.—*Tarichæa*, ii. 387.

Kerāzeh, ii. 405.

el-Kerr, Burekh, ii. 166.

Kersenna, vetches, ii. 83.

Kesla, Heb. *Chesalon*, ii. 30.

el-Kesrawān, ii. 507.

Khaibar, Arabs, i. 207.

el-Khaif, ii. 435.

Khalifeh, comm. Khalif.

el-Khamis, i. 469.

Khān, 'lodging-place, inn.'

Khān el-Minyeh, ii. 403, 404.

Khān et-Tujjār, 'Khan of the merchants,' ii. 368 sq.

Khanzireh, ii. 117, 157.

Kharaj, toleration tax, i. 426.

Khāras, ii. 16.

Kharūb, carob, ii. 250.

Khashm 'Udum, ii. 107.

Khaṭīb, 'orator,' i. 483.

el-Kheishūm, dim. 'cartilage of the nose,' ii. 16, 30, 232.

Khirbeh, see Khūrbēh.

el-Khūbarah, i. 202.—i. 498, 501.

Khudair, pr. n. i. 139.

el-Khūdr, St. George, i. 217. ii. 4.—ii. 474. ii. 492.

el-Khūlasah, Gr. *Ἐλουσα*, *Elusa*, i. 201.

Khulda, Khuldeh, ii. 226.—Khān, ii. 489.

el-Khūlil (Hebron), 'friend,' as an epithet of Abraham, i. 213. ii. 90.

el-Khūlūs, i. 202.

el-Khūmīleh, 'low ground,' i. 80, 81, 177.

Khuneifis, or Ukhneifis, ii. 323.

el-Khuneifit, ii. 101.

Khūrāib er-Rām, 'ruins of er-Rām,' i. 577.

el-Khūrāizeh, i. 184.

el-Khūrār, ii. 177.

Khūrbata, ii. 255.

Khūrbēh, 'ruin.'

Khūrbet en-Nūsārah, 'ruins of the Christians,' i. 215.

Khūrbet en-Nūrāny, 'ruins of the Christian,' ii. 216.

Khūreitūn, i. 481, 486, 487.

el-Khureity, i. 176.

Khurmet el-Jurf, 'rupture of the gully, i. 173.

Khūrsah, ii. 216.

el-Khuweilifeh, i. 207. ii. 217.

el-Khūza'y, i. 203.

el-Khūzneh, 'treasure,' ii. 132, 145.

Kibleh, Kibla, i. 241.

Kibrin, W. i. 111.

Kidrōn, Heb. *Kidron*, i. 257, 269, 531.

Kineh, town, i. 23.—W. i. 83.

Kirdhy (dh for Dād), plant, i. 84.

Kirkis, ii. 206.

el-Kiyāmeh, 'the resurrection,' i. 377.

Kolzun, Gr. *Κλύσμα*, *Klyasma*, i. 47.

el-Kubāb, ii. 232.

Kūbalān, ii. 272.

Kūbātīyeh, Kūbātīeh, ii. 314.
 Kubbēh, 'dome.'
 Kubbet el-Baul, i. 198.
 Kubbet Rāhil, 'dome of Rachel,' i. 218, 469.
 el-Kubeibeh, dim. 'dome,' ii. 50, 255.
 e-Kūdeirah, i. 440.
 el-Kudeirāt, i. 189. ii. 200.
 Kudna, ii. 24.
 el-Kuds, 'the Holy,' Jerusalem, i. 258.
 el-Kūfāfiyeh, ii. 177.
 Kufeir, dim. 'village,' ii. 314.
 Kūfin, i. 217.
 el-Kuhal, antimony, i. 80.
 el-Kūl'ah, 'the castle,' ii. 278, 493.
 Kūl'at er-Rūbūd, i. 445.
 Kūleh, ii. 232.
 Kuleib Haurān, dim. 'dog of Haurān,' ii. 432.
 Kūlōnieh, Kūlōnia, Gr. Κουλον, i. 461.
 Kūlūndia, i. 455, 458, 576.
 el-Kūly, ashes, 'alkali,' i. 505.
 Kūlzum, see Kōlzum.
 Kūmieh, ii. 323, 356.
 el-Kuneitirah, i. 545. ii. 394, 439.
 el-Kura, ii. 522.
 el-Kūrah, ii. 494.
 el-Kūrah, ii. 104, 112.
 Kūratīyeh, ii. 34.
 Kūriwa, ii. 266.
 Kūrdhy, see Kīrdhy.
 el-Kūrdhiyeh (dh for Dād), W. i. 63.
 el-Kureikireh, 'the callous spot on a camel's breast,' i. 175.
 el-Kureis, i. 599.
 el-Kureiyeh, W. i. 184.
 el-Kurey, and el-Kureiyeh, 'village, ruin,' i. 160, 161.
 Kuriet, see Kuryet.
 Kūriyūt, Gr. Κορείαι, *Coreai*? ii. 267.
 Kurmul, Heb. Carmel, i. 494, 495, 496. ii. 97.—M. ii. 337.
 el-Kūrn, 'horn,' i. 200–202.
 Kurnub, *Thamara*, ii. 197, 202.
 Kūrrāshy, Arabs, i. 133, 138.
 Kūrn Hatt'n, 'horns of Hattin,' ii. 370.
 Kūrnūtūl, Quarantana, i. 567.
 Kuryet el-'Enab, Heb. *Kirjath-Searim*, ii. 11.
 Kuryet Jit, Gr. Γίττα, ii. 308.
 Kuryet es-Sa'idēh, ii. 6.
 el-Kuryetein, Heb. *Kerioth*? ii. 101.
 el-Kūzaby, i. 602.
 el-Kūsūmeh, i. 190.
 Kusbur, ii. 55.
 el-Kūseib, ii. 118.
 el-Kuseifeh, see Tell el-Kuseifeh.
 el-Kūseir, dim. 'castle,' ii. 198.
 Kūser, 'castle.'
 Kūser Anṭar, i. 486.
 Kūser el-Bedawy, i. 168, 174.
 Kūser Um el-Leimōn, 'lemon,' i. 486.
 Kūser el-Yehūd, 'castle of the Jews,' i. 536, 545.

Kūserābeh, ii. 48.
 el-Kūstīneh, ii. 30.
 el-Kūstūl, Lat. *Castellum*, ii. 6.
 Kūṭā, bird, ii. 200.
 Kūtrah, ii. 227.
 el-Kuweiseh, dim. 'bow,' W. i. 70.
 Kūza, ii. 273.
 Kuzheiya (K? h?), Burck. Kashheya, ii. 507.

L

el-Lādīkiyeh, Gr. Λαδικαία, *Laodicea*, ii. 503.
 Lanṭeh, Gr. Λέντος ποταμός, *Leontes*, ii. 472, 473.
 Lātrōn, Lat. *Latro*, ii. 232.
 Leben, soured milk.
 el-Lebweh, 'the lioness,' W. i. 83.
 el-Lehyāneh, W. i. 180.
 el-Leimōn, 'lem n,' ii. 402. n.
 el-Leja, 'asylum,' W. i. 89, 112.
 el-Lejah, distr. ii. 394.
 el-Lejjūn, Gr. Λεγεών, *Legio*, *Megiddo*, ii. 316, 323, 328.
 Liblābeh, 'convolvulus,' W. i. 38.
 Libnān, Heb. לבנון, ii. 437, 493.
 Lifta, vill. i. 458. ii. 2.
 el-Litāny, *Leontes*, ii. 437, 438, 472.
 el-Liyāthineh, Ar. ii. 156.
 el-Lubban, Heb. *Lebonah*, ii. 271, 272.
 el-Lūbieh, 'bean,' ii. 370.
 Ludd, Heb. *Lod*, Gr. Λύδδα, *Lydda*, ii. 244.
 el-Lūhhām, ii. 14.
 el-Luṣṣān, Gr. Λύσα, *Lysa*, i. 187.

M

Ma'ān, Heb. *Maon*, *Maonites*, ii. 168.
 el-Ma'ūz, Ar. ii. 143, 153.
 Ma'āzeh, Ar. i. 139.
 el-Mab'ūk, wells, i. 49.
 Ma'dād, i. 440.
 Ma'derah, ii. 356.
 Mad'sūs, M. i. 111.
 Mad'urāh, ii. 179.
 el-Mā'ein, 'two waters,' i. 185.
 Ma'in, Heb. *Maon*, i. 493, 494. ii. 97.
 Makām, see Mukām.
 el-Makbūl, i. 181.
 Makhrūn, i. 448.
 el-Mak-hūl, ii. 203.
 el-Mālīh, 'the salt,' F. i. 77.
 el-Mālīh, 'salt, brackish,' well, ii. 155.
 el-Mālīhah, i. 469.
 el-Mamilla, i. 326.
 el-Mandhūr (dh for Dād), i. 537.
 el-Manṣūr, 'the conqueror,' ii. 156.
 el-Manṣūrah, 'the victorious,' ii. 226.—L. 371.

- Mâr, 'lord,' a title.
 Mâr Sâba, see Deir Mâr Sâba.
 Mârôn, ii. 447, 449.
 el-Ma'shûk, ii. 460, 472.
 el-Mas'ûdy, Ar. i. 571.
 Masyâd, } castle, ii. 512.
 Masyâf, }
 el-Matariyeh, i. 25.
 Mawâlih, Plur. 'salt places,' i. 40, 172.
 Mawârid el-Hûdhera (dh for Dâd), 'paths to Hûdhera,' i. 151.
 Ma'yan, 'fountain,' i. 102, 109.
 el-Mâyein, 'two waters,' W. i. 185.
 el-Mebrûk, 'kneeling-place' for camels, W. i. 159.
 Medâfeh, 'place of entertainment,' i. 445, ii. 19.
 el-Medineh, 'the city,' ii. 870.
 Meirôn, Meirûm, ii. 430, 444.
 Meithel n, ii. 312, 314.
 Mejâm'î'a, i. 538.
 Mejd el-Bân, i. 494, ii. 205, 206.
 el-Mejdel, Heb. *Migdal*, Gr. *Madydala*, *Magdala*, ii. 396, 397.—ii. 232.
 el-Melâhîn, Ar. ii. 156.
 el-Melihiy, ii. 125.
 el-Mellâhah, F. ii. 435.
 Menf, Heb. מֶנֶפֶס, *Memphis*, i. 27.
 Menzil, 'guest-chamber,' ii. 19.
 el-Merâkî, W. i. 159, 160.
 Merj, 'meadow.'
 Merj 'Ayûn, Heb. מֵרְיָא, *Ijon*, ii. 438.
 Merj el-Ghûrûk, 'meadow of sinking or drowning,' ii. 313.
 Merj Ibn 'Amir, plain of *Esdraelon*, ii. 324, 362.
 Merj Ibn 'Ômeir, ii. 253.
 el-Mersed, i. 506.
 el-Mes'adiyeh, ii. 411.
 Mes'îd, Sing. Mas'ûdy, rel. adj. from Mas'ûd, pr. n. i. 159.
 Mes-hed, ii. 356.
 Meshghûrah, ii. 484.
 el-Meshhad, ii. 350.
 el-Me-jid, 'place of adoration,' temple, mosk, i. 301.
 el-Mesmiyeh, ii. 30.
 Metâwileh, Sing. Mutawily, ii. 448, 511.
 el-Metu, distr. ii. 506.
 el-Mezrik, i. 159, 161.
 el-Mezra'ah, i. 520.—ii. 331.—ii. 455.
 Mi'râb, 'niche of prayer,' i. 241.
 el-Millî, 'salt,' *Moladah*, *Malatha*, ii. 200, 201.
 Min'in, ii. 26.
 el-Minyây, i. 602.
 el-Minyeh, Khân, ii. 403, 404.
 Mird, i. 545.
 Miry, tribute, ii. 98.
 el-Mirzaba, ii. 125, 176.
 Misilya, ii. 312, 314.
 Misr, see Musr.
 el-Môjib, Heb. *Arnon*, i. 502, 507.
 Monn, 'manna,' Heb. מָן, i. 75, 115.
 el-Môrak, ii. 219.
 el-Mu'adqamiyeh, W. ii. 446.
 el-Mu'adh-dhem, pr. n. i. 317, ii. 426.
 el-Mu'allakah, 'suspended,' ii. 489.
 el-Mudâreij, i. 158.
 Mudha'in (dh for Dâd), M. i. 80.
 el-Mudhaiyât (dh for Dâd), i. 603.
 Mudhebbil Sa'îd 'Ôbeideh, i. 527.
 Mudir, i. 482, ii. 315.
 Muf.rik et-Turk, 'fork of roads,' i. 175.
 el-Mughâr, ii. 227.—ii. 371.
 el-Mughâribeh, 'western Africans,' i. 43, 164, 263.
 el-Mughûllis, ii. 30.
 el-Muhash, i. 157.
 el-Muhauwat, W. ii. 104, 107.
 el-Muhdy, 'the Guide,' ii. 278.
 Muheirid el-Kûnâs, i. 111.
 el-Mu'helleh, ii. 176.
 Mukâm, 'station, tomb of a saint,' ii. 16.
 Mukâry, Plur. Mukâriyeh, 'camel driver, muleteer,' i. 436, 461, 580.
 el-Mukatteb, 'the written,' i. 73, 128.
 el-Mukattem, 'the concealed,' i. 37, 38.
 el-Mûkberah, 'burying-place,' i. 81.
 Mukebil, pr. n. ii. 146.
 el-Mukebileh, ii. 319.
 el-Mukhâfeh, 'fear,' i. 44.
 el-Mukhlefeh, 'disagreement,' W. i. 146.
 Mûkhmas, Heb. *Michmash*, i. 441, 442.
 Mûkhna, ii. 273, 279.
 Mukhsheib, i. 45.
 Mûkhsheikh, ii. 455.
 el-Mûkrâh, i. 179, 186, 199.
 el-Mukrih, i. 40, 154.
 Mukrih el-Ibna, i. 602.
 Mukrih el-Weberah, i. 40.
 el-Muktadir, ii. 237.
 Mûktûl edh-Dhuleim, 'place of the killing of the oppressed,' i. 602.
 el-Mukûbbeleh, 'the kissed,' W. i. 158.
 el-Mukûtta', 'ford,' riv. *Kishon*, ii. 363, 365.
 Mukûtta' et-Tawârik, W. i. 177.
 el-Muneiderah, M. i. 148.
 el-Munettisheh, i. 478.
 el-Mun'ir, ii. 39.
 el-Mun'ûla, 'the ascent,' i. 44.
 el-Murâk, i. 77.
 Marbut Ka'ûd el-Wâsileh, i. 156.
 el-Mereidhah (dh for Dâd), 'the sick,' ii. 177.
 el-Mureikhy, dim. of el-Mûrkhâh, pass, i. 76, 191, 198, 601.
 el-Mûrkhâh, 'relaxed?' i. 72, 73.
 Murkus, Gr. Μάρκος, *Marcus*, ii. 229.
 Mûrrah, W. i. 149, 150.
 el-Murâbeh, W. i. 203.
 el-Murâssûs, ii. 356.
 Mûsa, Moses.

el-Museik, ii. 102.
 el-Mushálikhah, Ar. i. 571.
 el-Mushbeh-hem, i. 602, 603.
 el-Muslim, 'Muhammedan.'
 Muṣr, Egypt, usual name for Cairo, i. 28.
 el-Musry, el-Musriyeh, 'Egyptian,' i. 161, 162, 171, 174.
 el-Muṣṭallabeh, 'the Cross,' convent, i. 424, ii. 3.
 el-Muṣṭarr, W. ii. 5, 13, 20.
 Mutawály, see Metáwileh.
 Muṭeir, pr. n. i. 139.
 el-Mutesellim, el-Mutsellim, 'governor,' i. 246.
 el-Muṭyáh, 'descent,' i. 444, 575.
 Muweilih, dim. of Mawálih, prob. *Leuke Kome*, i. 172, 599 ii. 160.—F. i. 190.
 el-Muzeikah, ii. 197.
 Muzeiny, Ar. i. 134.
 el-Muzeiri'ah, dim. 'plantation,' i. 188.
 el-Muzeiri'út, Plur. dim. 'plantations,' i. 191.

N

Nába', F. i. 61.
 Nábulus, comm. for Nábulus.
 Nábulus, Gr. *Nedwolis*, *Neapolis*, ii. 275, 287.
 en-Nahl, 'bees,' ii. 224.
 Nahr, 'river.'
 en-Ná'imeh, ii. 489.
 en-Nákúrah, ii. 304.
 Nákús, 'sounding-board,' i. 111.
 Na'lin, ii. 232.
 en-Nár, 'fire,' i. 273, 531.
 Násir, ii. 237.
 en-Násirah, Gr. *Naṣaret*, *Nazareth*, ii. 333—343.
 Nawá'imeh, W. i. 569, 571, 572.
 en-Nawáṭir, 'watchmen,' i. 599.
 Názir (z for Dh), 'warden,' i. 452.
 Neba, Heb. *Neba*, i. 509, 510.
 en-Nebk, ii. 507.
 Neby Búlus, 'prophet Paul,' i. e. St. Paul, ii. 16, 223.
 en-Nehy Daúd, 'the prophet David,' i. 262.
 Neby Harún, 'prophet Aaron,' ii. 152, 519—521.
 Neby Nuh, 'prophet Noah,' ii. 55, 214.
 Neby Samwíl, 'prophet Samuel,' i. 457—460.
 Neby Yúnas, 'prophet Jonah,' i. 216.—i. 489.—ii. 487.
 en-Nehedein, 'two teats,' W. i. 38.
 Nein, Gr. *Nain*, *Nain*, ii. 356, 361.
 en-Nejd, ii. 105, 106.
 Neméln, ii. 123, 125, 152.
 Netsh, a plant, i. 493.
 Nijid, ii. 35.
 Nimrín, Heb. *Nimrah*, *Nimrim*, i. 445, 551.
 Nórej, Heb. *נֹרֶי*, 'threshing sledge,' i. 550.

Nóba, ii. 70.
 Núbk, 'lote-tree,' i. 505, 560. ii. 388.
 Nühháln, ii. 13.
 Núbk, 'pass, defile.'
 Núbk Háwy, 'windy pass,' i. 87.
 Nuke'a el-Fúl, dim. 'plain of beans,' i. 68.
 en-Nukeirah, dim. 'cavity,' M. i. 174.
 Nukhl, 'palm trees,' i. 172, 176, 198, 602.
 Nunkur, ii. 214.
 Núrís, ii. 323, 340.
 en-Nuṣairiyeh, comm. Anṣairiyeh, which see, ii. 436, 512.
 Nūṣára, Nūṣarah, Christians; Sing. Nuṣ-rány, ii. 341.
 en-Nūsh, 'erection, pillar?' i. 75, 76, 77; 105, 110, 147.
 Nūṣīb, Heb. *נוֹסִיב*, *Nuṣīb*, ii. 17, 57, 220.
 Nusṣ Ijbeil, ii. 308.
 Nūṭṭár Abu Šumâr, i. 601.
 Nūṭṭár el-Lūkiyeh, 'watchman of a thing found,' i. 208.
 en-Nuweib'a, dim. 'springing up like a fountain,' i. 155, 156.

O

el-'Öbeidiyeh, ii. 387.
 el-'Ödha (dh for Dúd), i. 111.
 'Ödheib, 'sweet water,' i. 50.
 el-'Öjmeb, i. 76, 179.
 'Ojrat el-Feras, 'hillock of the horses,' i. 149.
 'Omar, pr. n. ii. 27, 215.
 el-'Örf, 'crest,' i. 87.
 el-'Örfân, i. 147.
 'Öreis Themmán, dim. 'bride of T.' i. 71.
 'Ösh, 'bird's nest,' W. i. 85.
 'Ösheh, ii. 355.
 Öshn', i. 527.
 el-'Ösher, tree, i. 505, 522.
 el-'Özeiz, i. 455. ii. 256.

R

Rabba, Heb. *Rabbah*, ii. 166, 524.
 Ráfát, i. 453, 454.—ii. 226.
 Ráfidia, ii. 303.
 er-Ráhah, i. 45, 48, 61; 89, 95, 107.
 Rahamy, Arabs, i. 134.
 er-Ráhib, 'monk,' W. i. 273, 531.
 er-Rahmeh, 'mercy,' i. 322.
 er-Rákib, 'rider,' i. 208.
 er-Rakim, Rekem, ii. 521.
 er-Rákineh, 'the painted,' i. 76, 198, 601.
 er-Rám, Heb. *Ramah*, i. 576.
 Rám-Allah, i. 453.
 er-Rámeh, i. 569.
 Rámet el-Khulil, i. 216.
 Rámin, ii. 303, 308.
 Raml el-Murák, i. 77.
 er-Ramleh, 'sand,' ii. 229, 234.

er-Raml'yeh, 'the sandy,' i. 585.
 Ra'na, ii. 24.
 Râs el-Ahmar, 'the red,' ii. 447, n.
 Râs el-'Ain, 'fountain-head,' ii. 457-459.
 Râs el-Burka, 'veil cape,' i. 155, 157.
 Râs Kerker, or Râs Kerka, i. 453. ii. 250, 253.
 Râs en-Nûkb, 'head of the pass,' i. 175, 599.
 Râs esh-Shûraf, 'head of the height,' i. 599.
 Râs Um Haiyeh, 'Cape mother of serpents,' i. 157, 158.
 Râs el-Wâdy, 'head of the Wady,' i. 50.
 Rashâideh, Sing. Rashidy, Ar. i. 491, 506, 527.
 Râsheiya, ii. 433, 437, 438.
 Raudh el-Îûmârah (dh for Dâd), 'brook of the she ass,' i. 183.
 Raujib, ii. 274, 280.
 er-Rawâjifeh, Ar. ii. 156.
 er-Rawâk, 'portico,' i. 602, 603.
 er-Refâi'a, Ar. ii. 156.
 er-Reineh, ii. 349.
 er-Reiyâneh, 'the wet,' i. 39, 148.
 er-Rejim, i. 601.
 Rejûm, 'throwings,' i. 42.
 Rejûm el-Khail, 'throwings of the horses,' i. 50.
 Retâmeh, i. 84.
 Retem, Heb. רַעַמִּי, 'broom-plant,' i. 84, 203, 205, 500.
 Ribâh, Wady, ii. 273.
 Ribba, ii. 70.
 Ribleh, Heb. רִיבְלֵה, ii. 507, n.
 er-Riddâdeh, 'the repulsing,' W. i. 175.
 Rîdhân (dh for Dâd), 'brooks,' Plur. of Raudh, i. 183.
 Rîdhân esh-Shukâ'a (dh for Dâd), 'brooks of S,' i. 150.
 Rîha, for Eriha, which see, i. 552.
 Ri-hrâsh, Agnus castus, i. 535, 544.
 er-Rîzkah, W. i. 174.
 er-Rûbâ'y, ii. 122, 139, 175.
 Rûbin, Reuben, ii. 5, 227.
 er-Rûbî'y, Ar. i. 181.
 er-Rûbûdiyeh, W. ii. 401, 402.
 er-Ruhaibeh, 'the spacious,' comp. Heb. *Rehoboth*, i. 196, 197, 202.
 Rujeim Selâmeh, ii. 102.
 Rûkhama, ii. 201.
 er-Rûmâny, ii. 14.
 Rumeish, ii. 447, 450.
 Rumeilet Hâmid, dim. 'place of sand,' i. 203.
 Rumunâneh, Heb. *Rimmon*, ii. 340.
 Rûmmôn, Heb. *Rimmon*, i. 440, 444, 445.
 er-Ruweihibiyeh, rel. adj. fem. from dim. 'monk' or 'lion,' i. 152, 153.

S

Sâba, see Deir Mâr Sâba.

es-Sa'deh, i. 154.
 Safed, ii. 420-432.
 es-Sâfêh, 'the clear,' Heb. *Zephathah!* Tell, ii. 29, 31.—Ghôr, ii. 112.
 Sâfiriyyeh, ii. 232.
 es-Sâherah, i. 269.
 Sahil, 'plain,' ii. 378.
 Şahyûn, Heb. *Zion*, i. 323.
 Sa'id, proper name.
 Şaida, Heb. *Zidon*, Gr. *Σιδων*, *Sidon*, ii. 476-485.
 Şaidanâya, ii. 503.
 es-Sa'idât, W. i. 189.
 es-Sa'idîn, Sing. es-Sa'idy, Ar. i. 186.
 es-Sa'idiyeh, Ar. i. 133, 186.
 Şaidôn, ii. 226.
 Sa'ir, i. 488.
 Sîkieh, 'a water-machine,' i. 19, 581, 582.
 Sâkieh tedûr bir-rijl, i. 582.
 Sa'l, W. i. 147-149.
 es-Sa'l er-Reiyâny, 'the wet,' i. 148.
 Şalâh ed-Dîn, Saladin.
 Şâlih, pr. n. i. 83, 133, 142.
 Şâlim, Heb. *Shalem*, ii. 275, 279.
 es-Salt, i. 527, 537.
 Sâmary, Plur. Semarah, Heb. *Samaritan*, ii. 282.
 Sanik, see Senik.
 Santa Hanneh, St. Anne, ii. 26, 28, 51.
 Sânu'r, ii. 312, 313.
 Şarbût el-Jemel, i. 74.
 Sa'sa, ii. 445, 446.
 es-Sa'ûdiyyeh, Ar. ii. 156.
 Saulam, see Sôlam.
 es-Sawâfir, Heb. *Saphir*, ii. 34.
 Şawâlihah, Sing. Şâlih, Arabs, i. 133.
 es-Sawârikeh, Sing. Sâriky, Ar. i. 186. ii. 48.
 es-Sâwieh, ii. 272.
 es-Seba, 'lion,' also 'seven,' i. 204. ii. 199, 200.
 Seba, Biyâr, 'seven wells,' i. 50, 585, 587.
 es-Sebâ'iyeh, W. i. 104, 105, 145.
 Sebbah, *Masada*, i. 502, 525.
 Sebûstieh, Gr. Σεβαστη, *Sebaste*, *Samaria*, ii. 303, 311.
 Şeffûrieh, Gr. Σεφωρις, *Sepphoris*, ii. 337, 344.
 es-Seheb, 'open desert,*' i. 86.
 Seif ed-Dîn, pr. n. ii. 79, 237.
 es-Seih, i. 81, 82.
 Seih en-Nûsb, 'flowing of N,' i. 77.
 Seil Abu Zeid, 'torrent of A. Z.' W. i. 42.
 Seilûn, Heb. *Shiloh*, Joseph. Σιλω, Σιλοὺν, ii. 267-271.
 Sekâkeh, ii. 267.
 es-Selâm, 'peace,' i. 437, 439.
 Selwa, quail, ii. 200.
 Selwâd, ii. 265.
 Selwân, Heb. *Silwah*, Gr. Σιλωάμ, *Silwam*, i. 232, 333, 342.
 Semak, W. ii. 386.
 Semakh, ii. 387.

- 'es-Semeklyeh, Arabs, ii. 402, 408.
 Semermer, locust-bird, ii. 340, 379.
 Semmāneh, a bird, i. 62.
 Semr, a tree, i. 505.
 es-Semū'a, Heb. *Eshtemoa*, i. 211, 494. ii. 204.
 Semūnieh, Gr. *Συμωνίς*, *Simonias*, ii. 844.
 Semū'y, ii. 432, n.
 Senik, ii. 476.
 Serāb, 'mirage,' i. 42.
 es-Serām, i. 191, 192.
 Serbāl, 'cloak?' M. i. 70, 77, 86, 111, 117, 118, 590.
 es-Seru, 'cypress,' M. i. 95.
 Seyāl, 'acacia,' i. 68, 75, 82, 149.
 Sha'fāt, i. 579. ii. 261.
 esh-Shaff'y, pr. n. ii. 42.
 esh-Sha'feh, 'summit,' M. i. 174.
 esh-Shāghūr, ii. 371.
 esh-Shahibiyeh, F. ii. 193.
 Shahrūr, W. ii. 490.
 esh-Sha'ib, i. 182, 537, 551, 569.
 esh-Shajerah, ii. 356.
 Sha'leh, ii. 308.
 esh-Shām, *Syria*, usual name for *Damascus*, ii. 498. See Dimeshk.
 esh-Shawāghiriye, Ar. i. 42.
 Shedid, i. 140. ii. 156.
 Shēhūb, ii. 506.
 esh-Shēhābeh, esh-Shēhābiyeh, i. 179. ii. 193. See also esh-Shahibiyeh.
 esh-Sheikh, 'the aged, elder,' W. i. 85, 89, 96, 121, 146.
 Sheikh el-Beled, 'Sheikh of the village,' i. 447.
 Shellāl, W. i. 72.
 esh-Sherifāt, i. 469.
 Sherāfeh, M. i. 158.
 esh-Sherah, 'tract, region,' ii. 155.
 esh-Sherārāt, Ar. ii. 204.
 esh-Sheri'ah, 'watering-place,' W. i. 203. ii. 44, 48. The Jordan, i. 537.
 esh-Sherif, 'the noble,' i. 244.
 esh-Sherm, i. 105, 110.
 esh-Shi'ah, 'Shiites,' ii. 448, 511, 512.
 Shih, artemisia Judaica, i. 84.
 esh-Shiyūkh, Plur. of Sheikh, i. 486, 488.
 esh-Shōbek, ii. 123, 154, 164, 168.
 Shubeikeh, 'net,' i. 71.
 Shubra, i. 18.
 Shu'eib, Jethro, i. 89, 95.
 Shūkk Mūsa, 'rent of Moses,' i. 109.
 Shūkuf, i. 527.
 esh-Shūkeirah, i. 148, 149.
 esh-Shūkit, castle, ii. 450, 453.
 esh-Shunnār, 'partridge,' F. i. 109.
 esh-Shureif, dim. 'eminence,' i. 601.
 esh-Shūrkiyeh, fem. 'the eastern,' i. 37, 52.
 esh-Shūrky, masc. 'the eastern,' *Anti-Lebanon*, ii. 437.
 esh-Shūrm, see Sherm.
 esh-Shūtein, W. i. 200.
 Shūtṭa, Heb. *Beth-Shittah*? ii. 356.
 Shuweifāt, ii. 490.
 esh-Shuweikeh, dim. of Shaukeh, Heb. *Socoh*, i. 494, 495.—ii. 16, 21.
 esh-Shuweir, ii. 505.
 es-Sidr, lote-tree, i. 437.—i. 505.
 es-Sifa, 'the lower,' ii. 14.
 es-Sik, ii. 126, 130.
 es-Sikākin, 'knives,' ii. 153.
 Sileh, ii. 312.—ii. 319, 323.
 Silet ed-Dahr, 'S. of the summit,' ii. 312.
 Silleh, plant, i. 84.
 Simsim, 'sesame,' ii. 29, 35, 45, 46.
 Sindīān, 'ilex,' ii. 72, 81.
 Sinjil, ii. 266.
 Sirhān, W. ii. 204.
 Sirin, ii. 356.
 Siris, ii. 314.
 Sitty Meryam, 'my Lady Mary,' i. 262.
 Šoba, Heb. *Zuph*, *Zophim*? ii. 6-10.
 Šolāf, i. 87.
 Šolam, Heb. *Shunem*, Gr. *Σουνάμη*, *Σουλήμη* Lat. *Sulem*, ii. 324, 325.
 Šoleif, i. 86.
 es-Sūbāt, 'the tribes,' gate, i. 263.
 es-Subeibeh, ii. 437.
 Sudeid, ii. 102.
 Sudeir, dim. of Sādr, i. 527.
 Šādr, 'breast,' W. i. 63.
 Šūdūd, Heb. *Zedad*, ii. 507, n.
 es-Sūfa, W. ii. 412.
 es-Sūfāh, Heb. *Zephath*, ii. 178, 181.
 es-Sufey, dim. of es-Sūfāh, ii. 178, 181.
 Šuffa, ii. 250.
 es-Sūfra, 'the yellow,' i. 500.
 es-Sūfāfeh, 'willow,' i. 104, 106, 107.
 es-Šūhau, W. i. 80.
 Šūk et-Tujjār, 'mart of the merchants,' ii. 369.
 el-Sukeirāt, Sing. Sukeiry, Ar. i. 186.
 es-Sūkhrah, 'the rock,' i. 244, 300.
 es-Sukkariyeh, 'the sugary,' ii. 49.
 es-Suleim, i. 437.
 Suleimān, 'Solomon,' W. ii. 249, 252, 253, 256.
 es-Suleisil, dim. 'chain,' ii. 115.
 es-Sulit, Arabs, ii. 99.
 Šulsul Zeit, i. 95.
 es-Sultān, i. 554.
 es-Sūmghy, 'the gummy,' i. 152-154.
 Šūmmeil, ii. 33, 513.
 Šūmr et-Tinia, i. 101.
 es-Sūmrah, ii. 387, n.
 es-Šūmt, for es-Šūnt, which see, ii. 5, 15, 20, 21, 226.
 es-Sūnām, ii. 412.
 Šūnāsin, ii. 6, 14.
 Šūndela, ii. 319.
 Šūnr, Heb. *Senir*, ii. 440.
 Šūnnin, ii. 437, 492.
 Šūnt, also Šūnt, Forsk. Šūnt, *acacia vera* ii. 21.
 es-Šūny, i. 203, 204.
 Šūr, Heb. *Tyre*, ii. 459-471.

es-Šûr, W. ii. 221.
 Šûr Bâhil, i. 486.
 Šûrabîṭ el-Khâdim, i. 73, 77-79.
 Šûrafend, Heb. *Zarephath*, Gr. *Σάρεπτα*, *Sarepta*, ii. 474, 475.
 Šûrafend, Gr. *Σαριφαία*, *Sariphæa*? ii. 242.
 Šûrah, Heb. *זֶרַח*, *Zorah*, ii. 14, 16, 31, 224.
 es-Šûrâr, ii. 5, 15, 224, 226, 227.
 es-Sûrey, dim. 'cypress,' i. 95.
 Šûrra, ii. 303.
 Šûrtabeh, i. 536, 558, 569. ii. 280.
 Šûsieh, i. 494. ii. 205.
 Suṭûh Beida, 'white terraces,' ii. 139.
 Suṭûh Hârûn, 'Aaron's terrace,' ii. 127, 139.
 es-Suweikeh, dim. 'market,' M. i. 179.—i. 575.
 es-Suweimeh, i. 569.
 es-Suweiniṭ, i. 441.
 es-Suweiriyyeh, rel. adj. fem. i. 146.
 Suweis, Suez, i. 46.
 Sûwuk, i. 77, 80.

T

Ta'âmîrah, Sing. Ta'mary, Arabs, i. 467, 482-485; Wady, i. 470, 474, 528.
 Ta'annuk, Heb. *Taanach*, ii. 316, 318.
 Tâba', i. 160, 161.
 et-Tâbighah, ii. 405, 406.
 et-Tahta, 'the lower.'
 et-Taïyib, 'the good,' ii. 101.
 et-Taïyibeh, fem. 'the good,' Wady, i. 71.
 Vill. i. 444-447, 550.—ii. 70, 71, 72.
 Tannûr, Heb. *תַּנּוּר*, 'oven, furnace,' ii. 406.
 Tarâbulus, *Tripolis*, ii. 503.
 Tâset Šûdr, 'cup of Šûdr,' M. i. 62, 63.
 Taurân, i. 159.
 et-Tawâl, 'the long,' i. 603.
 et-Tawâneh, i. 498. ii. 104.
 Tawarah, Sing. Tûry, 'Arabs of Tûr' or Sinai, i. 133, 135, 137.
 Taw'rif el-Belâd, 'curtains of a tent,' i. 176.
 Tawârik, i. 48, 62, 585.
 Tebbin, i. 50.
 Tebûk, ii. 522.
 Tefûh, Heb. *Tappuah*, ii. 71.
 et-Teim, ii. 437, 438.
 Teitebeh, ii. 445, n.
 et-Tekiyeh, hospit. i. 385. ii. 3.
 Tekû'a, Heb. *Tekoa*, i. 486, 487.
 et-Tell, 'hill,' *Bethsaida*, *Julias*, ii. 410, 412, 413.
 Tell 'Arâd, Heb. *Arad*, ii. 101, 201.
 Tell 'Asûr, Heb. *Hazor*? i. 448. ii. 264.
 Tell el-Fûl, see Tuleil el-Fûl.
 Tell Haṭṭîn, see Kûrûn Haṭṭîn.
 Tell Hûm, ii. 406, 408.
 Tell el-Kuseifeh, ii. 200.
 Tell es-Sâfieh, 'the clear,' *Blanchegarde*, ii. 29-32.
 Tell et-Turmus, 'hill of lupines,' ii. 30.
 Tell et-Tawâneh, ii. 104; comp. i. 498.
 Tell el-Yehûd, 'hill of the Jews,' i. 25.
 Temsâh, 'crocodile,' i. 50.
 Terâbeh, 'Ain, i. 528, 529.
 Terâbin, Sing. Terbâny, Arabs, i. 63, 68, 137, 156, 186.
 Terkûmieh, Gr. *Τρικυμιάς*, *Tricomias*, ii. 54, 220.
 Tershihah, ii. 450.
 Teyâhah, see Tiyyâhah.
 Thâl, W. i. 70.
 eth-Thelj, 'snow,' ii. 440.
 Themâil, 'water-pits,' i. 203. ii. 197, 199.
 Themâil Um es-Sa'ideh, i. 601.
 eth-Themed, i. 176. 198, 602.—ii. 226.
 Themileh, 'water-pits,' i. 181.
 Tibneh, Heb. *Timnah*, *Timnath*, ii. 16, 17, 225.
 Tibnîn, castle, ii. 450-453.
 et-Tih, 'wandering,' M. i. 68, 75, 111, 150, 151, 157, 158, 180, 198. Desert, i. 177, 178, 186. Wady, i. 585.
 et-Tîn, 'fig tree,' ii. 403.
 Tînia, M. i. 95, 105, 111.
 et-Tirân, i. 105, 110.
 et-Tîreh, ii. 450.
 Tiyyâhah, Sing. Tihy, rel. adj. from et-Tih, Arabs, i. 137, 186. ii. 99, 156.
 Tûbaryeh, Gr. *Τύβρις*, *Tiberias*, ii. 380.
 Tûbâs, Heb. *Thebez*, ii. 317.
 el-Tûbûkah, Gr. *Τάψα*? ii. 47, 517.
 et-Tûfileh, Heb. *Tophel*, ii. 156, 167, 187.
 et-Tuheishimeh, i. 217, 474.
 et-Tujjâr, 'the merchants,' ii. 368, 369.
 Tûl Keram, ii. 308.
 Tûlâh, thorny tree, W. i. 95, 111, 113.
 Tuleil el-Fûl, dimin. of Tell el-Fûl, 'hill of beans,' *Gibeah* of Saul, i. 439, 577-579.
 Tûlh, acacia, i. 68, 75, 149.
 Tûllûza, Tûllûzah (z for Dha), Heb. *Tirzah*, ii. 317.
 Tûmilât, i. 50.
 Tûmrah, ii. 356.
 Tûnnûr, ii. 48.
 Tûr, 'mountain,' i. 95, 120.—i. 274.—ii. 276.—ii. 351.—Town, i. 73.
 Tûr Sîna, 'Mount Sinai,' i. 95.
 et-Tûrâibeh, ii. 196.
 Tûr'an, ii. 369.
 Tûrf er-Rukn, 'end of the foundation,' i. 176, 179, 180.
 Tûrfa, tamarisk, i. 68, 115, 149.
 Turmus 'Aya, ii. 266, 268.
 Tûry, see Tawarah.
 Tûweileh, dim. 'a seeker,' i. 116, 146, 149, 210.
 et-Tuweimeh, ii. 14.

U

- Ukhneifis, see Khuneifis, ii. 323.
 Um 'Alawy, i. 104, 111, 147.
 Um el-'Amad, 'mother of columna,' i. 493.
 —ii. 206.
 Um ed-Dernj, 'mother of steps,' F. i. 837.
 Um Eshteiyeh, ii. 16.
 Um el-Fahm, ii. 319, 825, 840.
 Um Hâsh, i. 156.
 Um el-Hammâm, i. 528.
 Um Jîna, ii. 224.
 Um Judei'a, ii. 52, 65.
 Um Kürâf, W. i. 111.
 Um Lâkis, 'mother of a reproacher,' not Heb. *Lachish*, ii. 46, 47.
 Um Lauz, 'almond,' i. 104, 147.
 Um er-Rûmâmîn, 'mother of pomegranates,' ii. 218.
 Um er-Rûs, ii. 16.
 Um Rûsh, ii. 249.
 Um Shaumer, i. 110, 200.
 Um esh-Shûkâf, ii. 219.
 Um Suweilih, dim. 'good,' i. 70.
 Um Zôghal, ii. 107.
 Um ez-Zuweibin, i. 74.
 el-Urdun, Heb. *Jordan*, i. 537. ii. 414, n.
 Ürtûs, i. 474, 477.
 el-'Üshâny, Ar. i. 181.
 el-'Üsbû, 'the tribes,' i. 322.
 Üsdakâh, *Zodocatha*, ii. 168, 172.
 Usdum, Heb. *Sodom*, i. 502. ii. 107-110.
 Uscit, see Wuseit, i. 70.
 Ustâs, ii. 30.

W

- Wâdy.
 Wâdy Mûsa, ii. 127 sq.
 el-Wahâdineh, i. 569.
 el-Wahâideh, Arabs, ii. 44, 48.
 el-Warah, 'rocky place,' W. i. 104.
 Waran, lacerta Nilotica, i. 534.
 Wardân, i. 65.
 el-Wâsi, 'middle division,' i. 156.
 el-Wastiyeh, ii. 438.
 el-Weibeh, 'hole with water,' ii. 173-176, 194.
 Wekûleh, ii. 479.
 el-Weleje, ii. 5.
 Wely, 'one beloved of God,' also a saint's tomb.
 el-Werd, 'roses,' i. 219, 469. ii. 4.
 Wetir, i. 153, 155.
 Wezar, ii. 316, 319, 323.
 Wudey, dim. of Wâdy, ii. 178.
 el-Wûrâh, i. 76.
 Wuseit, dim. 'middle,' i. 70.
 Wûtâh, 'treading,' i. 69, 76.

Y

- Yâfa, Heb. *Japho*, Gr. *Ἰόππη*, *Joppa*, i. 249. ii. 233.
 Yâfa, Heb. *Japhia*, ii. 332, 343.

- Ya'kôb, Jacob, ii. 405.
 Yâlo, F. i. 326, 469.
 Yâlo, Heb. *Aijalon*, ii. 232, 253.
 el-Yamôn, ii. 319, 323.
 Yarmûk, Heb. *Jarmuth*, Euseb. *Ἰερμυθός*, Jerome *Jarmucha*, ii. 16, 17, 21.
 Yârôn, ii. 447, 449.
 Yâsûr, Heb. *Hazor*? ii. 34.
 Yebna, Heb. *Jabneh*, ii. 227.
 Yebrûd, ii. 264.
 Yehôshâfât, Heb. *Jehoshaphat*, i. 269.
 el-Yehûdiyeh, 'Jewish,' Heb. *Jehud*? ii. 242.
 Yelek, 'white,' i. 185, 188.
 Yemâmeh, ii. 522.
 Yemen, Yemeniyeh, ii. 17.
 el-Yemen, Pass, ii. 178, 179, 182, 196.
 Yermûk, see Yarmûk.
 Yetma, ii. 272.
 Yôhanna, Johannes.
 Yûkin, 'certainty,' i. 491. ii. 85.
 Yûtta, *Juttah*, i. 491, 494, 495. ii. 206.

Z

- ez-Za'ferâneh, 'saffron,' i. 488.
 ez-Zahary, 'the flowery,' i. 262.
 ez-Zaherany, ii. 476.
 Zahleh, ii. 494, n.
 Za'k, ii. 218.
 Zakartya, ii. 16, 17, 21.
 Zaknân, plant, ii. 126.
 Zânû'a, Heb. *Zanoah*, ii. 16, 17, 224.
 Za'nûtah, ii. 204.
 Za'rûr, 'hawthorn?' i. 109.
 Za'ter, ocyum zatarhendi, i. 110, 218, 444.
 Zawâta, ii. 303.
 ez-Zebir, i. 84, 88, 111.
 ez-Zeit, i. 111.
 Zeita, ii. 302.
 Zeitûn, mount of Olives, i. 274.
 Zer'in, Heb. *Jezreel*, Gr. *Ἐσδραήλα*, *Esdras-la*, *Stradela*, ii. 319-323.
 ez-Zerka, see ez-Zûrka.
 ez-Zeyûdât, Arabs, ii. 48.
 Zif, Heb. *Ziph*, i. 492, 495, 498.
 Zo'ara, see Zu'ara.
 Zoghar, Heb. *Zoar*, ii. 106, 517, 518.
 Zu'ara, Edrisi for *Zoar*, ii. 517.
 Zub el-Bahry, i. 83.
 ez-Zûgherah, W. i. 147.
 ez-Zûk, ii. 436.
 Zûkkûm, tree, i. 559, 560.
 ez-Zûlakâh, 'the slipping,' i. 148, 153.
 ez-Zûrinik, i. 148.
 ez-Zûrka, 'the blue,' i. 444. ii. 441.
 ez-Zûrka Ma'in, i. 502, 529, 532.
 Zûrtût, i. 499.
 ez-Zuweirah, not *Zoar*, ii. 103, 104, 106.
 ez-Zuweirah el-Fôka, 'Upper Z.' ii. 108.
 ez-Zuweitin, dim. 'olive,' W. i. 111.

INDEX II.

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

Modern Arabic Names will be found in the preceding Index. For more general matters, the reader is referred to the very full Table of Contents prefixed to each volume.

Ancient Names of *Places*, and the like, are here printed in *Italic*.

Ancient places now first visited or identified, are marked by an asterisk (*).

A

Acco, Ptolemais, ii. 336, 366.
Aceldama, i. 354.
Acrabi,* Acrabatene, ii. 280.
Adoraim,* Adora, ii. 214, 215.
 Adrian rebuilds Jerusalem, i. 367-371.
Adullam, i. 481, 482.
Ælia, i. e. Jerusalem, i. 870.
Ai,* i. 443, 574.
Aijalon,* ii. 253, 254.
Åilah, i. 163, 170. Diploma *Securitatis*, ii. 162.
 'Ain, a Heb. letter, rarely dropped, i. 255, 456. ii. 316, 344, 361.
Akra, i. 265, 605.
Akrabbim, ascent of, ii. 120.
Albus l'agus, ii. 160.
Alexandria, i. 13-17. ii. 498.
Amathus, i. 569.
Ammaus, Hammath, ii. 885.
Anab,* i. 494, 495.
Anathoth,* i. 438.
Anim of Judah, ii. 204.
 Anne, see St. Anne.
Anti-Lebanon, ii. 437, 438.
Antipatria,* ii. 242.
Antonia, fortress, i. 292-295. Its trench now called Bethesda, i. 293.
Apollonia, now Arsuf, ii. 242.
 Apples of Sodom, see *Sodom*.
 Aqueduct from Solomon's pools, i. 347, 470, 473, 476. Aqueduct near Tyre, ii. 457, 458, 460, 472.
Ar of Moab, ii. 166.
'Arabah, Heb. 'plain,' i. 169. ii. 186, 187.

Vol. II.—50*

Arabia Petraea, ii. 159-166.
Arabia Prima, Secunda, Tertia, ii. 163.
Arad,* ii. 101, 194, 201.
*Arbela** of Galilee, ii. 379, 398, 399. Its fortified caverns, ii. 398, 399.
Arbela beyond Jordan, ii. 399.
 Arch of ancient Bridge from temple, i. 287, 606.
Archelais, i. 569.
Areopagus, i. 7.
Areopolis, ii. 166.
Arimathea, not at Ramleh, ii. 239-241.
Arindela, ii. 117.
Arnon, now el-Majib, i. 502, 507. ii. 166, 440.
*Arzer** of Judah, ii. 199.
Arsinor, i. 48, 588.
Ashdod, ii. 33.
Askelon, ii. 33.
Asphaltum, see *Dead Sea*.
Atabyrion, i. q. Tabor, ii. 357.
*Ataroth** in Benjamin, i. 575.
*Ataroth** of Ephraim, ii. 265.
Athens, i. 6-11.
Aulon, i. 508, 537, 569.
Azotus, see *Ashdod*.

B

Baal-Zephon, i. 56.
Babylon in Egypt, i. 24.
Bahurim, i. 433.
 Baking bread, i. 485. ii. 117, 262.
Barucha,* see *Caphar Barucha*.
 Basilica, see Holy Sepulchre.

Beer, i. 452.
Beeroth, i. 452.
Beersheba, * i. 204.
 Belvoir, castle, ii. 328.
Berachah, * valley, i. 491.
Berothai, not Berytus, ii. 494.
Berytus, ii. 491-497.
Betagnaborum vicus, * ii. 516.
Beth reappears in Arabic as *Beit*, i. 464.
Bethany, i. 431.
Beth-Artel, * ii. 399.
Beth-Dagon, ii. 232.—ii. 280.
Bethel, i. 448-450, 575.
Bethesda, not the deep pool N. of the temple, i. 293, 330. Perhaps the F. of the Virgin, i. 342 sq.
Beth-Hoglah, * i. 544.
Beth-horon, *Upper and Nether*, ii. 250-253.
 Ascent and descent of Beth-horon, ii. 251.
Bethlehem, i. 470-473.
Beth-Meron, * Talm. ii. 431.
Beth Nimrah, i. 551.
Beithphage, i. 433.
Bethsaida of Galilee, ii. 405, 406. Not at Irbid, ii. 378, 379.
Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, ii. 413.
Beth-shean, *Scythopolis*, ii. 174, 175.
Beth-shelesh, * ii. 14, 16. 223-225.
Beth-shelesh in Egypt, i. 25.
Beth-Shittah ? * ii. 356.
Beth-Tippuah, * ii. 71.
Bethulā, not at the Frank mountain, i. 479.
 Not at Saïed, ii. 425.
Beth-Zur, i. 217. ii. 222.
Betoga'ma, * ii. 27, 60.
 Bevelled stones, i. 286.
Bezetha, i. 234, 266.
 Bitumen, see *Dead Sea*.
 Blanche-garde, * ii. 31, 32.
 Books on Palestine, i. 32. ii. 533 sq. On Egypt, i. 583.
Bostra, ii. 167.
Bostrenus, * river el-Auwal, ii. 485, 486.
Bozrah of Edom, ii. 167.
Bozrah in Hauran, ii. 167.
Bread, ii. 82, 210. Unleavened, i. 223, 491. Ordinary, ii. 117, 118, 262.
 Bridge from the temple, i. 287-289, 606.
 Butter, i. 449. See Churning.

C

Casarea, ii. 241.
 Cairo, i. 17, 23 sq. 583.
 Calcalia? ii. 253, n.
Calvary, i. 376. See Holy Sepulchre.
 Camel, its habits and character, ii. 208-210.
Cana of Galilee, ii. 346-349.
Cana in Asher, see *Kannah*.

Canal, ancient, from the Nile to the Red Sea, i. 586. Mounds of, i. 60.
 Canéa in Crete, i. 10.
Caparcotia, ii. 317.
Capernaum, ii. 401, 403-405. Not at Tell Hâm, ii. 408.
Caphar Barucha, * i. 490.
Capharcotia, see *Caparcotia*.
Capharnaum, fountain, ii. 401.
Caphar Saba, * ii. 42.
Carmel, of Judah, i. 493, 495-498. ii. 97.
Carmel, Mount, ii. 319, 336.
 Cedars of Lebanon, ii. 493.
Cedron, see *Kidron*.
Charac Moab, ii. 166.
Cherith, * brook, i. 558.
Chesalon, * ii. 30.
Chesulloth, see *Chisloth*.
Chisloth-Tabor, ii. 332.
Chorazin, Kerūzeh ? ii. 405.
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Holy Sepulchre.
 Churning, Arab mode of, i. 485. ii. 418.
 Cisterns, ancient, i. 324, 573.
Cleopatria, 48.
 Climate of Jerusalem, i. 428.
Cole Syria, ii. 437.
 Cœnaculum on Zion, i. 241 sq.
 Constantine builds churches, i. 373, 376.
Constantinople, ii. 499.
Corez, * ii. 267.
 Crater, near Safed, ii. 444, 445.
Crete, i. 12.
 Crypts, see Vaulta.

Daberrath, *Dabira*, *Dabaritta*, ii. 351.
Damascus, ii. 498.
Damouras, see *Tamyras*.
Dan, * ii. 439.
Daroma, ii. 38.
Dead Sea, first view of, i. 501-504. Bathe in it, i. 506. ii. 110. Length and breadth, i. 509. Its environs, etc. i. 510. Analyses of its waters, i. 513-515. Contains no animal nor vegetable life, i. 516, 517. Asphaltum, i. 517. Peninsula, i. 518. Ford, i. 521. Apples of Sodom, i. 522. Birds, i. 524. Scenery, i. 525. Was originally smaller, ii. 188. Causes of the catastrophe of the plain, pits of bitumen, volcanic action, etc. ii. 187-192. Letter of L. von Buch, ii. 524, 525.
 Desert near Gaza, ii. 41, 514.
Diocæsarea, see *Sepphoris*.
Diospoli, i. q. *Lydda*, which see.
Doch, * i. 572.
Dora, * ii. 215. See *Adoraim*.
Dothaim, not at Jubb Yūsuf, ii. 419.
Dragon fountain, i. 347.

E

- Earthquake at Safed, etc. ii. 422, 423, 529-531.
- Ebal, Mount*, ii. 275, 276, 279.
- Eboda*,* i. 194, 600.
- Edom*, its mountains, etc. ii. 154.
- Edomites*, in Palestine, ii. 68, 158. Historical notices, ii. 157-159.
- Edumia*,* ii. 280.
- Eglon*,* ii. 49.
- Ekron*,* ii. 227-229.
- Elah*,* valley, ii. 21.
- Elealeh*, i. 551.
- Elath*, i. 163, 169-171.
- Eleutheropolis*,* ii. 19, 27, 53, 57-66.
- *Eleutherus*, river, not the Kâsimiyeh, ii. 473.
- Elim*, i. 69, 72.
- Elusa*,* i. 201 sq.
- Emesa*, i. 190, ii. 503.
- Emmaus, Nicopolis*, city, ii. 30, 225, 232, 255.
- Emmaus*, village, not at Kubeibeh, ii. 255.
- Endor*, ii. 356, 360.
- En-Gannim*, i. q. *Ginza*, Jenin, ii. 315.
- En-gedi*,* wilderness, i. 500. Fountain, i. 504. Site, i. 506, 508.
- En-Royal*,* i. 240, 331-333.
- Ephraim*,* i. 447.
- Ephron*,* i. 447.
- Esdraelon*, Plain of, ii. 318, 320, 330, 352, 353. Water-shed, ii. 320, 356. Scene of battles, ii. 366.
- Eshcol*, i. 214.
- Eshtemoa*,* i. 494. ii. 205.
- Etam*, i. 348, 477.
- Etham*, i. 55.
- Exodus of the Israelites, i. 51-59. Route, i. 55. Passage of the Red Sea, i. 56 sq.
- Ezion-geber*, i. 169, 170.

F

- Flocks, usually of both sheep and goats, i. 477. Waiting at wells, ii. 26, 35, 226, 378.
- Fountains at Jerusalem; see *Siloam*, Virgin's Fountain, Well of Nehemiah or Job, Gihon, Dragon, Samson, and the next article.
- Fountain near the Haram, i. 343 sq.
- Fountains near Tyre, Râs el-'Ain, ii. 457-459.

G

- Gabata*,* ii. 344.
- Gabe*,* *Gibeah*, ii. 312.
- Galgula*,* ii. 243.
- Gateway, subterranean, under el-Aksa, i. 304.

- Gath*, ii. 66.
- Gath-Hepher*? ii. 350.
- Gath-Rimmon*,* ii. 67.
- Gaulonitis, Golan*, now Jaulân, ii. 432.
- Gaza*, ii. 36 sq.
- Geba** of Benjamin, i. 440.
- Geba** of Euseb. ii. 265.
- Gedor*,* ii. 13.
- Gennesareth*, tract, ii. 400, 402, 404.
- Gennesareth*, Lake of, see *Tiberias*.
- George, see St. George.
- Gerar*, i. 189. ii. 43, 44.
- Gerasa*, see *Rasa*, i. 187.
- Gerizim, Mount*, ii. 275-280.
- Geth* of Jerome, ii. 350.
- Gersemene*, i. 234, 270.
- Gibeath** of Saul, i. 577-579.
- Gibeath** of Judah, ii. 6, 16.
- Gibeath** of Phinehas, ii. 265.
- Gibeon*, i. 455, 456. Pool, i. 456.
- Gihon*, fountain, i. 239, 345.
- Gimzo*,* ii. 249.
- Gilboa*,* mountains, ii. 316, 317, 325.
- Gilead*, mount, i. 236. ii. 354.
- Gilgal*, i. 557. Near the coast, ii. 243.
- Ginza*, ii. 315.
- Giscala*,* ii. 446.
- Gitta*,* ii. 308.
- Golan*, see *Gaulonitis*.
- Golden Gate, i. 233, 263, 296, 322.
- Golgotha*, i. 376. See Holy Sepulchre.
- Gomorrhah*, see *Sodom*.
- Gophna*,* ii. 263, 264.
- Goshen*, Land of, i. 52.
- Grinding, see Hand-mill.
- Gush Halab*, see *Giscala*.
- Gypsuria*, i. 187.

H

- Halhul*,* i. 216. ii. 489.
- Hammath*, 385.
- Hand-mills described, i. 485. Grinding, i. 485. ii. 45, 100.
- el-Haram, the Grand Mosq, i. 244, 298, 301, 301.
- Harvest, various times, i. 431.
- Hauran*, ii. 432.
- Hazereth*, i. 151.
- Hazor** of Judah, ii. 34.
- Hebron*, i. 213. ii. 73-94.
- Hel-lua*, ii. 489.
- Helen*, her visit to Palestine, i. 372. Finds the Holy Sepulchre, the true cross, etc. i. 372-375. Erects only three churches in Palestine, i. 375.
- Heliopolis*, i. 24, 25.
- Hermion, Mount*, ii. 266, 337, 354, 437, 440.
- Little Hermion, ii. 326, 327.
- Herodium*, at Frank mountain, i. 480.
- Heropoia*, i. 54, 588.
- Heshbon*, i. 551.

Heromaz, river, i. 537.
Hinnom, Valley of, i. 239, 273.
Hippicus, tower, i. 306-309.
 Hiram's Tomb, ii. 456.
 Holy Sepulchre fixed, i. 372-375. Church erected, i. 376. Destroyed by the Persians, i. 387. By the Khalif Hâkim, i. 395. Built anew by the crusaders, i. 405. Burned, i. 406. General question as to the identity of the spot, i. 407-418.
 Honey, perhaps *Diba*, syrup of grapes, ii. 81.
Hor, mount, ii. 104, 119, 125, 144, 152, 519 sq.
Horab, see *Sinni*.
Hormah? * ii. 198
 Hospitality, Arab, i. 81, 445, 571. ii. 18, 19, 70, 268.
 Husks of Scripture, ii. 250.

I

Idumæa, see *Edomites*. Later *Idumæa*, ii. 63, 158.
Ijon, * ii. 438, n.
 Inscriptions at Sinai, i. 74, 81, 82, 84, 88, 109, 113. Their character, contents, etc., i. 127, 128. Deciphered by Professor Beer, i. 593-595. Later investigations, results, 595, 596. Inscriptions at Beit Jibrin, ii. 52, 515, 516.
 Irrigation in Egypt i. 581.
Ir-shemesh, * i. q. Bethshemesh, ii. 225.
Israelites, their exodus, etc. i. 51-59. Their route along the Dead Sea and to Sinai, i. 61, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 119, 120. From Sinai, i. 151, 187. Through the 'Arabah to Kadesh, ii. 192-195. Stations, ii. 526-528.
Itabyrion, i. q. *Tabor*, ii. 357.
Ithaca, Theaki, i. 4, 5.

J

Jabbok, now *Zerka*, i. 444. ii. 441, n.
Jabneh, now *Yebna*, ii. 227.
Jacob's Well, ii. 285, 286.
Jannia, *Jabneh*, now *Yebna*, ii. 66, 227.
Japhia, ii. 343.
Japho, *Joppa*, now *Yâfa*, ii. 233
Jarmuth, * ii. 17.
Jattir, * i. 494. ii. 204.
Jedna, * ii. 54, 69-71, 219.
Jehoshaphat, Valley of, i. 231 sq. 239, 268-273, 531.
Jehud, * ii. 242.
Jericho, i. 547-568; see Contents of Vol. I. Sec. X.—Fountain of Elisha, i. 554, 555. Ancient site, i. 563-565.
 Jerome at Bethlehem, ii. 378.

Jerusalem, el-Kuds, i. 221 sq. See Contents, Vol. I. Sec. VI, VII, VIII.—Topography of Josephus, i. 277-281. Geogr. position, i. 259. Circumference, i. 268, 315. Destruction by Titus not total, i. 366. Rebuilt by Adrian, i. 367. Made a Patriarchate, i. 380. Taken by the Persians, i. 387; by the Muhammedans, i. 388, 389; by the Crusaders, i. 405. Statistics, i. 418. Climate, i. 428. Shut up with the plague, ii. 1, 258-260. Farewell, ii. 261. Descr. of, in 12th century, in old French, ii. 556-562.
 Jews' place of wailing, i. 237. Synagogue, i. 243. Cemetery, i. 349. Number of Jews, i. 421, 422. War under Adrian, i. 367. Attempt to rebuild the temple, i. 377. Jews in Hebron, ii. 83. At Tiberias, ii. 381, 391 sq. At Safed, ii. 421, 428 sq.

Jezreel, ii. 321-323. Valley of, ii. 319, 320, 327. Fountain, ii. 320, 323.

Joppa, now *Yâfa*, ii. 233.

Jordan, the lower, i. 535-544. Upper Jordan, ii. 409, 414, 415.

Josephus, his topography of Jerusalem, i. 277-281. Descr. of the Temple, i. 281-283. Not always trustworthy, i. 277.

Julias, see *Bethsaida* of Gaulonitis, ii. 413.

Juniper, put for the Retem or broom-plant, i. 203, 205. ii. 124.

Justinian erects a convent at Sinai, i. 124 sq. 556; and a church at Jerusalem, i. 296 sq. His orthodoxy, i. 382. A builder of churches, i. 384. Subdues the Samaritans, ii. 294 sq.

Juttah, * i. 494. ii. 206.

K

Kadesh, * ii. 175, 194.

Kanah, * ii. 456.

Kedesh of Naphtali, ii. 439.

Kerioth, * ii. 101.

Kidron. Valley of, i. 231, 268-273, 541. Brook, i. 232, 273.

Kir Moab, ii. 166.

Kirjath-Jearim, * ii. 11.

Kishon, river, ii. 363-366. Not permanent throughout the plain, ii. 363-365. Permanent sources, ii. 365.

Klyasma, Kolzum, i. 47.

Kolzum, i. 47.

L

Lachish, not at Um Lâkis, ii. 47.

Laish, * see *Dan*.

Laodicea of Syria, ii. 503.

Laure in Palestine, i. 378.
Lebanon, Mount, ii. 437, 439, 486, 493.
 Cedars, ii. 493.
Leben, soured milk, i. 571, ii. 70, 211.
Lebonah, ii. 272.
Legio, ii. 316, 321 sq. Probably *Megiddo*,
 ii. 328-330, 364.
Lentiles, i. 167, ii. 83.
Leontes, riv. ii. 437, 472, 473.
Leontopolis, ii. 473, n.
Leontopolis in Egypt, i. 25.
Lepers, i. 243, ii. 287.
Leuke Kome, ii. 160.
Locusts, ii. 204, 340. Bird which follows
 them, ii. 340, 379.
Lod, see *Lydda*.
Lydda, ii. 244-248.
Lysa,* i. 188.

M

Mabortha, former name of Neapolis, ii. 291.
Machærus, i. 570.
Magdala, ii. 397.
Magoras, riv. ii. 492.
Maina, i. 5.
Malatha,* ii. 201.
Mamre, i. 216, ii. 89.
Mamortha, see *Mabortha*.
Mauna, i. 75, 115, 590.
Maon,* i. 493-495, ii. 97.
Maonit s., ii. 163.
Marah, bitter fountain, i. 67.
Maresha,* *Maresa*, ii. 67.
Mars' Hill, i. 7, 8.
Masada,* i. 525.
Mearah ? ii. 474.
Megiddo,* prob. *Legio*, ii. 329. Waters of
 Megiddo, ii. 330, 364.
Mehunims, ii. 168.
Memphis, i. 27.
Merom, lake, ii. 440; comp. 435, 436.
Meron,* see *Beth Meron*.
Messuloth,* see *Arbela*, ii. 398.
Michmash,* i. 440, 442. Passage of Mich-
 mash, i. 441.
Migron, i. 463.
Milestones, Roman, ii. 161, 476, 488.
Mill, see *Hand-mill*.
Mizpeh,* i. 460.
Modin, ii. 6, 7.
Mohaila, Muweilih, ii. 160, 161.
Moladah,* ii. 201.
Monasteries in Palestine, i. 378.
Moph, Memphis, i. 27.
Moresbeth-Gath,* ii. 68.
Moriah, i. 266 sq.
Mount Gilead, see *Gilead*.
Mount of Olives, see *Olives*.

N

Nabathæans, ii. 158, 159.

Nai, ii. 356, 361.
Nazareth, ii. 333-343.
Neapo is, *Shechem*, ii. 275, 287-302.
Neballat,* ii. 232.
Nebo, i. 569, 570.
Netopha, not Beit Nettif, ii. 17.
Nezah,* ii. 54, 221.
Nile, the river, i. 16 sq. 18, 19.
Nicopolis, ii. 232, 255.
Nimrah, i. 551.
Nob,* i. 464.
Nobe,* now Beit Nûbah, ii. 254.
Noph, Memphis, i. 27.

O

Oboda,* see *Eboda*.
Olives, Mount of, i. 235, 274 sq. 604.
On, *Heliopolis*, i. 25.
Onomasticon, i. 254.
Ophel, i. 231, 267.
Ophni,* ii. 264.
Ophrah,* i. 447.
Ornithopolis ? ii. 474.
Orontes, riv. ii. 507, n.

P

Palestina Prima, Secunda, Tertia, ii. 161,
 162.
Palætyrus, ii. 471.
Paneas, ii. 439.
Paran, see *Pharan*.
Paula at Bethlehem, i. 378.
Pelusiæ Nile, i. 52, 587.
Pentacomia,* ii. 312.
Petra, ii. 168-173, 521-524; comp. 127-
 145.
Pentinger Tables, ii. 533, 534.
Pharan, of Sinai, i. 126 sq. 592.
Pharaoh buys the Egyptians, i. 29.
Phanicia,* i. 569.
Pistacia Terebinthus, Butm, ii. 222.
Plague in Jerusalem, i. 248 sq. The city
 shut up, ii. 258-260.
Platmum,* *Platana*, ii. 488.
Pools; Upper, i. 238, 326. Lower, i. 327.
 Hezekiah's, i. 329. Sheep-pool, see
 Bethesda. Pools of Hebron, ii. 74, 75.
Porphyreon, ii. 487.
Pæphinos, tower, i. 309, 314.
Ptolemæis, see *Acco*.

Q

Quails, not the Kûtâ, ii. 200.

R

Rabbath Ammon, see *Ammon*.

Rabbath Moab, ii. 166.
Rachel's Tomb, i. 218, 469.
 Rainy season, early and latter rains, i. 429, 430.
*Ramah** in Benjamin, i. 576.
Ramah of Samuel, not at Neby Samwil, i. 458. Not at Ramleh, ii. 239. Its possible site, ii. 8-10.
Ramatha, Ramathem, ii. 239, 240.
Rameses, i. 54, 55.
Rusa, Gerasa, i. 187.
 Reem (unicorn,) prob. the oriental buffalo, ii. 412.
Rehoboth, not at Ruhaibeh, i. 197.
Rephaim, plain, i. 219, 469.
Rephidim, i. 120, 121.
 Reservoirs, see Pools.
Riblah, ii. 507, n.
*Rimmon** rock, i. 440, 443.
Rimmon of Zebulun, ii. 340.
 Roads, Roman, i. 187, 554. ii. 161, 262, 487.
Roboath, i. 197, n.
Rogel, see *En-Rogel*.
 Roman Roads, see Roads

S

Sahas, see St. Sabas.
Salem, see *Shalem*.
Sa't, Valley of, ii. 109. City of, ib.
 Salt, mountain of, i. 502. ii. 107-110.
Samaria, see *Sebaste*.
Samaritana, visit to, ii. 276-283. Hist. and Literature, ii. 288-301.
 Samson's fountain, i. 64.
 Sandals of fish-skin, i. 116.
*Saphir**, ii. 34.
Sarepta, see *Zarephath*.
Sariphæa, ii. 242.
Scopus, i. 276. ii. 261.
Scythopolis, see *Beth-shean*.
Sebaste, Samaria, ii. 303, 308-311.
Sepphoris, Diocæsarea, ii. 337, 344-346.
 Sepulchres, see Tombs. Holy Sepulchre, see Holy.
 Serfs of the convent at Sinai, i. 135, 598.
*Shalem**, ii. 279.
Shavon, plain of, ii. 233.
Shechem, see *Neapolis*.
 Sheep, all broad-tailed, and usually mingled with goats, i. 477, 485.
*Shiloh**, ii. 267, 269-271.
 Shishak on Theban temple, i. 22.
Shittim-wood, ii. 20.
Shunem, ii. 325.
Sichem, see *Neapolis*.
Sidon, ii. 477-485.
Siloam, i. 231, 333, 338-341. Irregular flow, i. 341.
*Simonias**, ii. 344.
Sin, desert of, i. 73, 120

Sinai, plain, i. 89, 94-96, 107. Present extent of the name, i. 95. Place of the giving of the law, 107, 119. Names Sinai and Horeb, i. 120, 590.
 Sinaitic Inscriptions, see Inscriptions.
Sirocco, etymology, i. 207, n.
Smyrna, ii. 499.
*Socoh** of the mountains, i. 494.
*Socoh** of the plain, ii. 16, 21.
Sodom, apples of, i. 522. Site and overthrow, ii. 187-192.
 Solomon's Pools, i. 218, 474-476.
 Song of Moses, i. 61.
South of Judah, ii. 98, 203.
 St. Anne's church, i. 233.
 St. George and his church, ii. 244-246.
 St. Sabas, his activity, etc. i. 382, 383.
Succoth, i. 55.
 Suez, i. 46-50, 584.
Sycaminum, ii. 340.
Sychar, ii. 290-292.
 Syra, i. 11.
 Syria Sobal, ii. 163.

T

Taanach, ii. 316, 329, 330.
Tabor, Mount, ii. 351-360. Not the place of the Transfiguration, ii. 358. Site of a fortified city, ii. 357-359.
 Tabula Peutingeriana, ii. 533, 534.
*Tabææorum vicus**, ii. 516, 517.
Tamyras, Damouras, riv. ii. 488.
Tarichæa, ii. 387.
Tekoa, i. 486, 487.
 Temple, according to Josephus, i. 281-283.
 Temple-area; immense stones, i. 232, 285; bevelled, i. 286. Arch of bridge, i. 287, 288, 606. Identity, 287-290. General description, i. 283-290. Height of the ancient porticoes, i. 290. Extent of the area, i. 291-295. Subsequent history, i. 295.
 Temples at Wady Mûsa, ii. 142, 145.
 Temples on Mount Lebanon, ii. 493.
 Tents, i. 485, 499, 571.
 Terebinth, i. 208. ii. 222.
*Thamar**, *Thamara*, ii. 198, 202.
Thamna, ii. 239, 240.
Thana, or *Thoana*, ii. 168.
Thebes in Egypt, i. 19-23.
*Thebez**, ii. 317.
Thoana, see *Thana*.
*Thola**, i. 113.
Threshing, by treading out, i. 550. ii. 85, 83. By a sledge, ii. 306 sq.
Tiberias, Lake of, its scenery, ii. 380. Fish, ii. 386. Extent, stones, volcanic region, ii. 415-417. S. end of the lake, ii. 387. Depression, i. 613. ii. 183, 388.
Tiberias, city, ii. 380-394. The Jews, ii. 381, 391 sq. Ancient site, ii. 383.

Hot springs and baths, ii. 383-385.
 Celebrated Jewish school, ii. 391 sq.
 Mishnah and Talmuda, *ibid.*
Tinnah, * ii. 17.
Tirzah, * ii. 317.
 Tombs; of Absalom, Zechariah, etc. i. 236, 349-352. South of Hinnom, i. 353, 609. Of the Judges, i. 241, 355. Of Helena, called Tombs of the Kings, i. 240, 336-364, 610. Of the prophets, i. 364.—Tomb of Abraham at Hebron, ii. 77. Tombs at Petra, ii. 129-143. Tomb of Hiram, ii. 466.
Tophel, * ii. 107, 187.
 Tower of Hippicus, i. 306-309. Of Phasaelis, Mariamne, Psephinos, 309.
 Tradition, monastic, often legendary and of no value, i. 251-255. Native tradition, i. 255, 256.
Tricomus, * ii. 220.
Tyre, ii. 461-471. Fountains, Râs el-'Ain, ii. 457-459.
Tyropæon, i. 231, 260, 263, 265, 267, 333.

U

Ulamah, * ii. 356.
 Unicorn, *see* Reem.
 Upper Room, ii. 229, 477.

V

Vaults beneath the Temple-area, i. 302-306.
 Via dolorosa, i. 233, n.
 Virgin's Fountain, i. 232, 336, 337 sq. 342.
 Virgin's Tomb, i. 234.

W

Water, scarcity around Sinai, i. 73. No running streams, i. 87, n. Supply for Jerusalem, i. 323. For Tyre, ii. 467.
Well of Jacob, ii. 283-286.
 Well of Nehemiah or Job, i. 240, 272, 331.
 Wells, *see* Flocks.
 Wheel-carriages, never practicable on the mountains of Judah, i. 214 sq.
Winnoning, i. 550. ii. 35, 83.

X

Xaloth of Josephus, ii. 332.
Xystus, i. 310, 312.

Z

Zanoah, * ii. 16.
Zarephath, *Sarepta*, ii. 474-476
Zedad, * ii. 507.
Zelzah, ii. 10.
Zephath, * ii. 181, 198.
Zephathah, * valley, ii. 31.
Zered, brook, ii. 157.
Zidon, *see* *Sidon*.
Zion, cemeteries, i. 229-231. Buildings, i. 241-243. Described, i. 263 sq. Theory of Dr Clarke, i. 605.
Ziph, * i. 492, 495.
Ziz, * cliff, i. 508.
Zoar, not Zuweirah, ii. p. 106, 519. Its site east of the Dead Sea, ii. 107, 517-519.
Zophim, *see* *Zuph*.
Zorah, * ii. 14, 16, 17, 31 224.
Zuph, *Zophim*, ii. 8.

INDEX III.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED.

GENESIS.

- xviii. 4. Washing the feet, ii. 230.
- xxi. 14. Hagar's bottle of water on her
shoulder, i. 232, 473, 549.
- xxii. 3. He "arose and saddled his ass,"
ii. 219.
- xxv. 34. Lentils and pottage, i. 167.
- xxvii. 9 sq. Isaac's savoury meat, i. 206.
- xxix. 2, 3. Great stone upon the well's
mouth, i. 490.
- xxxiii. 4. Shalem, now Sâlim, ii. 279.
- xlvi. 18-26. Pharaoh buys the Egyptians,
i. 29.

EXODUS.

- viii. 27, 28. [23, 24.] Israelitish *Haj*,
i. 79.
- xiv. 1-31. Passage of the Red Sea, i. 56-
59.
- xv. 25. Sweetening bad water. i. 67.
- xvii. 8. Amalekites fight with Israel, i.
121.

NUMBERS.

- xi. 5. Food in Egypt, i. 53.
- xxii. 21. See Gen. xxii. 3. ii. 219.

DEUTERONOMY.

- i. 1. The Red Sea, Tophel, etc. ii. 187.
- xi. 10. Watering with the foot, i. 581, 582.
ii. 22, 226.
- xi. 14. Early and latter rain, i. 429, 430.
- xxv. 4. Muzzling the ox, i. 550. ii. 216.

JOSHUA.

- iii. 15. Overflowing of Jordan, i. 540, 541.
- x. 11. Going down of Beth-horon, ii. 251.
- x. 12. Standing still of the sun and moon
on Gibeon and Aijalon, ii. 253, 254.

RUTH.

- ii. 8. Field of reapers and gleaners, ii. 50.
- ii. 14. Parched corn, ii. 50.
- ii. 17. Beating out gleanings, ii. 45.
- iii. 2-14. Watching the threshing-floors at
night, ii. 83.

1 SAMUEL.

- xii. 17. Rain in harvest, i. 430.
- xiv. 4, 5. Jonathan's adventure with the
Philistines, i. 441.
- xvii. 1 sq. David and Goliath, ii. 21.
- xxii. 2. David and his outlaws, ii. 498.
- xxv. 8, 9. David's message to Nabal, ii.
498.

1 KINGS.

- xlii. 37. See Gen. xxii. 3. ii. 219.
- xiv. 25. Shishak, i. 22.
- xix. 4, 5. Elijah sleeping under a juniper,
i. 203, 205.

2 KINGS.

- iii. 11. Pouring water on the hands, i. 87,
Comp. iii. 26.
- xviii. 17. Conduit of the upper pool, i.
327, 345 sq.

1 CHRON.

- xii. 15. See Josh. iii. 15. i. 540, 541.

2 CHRON.

- xii. 2-9. See 1 Kings xiv. 25. i. 22.

NEHEMIAH.

- ii. 13-15. Night-excursion, i. 320.

JOB

- xxx. 4. Juniper roots, i. 203.
xxxix. 9, 10. Unicorn, ii. 412.

PSALMS.

- lxv. 13. Pastures clothed with flocks, ii. 216.
cxx. 4. Coals of juniper, i. 203.

PROVERBS.

- xvi. 15. See Deut. xi. 14. i. 429, 430.
xxv. 1. See 1 Sam. xii. 17. i. 430.

ISAIAH.

- vii. 3. See 2 K. xviii. 17. i. 327, 345 sq.
ix. 1. Way of the sea, ii. 405.
x. 28-32. Approach of Sennacherib, i. 463.
xxxvi. 2. See 2 K. xviii. 17. i. 327, 345 sq.

JEREMIAH.

- v. 24. See Deut. xi. 14. i. 429, 430.
xxv. 10. Sound of the mill-stones, i. 485.
xlviii. 6. Heath, i. e. juniper, ii. 124.
xlix. 16. Dwelling in the cleft of the rock, ii. 142.

EZEKIEL

- viii. 8-10. Tombs, i. 21.

HOSKA.

- vi. 3. See Deut. xi. 14. i. 429, 430.

JOEL.

- ii. 23. See Deut. xi. 14. i. 429, 430

NAHUM.

- iii. 8. The "sea" for the Nile, i. 20, 582.

ZECHARIAH.

- x. 1. See Deut. xi. 14. 429, 430.

MATTHEW.

- iv. 13. Border of Zebulun and Naphtali, ii. 404.
xii. 1. Plucking the ears of grain, i. 493, 499.

- xxi. 7. Garments in place of a saddle, ii. 219.
xxi. 8. Strewing garments in the way, i. 473.
xxiv. 1, 2. Destruction of the Temple, i. 295.
xxiv. 41. Grinding at the mill, i. 485. ii. 45.

MARK.

- ii. 23. See Matt. xii. 1. i. 433, 499.
xi. 7. See Matt. xxi. 7. ii. 119.
xi. 8. See Matt. xxi. 8. i. 473.
xiii. 1, 2. See Matt. xxiv. 1. 2. i. 295.

LUKE.

- i. 39. A city of Judah, ii. 206.
iv. 28-30. Brow of the hill in Nazareth, ii. 335.
vi. 1. See Matt. xii. 1. i. 493, 499.
vi. 48. Digging deep to lay foundations, ii. 338.
xii. 54. Cloud out of the west, i. 429.
xv. 16. Huska, ii. 250.
xvii. 35. See Matt. xxiv. 41. i. 485. ii. 45.
xix. 35. See Matt. xxi. 7. ii. 219.
xix. 36. See Matt. xxi. 8. i. 473.

JOHN.

- iv. 5 sq. Jacob's well and the woman of Samaria, ii. 283-286.

ACTS.

- vii. 16. Patriarchs buried at Shechem, ii. 283.
viii. 26. The "desert" near Gaza, ii. 41, 514.
ix. 39. xx. 8. Upper chamber, ii. 229, 477.
xxi. 31-40. "Castle" in Jerusalem, i. 292.

2 CORINTHIANS.

- xi. 32. Ethnarch of Aretas in Damascus, ii. 160.

JAMES.

- v. 7. See Deut. xi. 14. i. 429, 430.

REVELATION.

- iv. 7. Locusts as horses, i. 41.
xviii. 22, 23. See Jer. xxv. 10. i. 485.

END OF VOL. II.



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